

**THE WORLD BANK GROUP ARCHIVES**

**PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AUTHORIZED**

**Folder Title:** Draft Working Paper - Social and Cultural Dimensions of Tourism - A Review of the Literature in English - Prepared by Raymond Noronha - Consultant for the Tourism Projects Department

**Folder ID:** 39618I

**Series:** WID reference files

**Dates:** 05/18/1977 - 05/18/1977

**Fonds:** Records of the Gender and Development Sector

**ISAD Reference Code:** WB IBRD/IDA WB\_IBRD/IDA\_97-03

**Digitized:** 10/23/2019

To cite materials from this archival folder, please follow the following format:  
[Descriptive name of item], [Folder Title], Folder ID [Folder ID], ISAD(G) Reference Code [Reference Code], [Each Level Label as applicable], World Bank Group Archives, Washington, D.C., United States.

The records in this folder were created or received by The World Bank in the course of its business.

The records that were created by the staff of The World Bank are subject to the Bank's copyright.

Please refer to <http://www.worldbank.org/terms-of-use-earchives> for full copyright terms of use and disclaimers.



THE WORLD BANK

Washington, D.C.

© International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / International Development Association or

The World Bank

1818 H Street NW

Washington DC 20433

Telephone: 202-473-1000

Internet: [www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)

**PUBLIC DISCLOSURE AUTHORIZED**

**DECLASSIFIED**  
WBG Archives



**396181**

107256F Other #: 1099282

Draft Working Paper - Social and Cultural Dimensions of Tourism - A Review of the Literature in English - Prepared by Raymond Noronha - Consultant for the Tourism Science Department



DRAFT WORKING PAPER

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS OF TOURISM:  
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

Prepared by Raymond Noronha, Consultant  
for the Tourism Projects Department

May 18, 1977



- i. The purpose of this paper is not only to draw together the concepts found in sociological literature, in the English language, on tourism, but also to comment on, clarify, and add to these concepts.
- ii. Sociological interest in tourism is a recent development and, therefore, sociological insights have been supplemented by reference, albeit partial, to the literature of other disciplines--mainly economics, geography, planning and administration. A further reason why it is necessary to refer to the literature of other social disciplines is the fact that tourism is multi-sectoral and requires a multi-disciplinary approach. For the sake of convenience, however, summaries of the literature annexed to this paper have been divided: summaries of sociological literature are to be found in Annex I; those of other disciplines, in Annex II. The last Annex also contains a sampling of Bank tourism sector surveys and project appraisal reports in order to indicate some concerns of the Bank. The division of Chapter topics follows, as far as possible, those used by the Bank and UNESCO for their jointly sponsored seminar on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism in Developing Countries (held in Washington, D.C., December 8-10, 1976).
- iii. The "supply" factors in a destination area most often believed necessary for tourism are a "friendly" people, political stability, physical and cultural features. Curiously enough, only a few writers, all economists, refer to an important "resource" for a developing country seeking to increase tourism: administrative capacity. This "resource" becomes even more important as numbers of tourists increase, and deserves sociological investigation. Access
- iv. But, although a destination area may have all the factors necessary for tourism, this does not guarantee tourism development. If tourism is to be used as a strategy for economic and social development, it is also necessary to assess "demand" factors. Analysis of the demand factors is outside the scope of this paper.
- v. There is now enough evidence to suggest that the development of tourism



in most destination areas proceeds through three stages: from "discovery," through "local response and initiative," to "institutionalization." While the transition from the first to the second stage connotes increasing numbers and requires the presence of a "local catalyst" (entrepreneurs who are often resident immigrants) to respond to the needs of tourists, the difference between the second and third stages is more peculiarly characterized by local ownership, and absence of standardization, of local facilities; the use primarily of local resources; and, most importantly, local decision-making and control of tourism. At each stage the contact between tourist and host takes on increasing impersonality--from face-to-face contacts at stages one and two, to intermediate contacts at stage three. The types of tourists visiting the area also differ. It should, however, be noted that tourism development in every destination area does not necessarily have to pass through the three stages. Tourism can be "induced;" it need not be a "spontaneous" growth. "Induced" tourism is usually "institutionalized" tourism.

vi. Institutionalized tourism requires both an economic and political decision: a conscious decision that tourists should be encouraged to come, or are visiting a destination area, in increasing numbers; and that the local authorities, entrepreneurs, and resources are incapable of handling the tourists satisfactorily. Institutionalized tourism has the greatest impact on the host population mainly because it demands greater organizational and behavioral adjustments on the part of the hosts than the tourists irrespective of whether the tourists share the same cultural background as the hosts, or not. The economic, political, and social consequences briefly, are: (i) loss of local autonomy and control of tourism development; (ii) transfer of power to wider political authorities thereby converting local authorities into functionaries and agents; (iii) standardization of goods, services, tourism facilities, and itineraries; (iv) increasing impersonality of relations combined with formalization of roles; and (v) increasing

dependence of the host population on groups, individuals, and factors beyond local control. Institutionalized tourism involves a qualitative, not merely a quantitative, change in the nature of tourism in the destination area.

vii. Even the most casual observer will, however, notice that the impact of tourism differs with destination areas--whether they be at similar or different stages of tourism development. This differential impact does not depend on whether or not the destination area is on an island, or on a continent; nor is it a matter of mere numbers of tourists in relation to the total host population in the destination area. It is hypothesized that there are four reasons why tourism (including "institutionalized" tourism) can promote economic and social development while the "negative" impacts of tourism are muted, and can be obviated totally. These reasons are: (i) sufficient flexibility and differentiation of organizations and associations in the destination area to take advantage of tourism at each stage of tourism development; (ii) each event, or resource, which attracts tourists, has independent meanings to the host and the tourist and the event can take place (or the resource can be used or enjoyed) without the presence of tourists; (iii) income from tourist-related occupations is channelled to strengthen host population cultural values; and (iv) purposive planning--not necessarily for tourism alone--with local participation. These hypotheses deserve further verification.

viii. There are numerous definitions and taxonomies of tourists. None of these include host perceptions of who is, or is not, a "tourist." These perceptions are important since they affect host attitudes and behavior. In practice, the definition most commonly used is that proposed by the UN Conference in 1963 at Rome. With reference to this paper, however, the most important distinction is that between "institutionalized" and "non-institutionalized" tourists.

ix. The institutionalized tourist is less willing to give up his familiar



surroundings; his patterns of travel, routes, and times of travel are routinized; the facilities he avails himself of are standardized to combine a maximum of security and comfort with touches of local color. On the other hand, the non-institutionalized tourist is more willing to exchange the strange for the familiar; to go out of his everyday living patterns to seek out, and learn about unfamiliar cultures and people.

x. Most of the literature examines the encounter between institutionalized tourist and host. Based on this, the following conclusions can be drawn about institutionalized tourism:

- ( i) The tourist generally meets members of the host population in formal roles;
- ( ii) These hosts are drawn from the lower economic strata of the local population;
- (iii) The tourist believes that his carefully organized tour conducts him to all the important events and sights in the destination area; and
- ( iv) This could give rise to the erroneous impression that a person can "know" another culture and people in a few days.

Contact between host and tourist is at its lowest when "total tourism" pervades the destination area: then from the moment the tourist lands he is in the hands (and very rarely out of sight) of the tour arrangers who link up hotel accommodation, transport and sight-seeing. There is need for more evidence about non-institutionalized tourists: who they are, how they arrange tours, who they meet, where they stay, what they learn.

xi. Few sociologists have investigated the influence that the physical environment and decor in a destination area have on tourist behavior and the



type of tourist. Geographers have shown that the setting does influence behavior. This is another area where more sociological research is required.

xii. The individual who mediates between host and tourist is the "culture broker." At the earliest stages of tourism development in a destination area, the culture broker (often a resident immigrant) is the initiator of change. ?

This individual seems to wane in importance as tourism develops and reaches the stage of institutionalization. More research is necessary to determine why this is so.

xiii. An analysis of host perceptions of tourism through each stage of development shows changing valuations of tourism--from welcoming tourism to annoyance and antipathy. At some stage in tourism development, increasing numbers of tourists are viewed by a minority as a threat to the way of life in the destination area; resentment is the local expression of the perceived threat. But it is not numbers of tourists per se that are the cause: an examination of the literature shows that this resentment grows generally because with institutionalized tourism the population in the destination area no longer controls tourism, is not consulted, and is treated as a mere agent of decision makers who reside outside the destination area. The tourist is merely the focus of resentment. In other cases, as in the Caribbean, the causes of resentment partially lie in the socioeconomic and cultural history of the area. Here again tourism is a convenient focus. On a national level, resentment (verbalized by the elite who usually do not come into contact with the institutionalized tourist) is directed against institutionalized tourism or against "long-haired hippies." The reason for criticism of institutionalized tourism appears to result from a realization that although a country wants the benefits of tourism to induce modernization, it generally lacks the resources (financial, technical and managerial) for tourism development. It has to rely on foreign assistance which results in

concessions and loss of complete control. The attitude against the "hippie" can be explained by reference to the fact that the "hippie" is a living contradictory symbol for host populations whose leaders have preached that the "puritan ethic" has been the cause and corollary of modernization.

xiv. The apparent contradiction between the impact of and resentment against institutionalized tourism, and the fact that since the institutionalized tourist has mainly formal contact with the host he is in the poorest position to influence host behavior, is resolved if a distinction is maintained between the system, on the one hand, and the tourist on the other. Institutionalization demands the greatest formal organizational and behavioral changes on the part of the host population. The institutionalized tourist need make the most minor adjustments; he does not have to learn social cues, and is quite likely to overstep boundaries of accepted behavior in the destination area, thereby causing resentment.

xv. The final question in the encounter between tourist and host is whether the encounter results in a transfer of tourist values to the hosts. "Demonstration effects" have been invariably asserted as definite consequences of tourism, without adequate supporting data. There is evidence that as far as cultural values are concerned, tourism does not have direct influence. There must be a mediating agent--a local resident, or a national leader--who channels the ideas that tourists portray. On this subject, however, there are two further questions which have received scant attention: (i) Do values really change, or is it that human groups reassess the methods by which they can attain values? (ii) Assuming that there is, for the sake of argument, a change in value systems, then are these changes desired by, are they not goals of, the host population?

xvi. In the realm of the socioeconomic impact of tourism, the first aspect dealt with is employment. Most of the information here, with the exception of employment in the arts and crafts, covers hotel employment. Briefly, the general findings are:

- ( i ) At the early stages of tourism development, hotels are small (generally family-owned and staffed) and the employees are from the host population. As the numbers of tourists grow, the hotels are increasingly owned or, at least, managed by non-residents; the host population staffs lower level positions; expatriates, the managerial positions;
- ( ii ) Available evidence of the level of wages in the hotel industry compared with other sectors of the economy does not provide clear conclusions--in some cases, as much as seven times what agriculturists earn; in others, hotel wages stand at the lowest level. Nor is it certain whether hotel employees are, on the average, better educated than most of their fellow nationals. It is hypothesized that with institutionalized tourism in a developing country, hotel employees are better paid and better educated than fellow nationals in other domestic enterprises;
- (iii) On the basis of the slim information available, it could be said that in the earliest stages of tourism development most of the employees in hotels come from areas proximate to the hotels;
- ( iv ) Only one study--in Fiji--shows that employment in hotels reflects national patterns of socioeconomic dominance and ethnic attitudes both with regard to the type and level of



employment. In the Gambia, skewed distributions of different ethnic group representations can be explained by the proximity of one ethnic group to the hotels;

- ( v) The few studies available indicate that expatriate management in hotels tends to denigrate the abilities of lower staff and to dismiss the importance of local culture. This evidence exists in areas where the management is both expatriate and of a different ethnic group from employees. There is no evidence of relations between management and lower staff from the same nation and culture--a lacuna in the literature that ought to be remedied;
- ( vi) Most of the information on the socioeconomic impact of tourism on other sectors is in the nature of "guesstimates," with the exception of two studies. The evidence is contradictory: in one case (Mykonos) tourism not only strengthened traditional occupations but also led to the diversification of occupations. In the other (Sri Lanka) there was no developmental impact on traditional occupations;
- (vii) Tourism, particularly institutionalized tourism, requires adjustments to be made in the nature and rhythm of work. Further, where tourism is seasonal, the non-tourism months can also be the "hungry" months, especially when tourism is the main economic activity of the host population. The increasing dependence on tourism, particularly with institutionalization, can result in harmful social consequences when there are sudden shifts in demand; and

(viii) Although there may be adjustments in the nature and methods of work, it is not certain whether this also results in changes in social responsibility among members of the host population. There is, in fact, no study which evaluates the impact of migration, or of employment in the tourism industry, on the social structure, the family, or kin.

xvii. It is often said that one of the effects of tourism is to transfer ownership of land in the destination area out of the hands of former resident owners. Implicit in this statement is the retrospective opinion that the local residents are fraudulently deprived of their lands. There is no clear evidence for this view at all. In fact, an examination of the process shows that at the initial stages of tourism development it is local owners who profit (by sale or diversification of lands) from lands previously thought to be of little value. Later, however, the local or national elite enters the picture and land speculation is rife at this stage. It is this elite that, often with national government assistance, combines with foreign interests to demand land and further drive up prices, thereby pricing the local owner out of the market. However, this previous statement, and the fact that there are at times fraudulent transactions point to the need for careful regulation of land transactions, and to the preservation of continuing rights in land (or in the profitable use after transfer) of former owners. This is particularly important where land, which is acquired or sold, was owned under communal tenure. Usually the end effect of the conflict between traditional and modern tenures is resolved in favor of the latter. There is no reason why this should be so. One recommendation is for the creation of land boards--which are fairly successful in Fiji, and are being considered in Truk. However, the success of these boards is largely dependent on government will, and the ability to resist powerful economic and political interests. These are matters to which sociologists have given little attention.



xviii. Tourism increases competition for local resources in three ways: First, through the use of physical resources and local consumer goods by host population, tourists, and immigrant populations. Second, through competition for employment and increased use of social services by immigrants. Finally, through diversion of resources for expenditure on tourism, which might have been spent on other sectors. Though economic traits of competition are the stuff of economic analysis, attitudes and perceptions of deprivation and sharing of resources are matters for attention by sociologists. The solution to these problems lies in careful choice of goals, consistent planning and execution, and local participation in these processes. What is interesting to note is that these complaints are voiced only at the institutionalized stage of tourism.

xix. Tourism does not have a uniform effect on the position of women. The effect varies with cultural valuations. Certainly, tourism may provide women with a new or additional income, but this does not necessarily connote greater independence or freedom of decision.

xx. Tourism decreases out-migration, and attracts more people in search of employment to the destination area.

xxi. Rising nutritional standards appear to be correlated with increasing tourism. However, the evidence with regard to the impact on health is meagre and mixed. So too is the information on other social services -- water, electricity, roads, political access. The evidence with regard to education is also indirect -- tourism seems to facilitate greater educational achievement, provided that is one of the goals of the destination area.

xxii. It is not certain whether increases in crime, delinquency, and prostitution can be solely attributed to the advent of tourism in an area. There is little analysis whether increase in crime, for instance, can be attributed to improved statistics, or to the inadequacy of existing law forces to control an increased

population in the destination area, or to the need for the introduction of formal legislation when customary control formerly sufficed in the destination area. With regard to prostitution, there is no careful assessment of whether it existed before tourism, whether it is the monetization of a traditional practice, or whether the growth is attributable to other factors (for example, increased used by local residents and fellow nationals).

xxiii. The final part of the chapter on the socioeconomic impact of tourism covers the question of the distribution of benefits. Who gets what? Few can deny that politically and economically powerful interests within a country influence the selection of both the type of tourism and the location of tourism development. Further, it is also true that these choices are not necessarily related to economic efficiency. But it cannot be asserted that as a result tourism freezes the existing socioeconomic strata in the destination area. The evidence in this regard is mixed and further investigation is desirable. Nor is there sufficient evidence of the social impact of tourism on the systems of distribution and what tensions or conflicts result from alterations in the system of distribution and social responsibility, if any.

xxiv. This leads to a discussion of the sociocultural impact of tourism. It is generally accepted that tourism does assist in the preservation of traditional crafts, sometimes in their revitalization; and also in the preservation and recovery of archaeological monuments, and architectural creations. However, it has been suggested that tourism, and especially institutionalized tourism, encourages a "bastard" species of art: airport art. But this is not to deny that excellent specimens of art also flourish; and that the true appreciation of art lies much in the eyes of the beholder. In regard to crafts, it has been suggested that tourism softens the gradual transition to mass production by providing traditional craftsmen with an opportunity to produce traditional crafts profitably while preparing themselves

for the transition.

xxv. There is another area of controversy in the sociocultural realm: It is suggested that by placing a monetary value on local arts (particularly dance which may also have a religious connotation), tourism debases the event. The evidence in support of this is not general and there are instances which confirm a contrary view that tourism can revive ethnic identity and cultural pride. It is true that some host populations may feel degraded by the monetization of their arts, which thereby implicitly challenges existing host population value systems. But the causes do not appear to lie in the mere "commercialization" of culture.

xxvi. Most authors point out the need for planning with local participation. The examples where this has actually occurred are few, and limited to developed nations. This does not, however, mean that it is impossible even where the vast majority of the host population is illiterate, dispersed, or the means of communication limited. It may take time; but careful planning can determine how participation can be attained. It is here that sociologists have a role to play in defining the role and scope of traditional organizations and leadership, and the methods by which decisions are arrived at. Participatory planning also involves the choice of social indices, on which very little work has been done by sociologists in the field of tourism, an assessment of the differential social impact of alternative methods and types of tourism development and the development of backward linkages. There is, finally, the question of the pace of tourism development.

xxvii. In some cases the literature suggests that it is the pace of tourism development that has caused problems -- too rapid, unplanned development. This could be translated to mean that the absorptive capacity (or "carrying capacity") of the destination area was inadequate to meet demand. In the first place, this is not strictly accurate since, as pointed out earlier, the type of tourism also has a crucial impact on destination area problems. Assuming, however,



that absorptive capacity is important, it should be realized that this "capacity" varies with the type of tourism. Further, it has been suggested that it would be a useful exercise to estimate absorptive capacity only if tourism were the sole economic base for, otherwise, so many other factors would be involved -- for instance, socioeconomic differences between tourist and host, the distribution of benefits, questions of control and investment and management of tourism facilities, type and location of visitor accommodation. However, it is believed that it would be useful to estimate the maximum total number of visitors who could be accommodated at any one point in time during the year. This maximum would be related to the type of tourists, the extent of local skills and facilities and the needs for touristic and recreational assets by residents. It is obvious that such a maximum would not be constant for any destination, but instead might rise, or fall, depending upon an assessment of the factors mentioned above.

xxviii. The final chapter examines a few key issues discussed in previous chapters, enumerates some areas deserving of further investigation, and makes some recommendations regarding the role of sociologists in the work of the Tourism Projects Department of the Bank. The Bank, like other international organizations, has a vital role to play in assisting developing nations to employ tourism to promote economic and social development with equity. The questions addressed by the sociologist, the techniques employed and the information gained, can be very useful in achieving these objectives. //

## I. INTRODUCTION

1.00 Sociologists have just recently turned their attention to the analysis of the social impact of tourism on host populations.<sup>1/</sup> Several explanations can be offered for this belated interest: (i) the fact that the sociologist in a tourist area is himself a "tourist" has, possibly, blinded him to the importance of the phenomenon; (ii) since "leisure" had hitherto been treated as a residual category of human activity there was minimal academic interest in the subject (see Parker: 1975<sup>2/</sup>); and (iii) another possible explanation could be the popular equation of tourism with activities not usually objects of "serious" academic study: hotels, catering, night clubs and golf courses.

1.01 It is only in the last six years that there is evidence of academic recognition of the importance of tourism as a subject of study. Some evidence of this interest is to be found in the literature summarized in the Annexes to this review, the number of symposia now being held on the "impact of tourism," the papers read at symposia and the dissertation on tourism.

1.02 There is, as yet, no generally accepted sociological methodology for the analysis of the growth and impact of tourism. Compared with other studies, little "hard" data has been collected. The value of this data has often been diminished because it has been addressed to an academic audience or to support a "theory." Despite these limitations there are numerous valuable insights which, however, need to be supplemented with data from the other social disciplines: economics, geography, planning, and administration in particular.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Throughout this review the terms "sociologists"/"sociological" will include "anthropologists"/"anthropological."

<sup>2/</sup> References which have been summarized in the Annexes are referred to by their serial numbers; other references will be found in the Bibliography.



1.03 There are numerous reasons why the sociological literature needs supplementary analysis, however partial, through the findings of the other social disciplines.

- ( i ) Tourism is multi-sectoral, it touches on various aspects of human life, cuts across both the rural and urban sectors, affects values, employment, social organization, the arts and crafts, and contact between people. As a developmental strategy there is an economic focus, which has repercussions on the social, and the political. Therefore, it would be invalid to assess the impact of the social and cultural life of host populations without also considering the impact of changes in other sectors;
- ( ii ) Reference to literature other than sociological, serves to indicate areas of interest and concern of non-sociological disciplines, supplementing the work of other students of society who have realized the importance of tourism before sociologists; and
- (iii) Sociologists usually tend to generalize from microstudies; other disciplines, particularly economics, pursue macrostudies, and then particularize. Both approaches are essential to an understanding of tourism.

1.04 The purpose of this review is not only to draw together the concepts relating to the social impact of tourism in the literature, but also to comment on, clarify, and add to these concepts. The author accepts full responsibility for his clarifications and interpretations of the literature cited here. For the convenience of the reader, however, a distinction has been drawn in the Annexes between the sociological literature, and that of the other disciplines. The former is to be found in Annex I; the latter, in Annex II. The second

Annex also contains some examples of Bank sector surveys and project appraisal reports (in so far as these deal with the "social" aspects of tourism) in order to indicate some of the sociological concerns of the Bank. These examples are not to be taken as representative of present concerns. Obviously, the sponsoring of a seminar on the Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism<sup>1/</sup> is sufficient evidence of continuing Bank concern about the "social" impact of tourism projects.

1.05 The issues discussed in the chapters that follow have been grouped together into roughly the same topics used in the Bank/UNESCO Seminar. This results in some repetition, which, however, may serve to focus attention on neglected aspects of an important phenomenon. At the outset, the definition of a "tourist," tourist typologies, and local perceptions of "tourists" are examined. Thereafter, the literature on touristic "resources" is surveyed. The following chapter, "The Stages of Tourism Development," attempts to set out the broad stages of tourism development and the implications of these stages for both the local population and the tourist. The next three chapters cover the "encounter" between tourist and host and the results of this encounter and of tourism in general. Chapter VIII discusses the elements of planning for tourism. The last chapter brings together the disparate findings, points to areas of further research and deduces some practical implications for Bank operations.

## II. WHO IS A "TOURIST"?

2.00 The definition of a "tourist" in sociological literature has taken on a complexity rivalling that of the classic "man in the street," the "average

---

<sup>1/</sup> Sponsored jointly with UNESCO and held in Washington, D.C., December 8-10, 1976.



man." Who a tourist is varies with the purpose of the study and with host population perceptions. For example, to the travel industry the tourist is the "potential traveller"; to the host, the "outsider" who temporarily uses local resources. These two classifications are not necessarily congruent. The reasons why a person travels span the entire range of human motivations: curiosity and sociability; material and spiritual needs; the intellectual and the biological. What is more, many journeys are undertaken for a combination of reasons. Equally, since we are concerned with the impact of the interaction between tourist and host, any analysis would be inadequate if it omitted host population perceptions of who is, or is not, a tourist. That is why it is so difficult to neatly classify tourists under rigorous labels.

#### Who is a "Tourist"?

2.01 The most popular definition is that proposed by the UN Conference on International Travel and Tourism at Rome in 1963. That conference defined international tourists as "...temporary visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and the purpose of whose journey can be classified under one of the following headings: (i) leisure (recreation, holiday, health, study, religion, sport); (ii) business, family, mission, meeting..." The definition is both narrow and broad: It is narrow because it omits the important category of domestic tourists. It is broad because the definition groups together different types of tourists without regard to local perceptions and places no time limits which would allow for distinctions to be drawn between "tourists" and "migrants." For example, would a host population treat a student returning home during vacations as a tourist? Can a "pilgrimage" be classed as "leisure" activity (even though it may partake of some recreation)? Sociologically, the definition is inadequate since it does not permit analysis of the impact of different types of travel styles: How, for instance, does the "mass" tourist relate to the host

population, and vice-versa? Nevertheless, the definition has usefully permitted the collection of statistics of international travel in unified categories.

2.02 More recently, Cohen (16) has attempted to isolate the set of attributes that characterize a "tourist," and to turn away from the overconcentration on "mass tourism." He defines a tourist as "a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip" (16: 533). Each of the definitional components are then placed on a continuum to distinguish between various sub-types of tourists with increasing (or decreasing) "touristic" elements. Take, for example, "novelty and change" (the "purpose" of the trip). Here, Cohen points out, one refers both to "institutionalized" expectations (simply, what society considers one should expect, not the actual experience of the traveller himself) and to the behavior which should correspond to such expectations. He therefore distinguishes between tourism proper and other forms of "partial tourism": thermalists, students, pilgrims, old-country visitors, conventioners, business-travellers, tourist-employees, and official sightseers. In the category of "partial tourism," tourism is incidental to, and not the main overt purpose of the trip. Further, the elements of novelty and change enable Cohen to draw a distinction between the sightseer and the vacationer: The former is interested in novelty, is multi-destinational, tends to be a non-recurrent visitor, and is more inclined to visit "attractions" (unique sights, artistic treasures, exotic cultures). The vacationer, on the other hand, seeks change (whether or not this brings novelty), is exemplified by the habitué, is more "oriented towards facilities and amenities" (16: 545) -- for example, sun, sea and sand -- and tends to be a recurrent visitor.



2.03 Cohen admits that his definition is a first attempt at determining the core elements of the tourism phenomenon. It needs refining. In the first instance, the use of the term "pleasure" to distinguish between tourists and non-tourists appears to be too narrow and hedonistic. Tourism is undertaken for a variety of reasons, many unconnected with even institutionalized expectations of pleasure. The emphasis on distance ("a relatively long..") could also be criticized. It would seem that on most occasions a visitor could be classified as a "tourist" if he stays temporarily, uses local resources, and is treated as and "outsider" by the host population. Obviously, one is not dealing here with instances of invading armies, or resident foreigners. As yet, however, there is no satisfactory definition of a "tourist." The definition used most often, with reservations, is that of the United Nations.

#### Typologies

2.04 This section sets out the various typologies of tourists in the sociological literature.

2.05 Tourist typologies have been one of Cohen's main concerns (13, 15).

He divides tourists in four main types on the basis of their willingness to exchange familiar surroundings for the strange<sup>1/</sup> : (1) the organized mass tourist; (2) the individual mass tourist; (3) the explorer; and (4) the drifter.

A further criterion is the degree of "institutionalization," that is routinization of patterns of travel, routes, established agencies, and times. On the basis of this criterion, types (1) and (2) are grouped as "institutionalized," and types (3) and (4) are "non-institutionalized." Type (1) is the least willing to give up the environment that reminds him of, or the style of life to which he is accustomed in his country of origin; the drifter immerses himself almost totally

---

<sup>1/</sup> Cohen is currently working on a book of tourism to be entitled. "Strangeness and Familiarity: The Varieties of Travelling Experience". See Current Anthropology, March 1976, 17, 49.



in the host country and its ways. "Mass," therefore, refers both to numbers and organization (see also Pi-Sunyer, 84). Both Cohen and Forster (36) see the "explorer" as a trail blazer for the institutionalized tourist, pointing the way to new places which then form tourist sites for the mass tourist.

2.06 In his later article, Cohen (15) has second thoughts about the "drifter": no longer the genuine individualist, a rebel against the phenomenon of mass tourism, a child of the affluent 20th Century, but one who has succumbed to institutionalization. The main difference in Cohen's view between the mass tourist and the drifter is how each views the host society. The former sees it through the bubble of his airconditioned room; the latter, "from the dustbin." According to Cohen there are "full-time" and "part-time" drifters, and each of these types can be inward-or outward-oriented.

2.07 The second example of a tourist typology is that proposed by Nunez (79). Nunez suggests a taxonomy of "ethnic" and environmental tourism; internal and international tourism; "packaged" and programmed tourism and individual tourism; recreational and educational/cultural tourism. It will be readily realized that the taxonomy is not discrete. Nunez admits that it is tentative and overlapping. This is so because tourism studies are at too early a stage to attempt definitive taxonomies.

2.08 Smith (n.d.) has suggested a third taxonomy. Based on the kinds of "leisured mobility" she divides tourism into five types: (1) Ethnic tourism -- visits to exotic peoples; (2) Cultural tourism -- involvement with people with different life styles, primarily concerning oneself with behavior; (3) Historical tourism -- "the Museum-Cathedral circuit", stressing the past; (4) Environmental tourism -- stressing place; and (5) Recreational tourism -- where destination activities cover sport and sun.

2.09 Another taxonomy is that constructed by Nolan (77). His typology is based on frequency of travel and "travel style" (type of movement). There are four types based on the frequency of travel: (1) Limited travellers -- who generally travel to fulfill an obligation or out of necessity; (2) Occasional travellers -- this group, intermediate between the former and the next category, often mix obligation with recreation and are less likely to take vacations. If they do take a vacation it is considered the highlight of their lives; (3) Regular travellers. This group tends to travel often, but usually to the same place; and (4) Extensive travellers who genuinely enjoy travel and usually manage to convert their travel to economic gain (for example, by lecturing on their trips). Nolan arrives at five types of travel style, based on different orientations towards the trip with regard to destination, interest in the destination, adventurousness, and definiteness of purpose. The five types are: (1) Rapid movement -- reaching the destination as quickly as possible, most characteristic of limited travellers, although some regular travellers also fall within this category; (2) Fast-paced touring -- a closely planned itinerary where reaching the destination is more important than the journey. These trips could be guided or self-structured. Occasional and regular travellers are found in this category; (3) Leisurely movement -- a loosely structured itinerary, with the journey and destination assuming equal importance. All types of travellers were found in this category, except the limited traveller; (4) Exploratory travel -- the destination is the main object here. There is little advance planning. This travel style is generally characteristic of only the extensive traveller; and (5) Multi-purpose, multi-destinational travel -- here, unlike the former category, the trip is carefully planned. There is a great deal of advance research about the destinations. This style is to found only among extensive travellers. Since most of the travel styles are to be found in all types of travellers, Nolan concludes that under a given

set of circumstances travel style rather than frequency of travel, may be a more important indicator of how a traveller is likely to behave in a tourist destination area.

2.10 The research conducted by Bennetts and Burak (1976) for Air Canada is an example of a "tourist" to the travel industry. The "tourist" is the potential traveller. To determine how large the potential market was, two cluster analyses were constructed on responses to questionnaires. The first cluster related to general life styles and attitudes towards different kinds of vacation experiences. Respondents were classified into four different groups in the first cluster: Extravagant consumers (18%), nature people (20%), playsters (23%) and cautious homebodies (39%). The second cluster which classified respondents' descriptions of their "ideal" vacations, produced six distinct types of groupings: Peace and quiet, aesthetic appreciation, hot winter, grand hotel, inexpensively active and relatives and friends. When all the factors were taken together, the likelihood of any one among these types taking a vacation in any one year was not more than 35 percent. Such classifications are stereotypes and are only useful for our purpose if they can be related to behavior in tourist destination areas.

2.11 It is unnecessary to list further examples of typologies. Suffice it to say that even a cursory examination of the typologies mentioned above evidences their tentative and non-discrete nature. Further, they are generally constrained by the purpose for which they were constructed. Again, the typologies so far reproduced do not include local (host) perceptions of who is, or is not, a tourist. These will now be discussed.

#### Local Perceptions

2.12 The literature on local perceptions leads to the following conclusions:



- (a) Members of the host population usually distinguish between persons who are members of their own group (who, therefore, share their values and concerns) and "outsiders" (see Reiter, 88);
- (b) Persons may be considered "outsiders" even though they are fellow nationals (Nunez, 78; Friedl, 40; Fukunaga, 41; Hugill, 51; Packer, 82; Doxey, 24). Even resident immigrants are usually treated as outsiders (Packer, 82) although in time they may come to be accepted as members of the community (Moore, 75; Pi-Sunyer, 84; Evans, 28);
- (c) The host population draws a distinction between outsiders who are tourists and those who are not. Tourists are outsiders who visit the area temporarily;
- (d) Among persons considered as "tourists," the local population does distinguish between tourists who came at the earlier stages of tourism development in the area, and those who come later. In the case of the former, local attitudes are friendlier, more accepting, and the perceptions of nationality sharper (see Smith, 96; Evans, 28). These distinctions are linked to changing local valuations of the benefits of tourism;
- (e) Increasing numbers of tourists result in diminishing face-to-face contact between the host population and tourists thus encouraging stereotyping of tourists. For example, the Mexican villagers (Nunez, 77) saw the tourists as "Americans" because of their life styles, and called the tourist enclave "the American section." In Colpied and La Roche (France) the villagers also saw all tourists as belonging to one category (Reiter: 87).

Similar conclusions can also be drawn from Aerni's (2) article (Uganda) and Greenwood's (14) dissertation (Spain). This also seems to be the case in Bali (Francillon, 38) although personal experience would belie such a conclusion. However, one of the problems in reaching an estimate that the host population tends to stereotype tourists into one category lies in the fact that the studies just quoted do not appear to have examined this stereotyping in depth. Where this has been done (see, for example, Doxey and Associates, 25, on Barbados) one finds that there is a distinction made both between nationalities and types of tourists. For instance, in Barbados the Americans were believed to be aggressive and demanding; the British, reserved but 'more respectful of traditions'; the Canadians were found to be quiet and unassuming and willing to 'mix'. Cruise passengers were disliked. Similar local distinctions between types of tourists also exist in other areas (see Packer, 82; Aerni, 2);

- (f) There is a widespread perception that all tourists are rich (see Ashman, 5). This perception is partly encouraged by national proclamations of the economic gains from tourism, the fact that tourist accommodation generally corresponds to the style affordable only by the upper income brackets of the host country, and the fact that tourists usually spend more in their short sojourn than substantial percentages of host populations receive as wages in a year. This is also, possibly, a reason why the low-spending "hippie" may be perceived as a fraud (Francillon, 38) who drives away the bigger spenders while using

the same services (Loukissas, 65; Hoagland, 48).

2.13 There are two other aspects of local perceptions of tourists that merit separate attention: perceptions of race and "mass" tourism. Increasing numbers of tourists do not seem to create host population awareness of differences in tourist racial characteristics, although it may be possible that when the tourists come from a race different from the host population the contact may exacerbate perceptions of racial differences between tourists and hosts. It has been suggested (Mitchell, 74) that this is particularly likely if the tourists belong to the same race as the dominant economic group in the host country. This was a conclusion with regard to Kenya, but Samy (92) also infers that this is possible in Fiji and Kent (57) suggests the same for Hawaii. The source of the suggestion is the Caribbean, and yet even there, as Blake (9), on the Virgin Islands, and Doxey and Associates (25), on Barbados, point out, provided the tourist comes from another island/or country and fits in with prevailing patterns of dominance which tend to reproduce an earlier abhorrent system, the tourist would receive the same treatment irrespective of race. In Doxey's example, it was the American Black who would receive the same indifferent service as his white counterpart. The examples of Kenya, Fiji, and the Caribbean are instructive in that they point to the fact that there must be an existing pattern of socioeconomic dominance in the host country. What tourists do is to fit in with these patterns, resulting in socially deviant conduct on the part of some members of the host population. It is in the history of these areas that the answers lie. The tourist provides another example of economic dominance and a reminder of social patterns that are disliked. It is doubtful that there is a causative link between tourism and racial tensions.



2.14 "Mass" tourists are often perceived as a threat more because increasing numbers, and the brevity of stay extend the distance between host and tourist. Gradually, local perceptions of differences blur into single stereotypes. And as Samy, quoting an article by Scott, says, there is soon a deadly similarity of a succession of "the same little old ladies, with the same blue hair rinses, spending the same life insurance money and speaking in the same accents of the same things which have penetrated their similar perceptions..." (92: 119). The organized mass tourist seems to fit into a local mental slot, a convenient though inaccurate point of reference.

#### The Purposes of Tourism

2.15 Most authors refer to the curiosity of man, the cultural expression of leisure, escape, and the search for the "authentic experience" as reasons why people leave their homes for longer or shorter periods. MacCannell (67), however, sees a higher purpose in tourism. He says that "sightseeing is a form of ritual respect for society and that tourism absorbs some of the social functions of religion in the modern world" (67: 589). He is joined in this view by Horne who, after his package tour to Ayers Rock (Central Australia) recommends the development of a market strategy "for organized tourism would seem to call for anthropologists' reports on the disciplines of ceremony" (76: 10). There are not too many who would agree with these analyses. However, Horne's other conclusion about package tourists -- that "tourists go on tours to meet other tourists" -- deserves careful examination. This will be discussed at greater length below. It may be that some tourists find a substitute religion in tourism but without leisure, a social obligation to take a vacation, and without technological advance, there would be no tourism. Motivation, without a cheap means of travel, and a well-developed transport infrastructure, cannot lead to tourism (see, for instance, Robinson's study of twelve South Asian

countries: 90).

### III. RESOURCES

3.00 This chapter will deal with those factors which, according to the literature, are deemed to be conducive to tourism. In economic parlance, this is the "supply" dimension of tourism.

3.01 There is a remarkable amount of agreement about these factors: climate, the people (and particularly, their attitude to "foreigners"), political stability, the prevalence of good beaches and for exotic cultures, and historical and archaeological monuments.

3.02 Speaking of Mykonos (Greece), Loukissas (65) says that it has a bracing climate, was clean, cheap, and its inhabitants were politely indifferent (see also Packer, 82). Mykonos is also a boat-ride away from Delos. Kanellakis (56) also speaking of Greece refers to the climate, the "hospitality of the people," accommodation, and adequate infrastructure as resources. Both Calvo (11) and Kjellstrom (58) refer to the "image" of the Caribbean and Morocco, respectively. With reference to Barbados, this "image," according to Doxey and Associates, "stems from its delightful climate, its physical attractions, the friendliness and charm of its people, and its general stability" (25: 17). Tourism in The Gambia, according to Esh and Rosenblum (27), is marketed on the basis of a pleasant climate during the European winter, the nearest place to Europe in which a 100 percent sunny climate can be guaranteed compared with other "winter sunshine" destinations, sandy beaches, a stable government and a "friendly, tourist-minded people," communication in English, and interesting excursions--- a "touch of Africa." The people are important when the major purpose of tourism is ethnic/cultural tourism. Then, as Greenwood (46) remarks, the people and their culture become a factor ("a commodity") which is marketed to tourists.

This would be partly true of Bali, Fiji, Papua New Guinea, and Mexico. With regard to political stability, Kjellstrom correctly points out that it does not really matter to the tourist whether the regime in power is authoritarian or democratic provided that there is no real or perceived threat to life and security.

3.03 Very few sociologists include infrastructure (good roads, clean hotels, adequate water supply, transport) as one of the factors, possibly since this is the province of the economist and the technical specialist. Surprisingly, however, even fewer (both sociologists and non-sociologists) include local skills, particularly administrative skills, as a "resource." This omission is all the more inexplicable since sociologists have discussed the question of local competence to manage and control tourism development as tourism grows in a destination area. Packer (83), Forster (36) and Greenwood (46) view the lack of local administrative and technical skills as a process under which it is inevitable that the wider political authority will take over the control and management of tourism development. Such skills are not examined as an existing resource. Nor is the development of this resource traced. Evans (28) mentions in passing that returning residents of Puerto Vallarta (Mexico) had developed both skills and accumulated finances abroad. There is no detailed discussion of how these skills, which were mainly commercial and financial, fitted in with the growth of tourism.

3.04 Administrative capacity is a subject touched upon by Mitchell (74), Diamond (21) and Kjellstrom (58).<sup>1/</sup> Mitchell suggests that administrative capacity is a "resource whose scarcity is equal or more important" than

---

<sup>1/</sup> Kjellstrom admits his indebtedness to Mitchell whose dissertation he appears to have used extensively.



capital, "although documenting the fact is difficult...To the extent that successful tourist development requires a higher degree of coordination among a more disparate set of public agencies than the expansion of many other activities, this factor will tend to reduce the relative attractiveness of tourism for poor countries" (74: 221). Kjellstrom has the same thing to say with regard to Morocco and adds that the two public bodies in the tourism field continue to have an ambiguous and inefficient relationship "despite a World Bank recommendation, dating back (to) 1965, to merge the two, nothing has been done to correct this anomalous situation" (58: 29). Diamond doubts Turkey has the ability to coordinate and manage the dispersed and comparatively small units which characterize tourism in Turkey.

3.05 It is necessary to end this brief chapter with the caution that although the "supply factors" in the host country are essential to tourism development, they do not guarantee that development. Valid forecasting of such growth also requires an assessment of both "demand factors" and the type of tourist likely to visit the destination area.

3.06 In this regard Cohen's (16) conclusions may be worth considering. In the ideal-type of distinction between a "sightseer" and a "vacationer" Cohen finds "an important practical implication for developing countries... namely, that countries which are at present far-off the beaten track have only limited prospects of success in the development of tourism on the basis of facilities such as beaches, however magnificent these may be. It is possible, though, that the prestige-value of far-off travel may induce some of the vacationers to forego the intervening opportunities and prefer the farther-off to the nearer vacationing facilities. Mere remoteness, then, may prove to be

a touristic resource on its own" (16: 546). Such areas would attract the "explorer" or the "drifter". These types make up a fraction of the tourist trade and would form a basis for economic development only if the destination area is small in relation to numbers of tourists.

#### IV. THE STAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

4.00 This chapter traces the stages of tourism development and sets out the essential elements at each stage. The theoretical analysis is, thereafter, tested against examples from the literature.

##### A. Theoretical Approaches

4.01 Forster (36), Cohen (13), and Greenwood (45), suggest that tourism development proceeds through three stages: (1) "discovery," (2) "local response and initiative," and (3) "institutionalized" (institutionalization). Each of these stages has different consequences for both tourists and the host population. Each stage affects the nature of the encounter between tourist and host, and involves different organizational arrangements. The literature is brief, and what follows is largely interpretive.

##### Stage I: "Discovery"

4.02 In this stage a few intrepid souls "find" a new area. The type of tourists visiting the destination area, following Cohen's classifications (13, 15, 16), would belong to the "explorer," "permanent tourist," "expatriate" categories with, possibly, a few "drifters." "Discoverer" travel styles would be leisurely, exploratory, multi-purpose, multi-destinational (see Nolan, 77).

The encounter between tourist and host is face-to-face. The nature and extent of the impact of tourism at this stage depends to a large measure on the population density of the destination area and its resources. The tourist takes the people as he finds them, and, there is greater adjustment on the part of the tourist to



the limited resources available, than there is on the part of the hosts to the tourist. Generally, at stage I, tourists are welcomed, their visits construed as genuine interest in the hosts, and the hosts believe that tourism is a "good thing." The attitude of the host is one of "euphoria" (see Doxey, 24).

Stage II: "Local Response and Initiative"

4.03 The dividing line between stages I and II is fine. The main difference appears to be numbers of tourists visiting the destination area, as it gains in popularity. In the transition to stage II, not only are the types of tourists the same as stage I, but the contact between tourist and host also remains face-to-face. The transition to stage II seems, however, to require a local catalyst (a resident immigrant, a native entrepreneur). Stage II is characterized by local decision-making and control of tourism; local ownership and absence of standardization of tourism facilities; and the use, primarily, of local resources. This does not mean that there is any coordination of tourism development or planning. Tourism development, as in stage I, continues to be spontaneous, and generally uncoordinated. The needs of tourists are met through a differentiation of existing resources. For example, a tourist association is formed with local resident expertise, houses are partially converted to accommodate tourists. Small-scale technological improvements are introduced: refrigerators, motor boats, flush toilets. The tourist adapts to the host culture almost to the degree to which the host population accepts the innovations necessitated by the tourist and adapts to the tourist.

4.04 The contacts between tourist and host and the necessary mutual adaptations do, however, have their effects on the host population. In the main, these effects involve a reassessment of the means of attaining ends (values). Some of the effects are: a desire for better education, more tolerant attitudes,



increased trends towards egalitarianism, increased employment, differentiation of occupations, a higher standard of living, and increased contact with the world outside the destination area. With increasing numbers of tourists, the attitudes of the host population towards tourism gradually change from "euphoria" to "apathy" (Doxey, 24). Towards the end of stage II contact between tourist and host becomes increasingly impersonal and formal; tourism revenues grow as the destination becomes established as a tourist resort but the local resources (administrative, organizational, economic) appear to be incapable of handling the volume of tourists; services break down. The destination area is ready for stage III.

Stage III: Institutionalization

4.05 As was pointed out earlier,<sup>1/</sup> "institutionalization" implies both large numbers of tourists and formalization (of roles, services, itineraries). In addition, a crucial component of the transition to stage III is the loss of local decision-making power and control of tourism. There is also increased economic dependence on individuals and groups outside the destination area (be these fellow-nationals or foreigners). In the eyes of the local resident, in stage III "outsiders" take over.

4.06 The transition to stage III involves both an economic and political decision by the wider political authorities and economic blocs that they should intervene in tourism development in the destination area. This intervention is generally justified by an assessment that the local resources are thought to be inadequate to cater to increasing numbers of tourists in several respects: (1) The facilities are not standardized. (2) Overall control and planning of tourism development are believed to be necessary. (3) Further tourism development should be encouraged but the destination area lacks both the financial resources

---

<sup>1/</sup> See para. 2.05.

and skills to manage this development. (4) Local sources of supply are incapable of satisfying tourist demand. There is increasing economic dependence on sources outside the destination area. Therefore, in the national interest and with a view to earning as much as possible from tourism, it is believed necessary that the wider political authorities should intervene in further tourism development.

4.07 Usually, economic motivations and, more importantly, economic power blocs within the country impel the wider political authorities to act.<sup>1/</sup> This intervention rarely involves prior consultation with the people/local authorities in the tourist destination area. Even if it did, unless there is local participation with a predominant voice in decision-making, non-local interests take over further development of tourism in the destination area. Implicit in the intervention are the assumptions that the wider authorities can forecast the number and type of tourists, and can determine what is "best" for the host population.

4.08 "Institutionalization" has the same effects on the host population irrespective of whether the tourists share the same cultural background as their hosts, or have different cultural backgrounds. The effects -- divided only for purposes of analytical clarity into economic, social and political -- are:

- (a) Economic: (i) standardization of tourism facilities;
- (ii) increased demand for goods and services resulting in seasonal fluctuations of price and, at times, deprivation of local resident consumers; (iii) wider range of employment

---

<sup>1/</sup>

The most common justification is "increased foreign exchange earnings". It is unsurprising, in a materialistic environment, how rarely the justifications for expanded tourism are that it is a means of exchanging ideas, or an educational experience for both tourist and host.

opportunities; (iv) changes in patterns and rhythm of work; (v) better diets for the local population; (vi) revival of crafts.

- (b) Social: (i) population growth in the destination area and periphery largely as a result of more people entering the area in search of work; (ii) increasing impersonality and monetization of relations consequent upon such population growth; (iii) standardization of roles and routinization of organizational patterns; (iv) decline of mutual help and cooperation with increasing isolation of the individual and family unit; (v) the necessity for new, or increased, public welfare services; (vi) increased intergenerational conflict, particularly since the young are more easily employed in the tourism industry, come into contact with tourists, and their economic independence together with new ideas assists in weakening familial authority; (vii) declining age at marriage, smaller family size; (viii) changes in social stratification -- tourism can strengthen individuals at the top of the social order (as in Fuenterrabia, Spain; or Bali; or Los Santos, Canary Islands), or substitute new criteria for evaluating status (as in Mexico, and in the early stages of tourism development in Spain); (ix) increased educational opportunities; (x) the infusion of new ideas, patterns, ways of life; (xi) the "commercialization" of culture; (xii) increased social deviance -- crime, suicide, abortion; (xiii) new strains of disease -- influenza, venereal disease.



- (c) Political: (i) loss of local control of decisions regarding tourism, now taken by groups or individuals external to the destination area; (ii) consequent alterations in the power and role structure in the destination area with local residents acting in the capacity of agents and functionaries; (iii) inability of the locals to plan and increasing dependence on decisions arrived at outside the destination area; (iv) increased politicization of local decisions through the development of factions, parties; and (v) change of the method of arriving at decisions locally from consensus to majority.

4.09 The stage III "effects" set out above are subject to the following qualifications: First, in the economic sphere, the tourist destination area will benefit most if it can supply the increased demand for goods and services from local resources. If not, the percentages of tourist expenditure retained locally are reduced. Second, the creation of new or different types of employment will be most beneficial if there are no cultural restraints on occupational mobility or attitudes against working in the tourism industry.<sup>1/</sup> Third, increases in the numbers of tourists tend to coincide with lower transport costs (and increases in the number of "package tours" offered tourists). This permits lower income bracket tourists to visit the destination area and lowers per capita expenditure. Fourth, the greater the number of anticipated tourists, the greater is the need for expenditure on accommodation and infrastructure building. Tourist

1/

Kanellakis (56), for instance, says that Greeks have a negative attitude toward hotel employment "which assimilates the profession to that of a "servant profession which is not held in high esteem" (56: 68-9). It is difficult to get hotel employees, and few stay.

establishments within the destination area soon compete with each other; those with more extensive contacts and financial resources push out the smaller. This leads to further changes in the nature of tourism in the destination area.

4.10 Sociologically, to paraphrase Doxey (24), the transition from stage I to stage III involves not merely a "dimensional change" (for instance, increased numbers of tourists), but a "structural alteration" in the nature of tourism, and a transition from "organic" to "induced" growth. The development of tourism in stages I and II is "organic" in that it is served and controlled by local institutions without requiring any changes in social structure, or roles, or changes in cultural values. This is generally achieved through differentiation of existing resources and institutions. In stage III, tourism is planned, and results in the superimposition of institutions which often have no "fit" or link with local organizational structures.

4.11 In stage III, both the type of tourist and the nature of the encounter are changed. Cohen's (13) "individual/organized mass" tourist would predominate at this stage, along with a significant number of "organized drifters" (Cohen, 15). The travelling style of these tourists would in general be "rapid movement" or "fast-paced" (Nolan, 77). There is increasing impersonality ("distance") in the contact between tourist and host. Contacts between tourist and host continue to be direct, but they are no longer face-to-face. They are formal and "intermediate."<sup>1/</sup>

4.12 Finally, it should be noted that there is no historical inevitability in the stages outlined above: No destination area must pass through the three stages, or pass through them in the order mentioned, although the great majority

---

<sup>1/</sup> An apt example of an "intermediate" relationship is that of purchaser and cashier at a supermarket counter, or room maid and hotel occupant in a large hotel.



of tourist destination areas have done so. For instance, generally in recent times, when developing nations have adopted tourism as a strategy of economic development there are often instances when tourism development commences at stage III, or by-passes stage II. Examples of this are to be found in Fiji and Guam. In a developed country, Disneyland is the most popular example of "induced" tourism.

#### B. Applications

4.13 The literature confirms the preceding analysis, with some exceptions. There are only a few authors who have traced tourism development through all three stages: Fraser (39) on Tajos, Spain; Robineau (90) with regard to Tahiti; Smith (97) on Point Gambell, Alaska; and Packer (82) on Leavenworth, Washington State, U.S.A. With regard to Mykonos, the stages can be pieced together through the works of three authors who have studied tourism development there at different times: Packer (82), Loukissas (65), and Hoagland (48).

4.14 There are several reasons for this small body of literature: (1) There is no uniform time-frame within which any destination area proceeds through the stages. Some areas, for instance, Fuenterrabia, take several decades; others, like Mykonos, a few years. Few investigators can spend the time required to trace tourism development, especially when it is not possible to forecast how long it will take a country to proceed through the stages, or whether tourism will develop. (2) Interest in the sociological analysis of tourism has been relatively recent, many of the destination areas (for instance, Hawaii) had already reached stage III. Reconstruction of initial stages is well-nigh impossible in these circumstances. (3) Some destination areas had not reached stage III when the studies were conducted. For example, Bali, San Blas (Panama), and Los Santos were in the stage of transition from stage II to stage III when



they were studied. Bali is just entering stage III; in San Blas, the Los Cruces project will usher in stage III; and in Los Santos, the local landlords had re-asserted their domination and were negotiating with "outsiders" for construction of hotels and airline charger parties. (4) In some instances, opportunities have been lost largely because the focus of the study was not necessarily related to the historical development and impact of tourism (an example is Greenwood's study of Fuenterrabia), or because inadequate "hard" data was collected (examples are Greenwood's omission of the fishermen's quarter where tourists gathered and stayed; and Reiter quoting a "baker's estimate" in Colpied). (5) Finally, it is extremely difficult to disentangle the effects of tourism development since it commonly takes place along with other sectoral developments, unless tourism is the predominant method of development (as, for instance, in Antigua or Bali).

4.15 Despite these limitations, a survey of the literature supports the stages broadly set out above. Taken to its logical limits, in the absence of planning and local participation, stage III can result in a "total economic system" in which the tourist destination area becomes an annex of the country of tourist origin: the tourist is brought to and tours the destination area through a system that is run, managed and controlled by "outsiders" with the local host population playing menial roles and becoming tourist objects. Zones in the destination are demarcated as "tourist areas," the host population connected with tourism serves the tourist, the rest of the local population continues with its daily round of activities unconcerned with, and unaware of, the tourist (see Robineau, 90; MacCannell, 67).

#### C. Analysis

4.16 While the literature bears out the general trends of tourism development there are, however, exceptions which must be explained. It is obvious that the impact of tourism on destination areas has not been identical, and also that

it varies between destinations which might be considered to be at the same stage of tourism development. For example, Bali, Tahiti, Mykonos, and New Zealand are islands; all are now in stage III of tourism development and yet the impact of tourism differs. Tourism has affected Bodrum less than, say, Fuenterrabia (although it might be suggested that industrialization has affected the latter more than tourism). There is greater loss of local control in Colpied than in La Roche although both started tourism development at approximately the same time, both are in the south of France, and both were more or less at the same level of economic development. Finally, tourism does not seem to have affected social structure, values, and goals in Leavenworth. How can this differential impact of tourism be explained?

4.17 It has been suggested (see Force, 34) that island ecosystems are more fragile than mainland systems, and that, therefore, the impact of tourism is greater on islands. The differential impact of tourism on Bali, Mykonos, and Fuenterrabia disproves this. There is, again, a greater impact in Fuenterrabia than Tajos (both on the Spanish mainland). Nor are mere numbers of tourists in relation to the total local population a universally valid test: Fuenterrabia and Los Santos often have tourists far outnumbering their total resident population and the impact differs. The Center for Economic Research in Greece may estimate that two million tourists during the peak month (July) is the optimum number beyond which the Greek way of life would be threatened (Kanellakis, 56). Yet, this figure would be "quite conservative" compared to the densities "on Copacabana beaches on a peak Sunday" (Dasmann et al, 18: 132). A re-examination of Leavenworth, Bali, New Zealand, La Roche, and Bodrum might provide answers.

4.18 (a) The origin of tourism in Leavenworth can be traced to a citizen's meeting which initiated a project called Leavenworth Improvement for Everybody

(LIFE). The meeting had been called to find ways and means of halting the deterioration of the town, resulting from declining economic opportunities (and emigration) and the abandonment of businesses. The purposes of the LIFE project were to "create a spirit of community involvement and cooperation...(and) to make Leavenworth a more attractive town in which the residents could take pride and its youth would...be stimulated to find the means by which to live and work there"(Packer, 82: 197). The meeting gave rise to various committees which studied the problem, prepared plans, and, over the course of years, organized festivals, improved parks, re-designed downtown architecture (with the aid of interested outsiders who later became residents), attracted new business. Tourism was a by-product of these changes. It was not, and has not been, the major goal of the LIFE project. Although the improvements initiated by the LIFE project are used today by both tourists and residents, and tourism has supplanted the project as an activity of major importance in Leavenworth, yet, the residents of Leavenworth still consider the goals and activities initiated by the project are the most important to them, apart from the fact that the town and its festivals attract tourists. The community events which the project started (for instance, the Autumn Leaf Festival) provide an independent opportunity for residents to meet each other. Planning was an essential element in the revitalization of Leavenworth. Where the expertise was lacking, it was attracted, or called in, from outside. Citizens participated in both the process of formulation and execution of plans.

(b) In Bali, the main sources of income from tourism for the Balinese are hotel employment, cultural performances, and the sale of crafts. As McKean (71, 72) points out, dances were performed for religious purposes before tourism, temple ornaments and crafts also had similar underpinnings. Tourism offers the Balinese



another "stage," an additional market for doing the things they enjoy doing. Although dance and crafts have been influenced by tourism, the Balinese carefully separate performances and crafts which have religious purposes, from those offered to tourists. The meanings of the two audiences (the divine and the tourist) and their purposes are kept separate. Without the tourists, the religious dance would still be performed, and crafts would be made. Tourism merely supplements income and the dancers (as also the craftsmen) have expanded their roles without fundamentally changing them.

(c) Institutionalized tourism has hardly affected the Maori way of life. As Ritchie says, "Apart from a few tour guides and one or two carvers this... has provided an economic base for living to practically no one. Concert parties may perform for the tourists but can only earn trifling sums this way, and if they do not wish to do so, to the fury of the tour directors, they won't. The persistence of Maori culture has been private rather than public..." (89: 51).

(d) The differential impact of tourism in La Roche and Colpiéd lies in the fact that apart from the close Gaullist connections of the mayor of the former village, there was a differentiation of skills represented in a greater variety of associations in La Roche which could respond more flexibly to the demands of tourism.

(e) Bodrum is the major supplier of goods for the sub-district and the income from tourism forms only a small percentage of business income. In addition, government agencies played an active role in planning social development. Here too, there was organizational differentiation.

4.19 The five area examples stress two principles: greater structural complexity and "duality of meanings." The phrase "structural complexity" could be translated into "level of development." Here, however, what is referred to

is not merely the level of economic development, but the existence of socially differentiated organizations (that is, skills expressed in different associations). This is the case in Leavenworth, and, to a lesser extent, in Bali and Bodrum. But in both Bali and Bodrum, the skills (and the associations which represent them) do not extend much beyond "traditional" occupations. Thus, if the numbers of tourists grow at a pace beyond local capacities to manage them and/or the tourists are of a different type from those for whom present facilities can cater, then the common effects of stage III will appear in the two areas. In Bali, increasing control by "outsiders" has already become evident (see Noronha, 1976) and the wider political authorities have taken over further tourism planning and development. In Bodrum too a similar process has taken place. These developments may have more dangerous economic and social repercussions on the host populations than mere numbers of tourists.

4.20 The second "principle" which Leavenworth, Bali, and New Zealand have in common is "duality of meanings." In Leavenworth, the LIFE project provided the town's population with meanings independent of tourism. The project and subsequent events reaffirmed the identity of Leavenworth, gave the residents pride in their town, and bound the people through recognized social organizations. In Bali, dance associations are controlled by and linked with wider village organizations and common temple membership. The income derived from performances for tourists is channelled back to strengthen those very organizations which express their identity and provide strength: the village, the temple, domestic shrines, house compound walls, and, more recently, motorbikes and education. Ethnic pride has been strengthened by tourism. The same was the case, in the initial stages of tourism, with the Guna of San Blas (Swain, 1900) for whom the "mola" (a blouse worn by the women) was not merely the object of tourist demand,



but also became a symbol of Cuna identity and ethnic pride. In these three cases, the meaning of an event to the tourist is different from that to the host population, and the two meanings are independent and not confused. For the Balinese and the Maori there is an additional "strength": Being Balinese or being a Maori is not a matter of residence, but of birth and behavior. No "outsider" can ever become either a Balinese or a Maori.

4.21 The third difference, which marks Leavenworth off from all the other areas, is planning. Planning with local participation was present right from the earliest stage of development.

4.22 Finney and Watson (33) express the principles stressed in the last three paragraphs in a different way when they warn Pacific Island governments attempting to imitate tourism development in Hawaii that Hawaiian tourism was built on a "much stronger base than now exists in most other Pacific islands." It had a developed economy before tourism grew: sugar, pineapples, the military, government, and a well-educated and skilled population. And yet, here too, lack of planning (except in very recent times) has caused problems.

#### V. THE ENCOUNTER

5.00 The encounter -- the meeting between host and tourist -- is of crucial importance because, theoretically, the contact could result in the exchange of ideas leading to socioeconomic development and deeper international understanding (Caribbean Ecumenical Development Council, 12).

5.01 This chapter will cover the theoretical aspects of the encounter; the relationship, if any, between the type of tourism and the depth of the encounter; mediating parties to the encounter (the "culture broker"); whom the tourist meets;



changing valuations of tourism; and the impact, if any, on local values and attitudes (the "demonstration" effect -- part I).

#### Theoretical Analysis of the Encounter

5.02 The tourist is a stranger in an unfamiliar land. He is a temporary visitor influenced by his own background, information, and conceptions of his role. He has to make some adjustments. The degree to which it is necessary for him to adjust is determined by his own personality, the purpose of his visit, his expectations, the extent to which there is a socially prescribed role behavior for tourists in the destination area, the tourist's awareness of this, the length of his visit, whether he is an institutionalized/non-institutionalized tourist, and the number of occasions he has visited the destination area. In effect, greater familiarity with the destination area will provide the tourist with better cues about his own behavior.

5.03 Equally, the host has his own cognitive map about his expected role and behavior towards the tourist. The more explicit this role is, the greater the likelihood that the host will be aware of this role. Where tourism has been in existence for some time it might be expected that roles will be defined. Since, however, there is no necessary congruence between the role that the tourist believes he and the host have to play, and that which the host believes he and the tourist must play, the meeting (the "encounter") between tourist and host has within it the seeds of both good- and ill-will.

5.04 Sutton (99) points out that there are four "characteristics" of the meeting between tourist and host which might lead to friendship or mutual resentment (see also Nunez, 79): (1) the relationship between host and visitor is essentially transitory and mainly non-repetitive; (2) there is an orientation

to immediate gratification on the part of both parties; (3) the relationship is asymmetrical (the host knows more than the tourist does about local resources and prices); and, (4) the essence of the tourist experience -- the search for the novel, the desire to see "everything" within the limited time at the tourist's disposal -- imposes a strain on both the tourist (who has to choose with imperfect knowledge between alternative "attractions") and his host. Examples of the initial unfamiliarity, and consequent fears, of the tourist, can be found in the contacts between Jews and their co-religionists in Iran (Loeb, 64) and the humorous analysis of "exchange rate trauma" by Adams (1).

#### The Encounter and the Type of Tourism

5.05 An analysis of Sutton's "characteristics" show that there are three important elements in the meeting: (1) The duration of the meeting between host and tourist would affect the relationship -- the greater the length of the meeting (at one time, or over a period in time) the more likely that there will be greater understanding and a greater range of contacts. This is only an a priori judgement, for increasing contacts could lead to resentment and disgust. In the latter case, however, the reaction would be greatly influenced by each party's view of the "exploitative" element in the relationship. (2) The type of tourism would influence the nature of the contact. (3) The persons whom the tourist meets, the purposes for which they meet, and the persons who mediate the meeting would also influence the relationship. These three elements are interconnected. This section deals with the first two elements.

5.06 It is necessary to return to tourist typologies. Cohen's typologies (13, 15) drew a distinction between "mass" tourists on the one hand, and the explorer and drifter on the other. Nolan (77) suggested that it is necessary



to study travel styles. Bennetts and Burak (1976) classified potential travellers on the basis of life styles, attitudes, and the concept of an "ideal vacation." These typologies could be combined. The explorer, the extrovert drifter; the fast-paced self-structured traveller, the leisurely movement traveller, and the multi-purpose multi-destinational travellers; the aesthetic appreciators among nature people, could all be grouped under one category. They are more likely to appreciate, and look for, novelty, to mingle with the host population and to adjust to the host society. The other types, who prefer the familiar, the secure, the luxurious atmosphere are less likely to do so. Further, it is also more likely that the first category will tend to stay a longer time in each destination.

5.07 The two categories referred to must be combined with what would appear to be a crucial element in the encounter: To what extent is the tourist "institutionalized"? This refers to the extent to which the itinerary, the timetable, the "sights," and events, are chosen for the tourist; the extent to which the tourist is a creature of a "tour." The representative of this type is the "mass" tourist. This type of tourist, as Aerni (2) points out, goes along a pre-set "migratory trail." Because of the numbers, the necessity to maintain control, the desire to 'process' as many tourists with the greatest possible speed and the least trouble, the persons the tourists meet play definite "roles" (waiter, tour agent, guide, dancer, handicrafts dealer). Contacts between tourist and host are formal, whereas contacts between the tourist and his fellow tourists are less structured. The tourist, as Samy (92) says, moves like a "registered parcel." This does not mean that the tourist believes he is not seeing "unique sights," or getting an "authentic feel" for the place he is visiting. He sees only what he is shown and the partial knowledge could lead him to believe that he "knows" a people within a short time. In the process, unfamiliar



cultures lose their distinguishing characteristics; soon, one country is capable of being mentally substituted for another. Esh and Rosenblum (27), commenting on the charter tourist in The Gambia, note that it does not really matter to the tourist which country provides climate, beaches, sunshine, and friendly tourist-minded people; it is the price, not the country, that matters. This type of tourism demands greater adjustments on the part of the hosts, than the tourist. Further, since today "package" tours can be arranged to serve every human need, the type of tourism (institutionalized/non-institutionalized) would be more important than the purpose in influencing the encounter.

5.08           The literature appears uniformly to support these conclusions.

May (68) for example, points out that one of the reasons why tourists have had little impact on the people of Papua, New Guinea (PNG) is because geographic limitations and minimal interest in the arts have generally resulted in contact with few "natives." Samy (92) says that the Fijian employee of the hotels

has to play a role built for him thousands of miles away -- the care-free child-like innocent who still dresses in grass skirts and performs war dances. Fijian hotels reproduce a Western ambience and standard of comfort; their menus merely translate western dishes (like "Prime New York Cut Sirloin") into the local language to add a touch of the exotic. Esh and Rosenblum (27) say that the charter tourist in The Gambia generally has a very superficial interest in the local population. Francillon (38) writing about the "mass" tourist in Bali suggests that there is very little contact between him and the local population: the tourist arrives, is whipped out for a shopping tour, taken on a set tour of carefully selected objects of cultural and architectural interest, views a few

dances, and is moved out to make room for the next "mass" tourist. On their part, the local population, as pointed out earlier, tends to deal with the tourist increasingly as a stereotype.

5.09 Calvo (11) suggested that there could be an interrelationship between the different types of accommodation and social impact. The term "social impact" could be translated here into contact resulting in impact on the local population. This suggestion has been independently extended by Robineau (90) in the concept which Kent (57) calls "total tourism." Robineau refers to the encouragement of international hotel chain building in Tahiti to speed up tourism development. The first two international hotels brought with them travel bureaus, internal transport systems, and a local airline network. "Mass international tourism" adds spatial segregation through the building up of "geographic blocks or aggregates composed of large-scale tourist units which operate as closed systems; and the movement of tourists outside the block within a social space cut-off from that of the majority of the population. Pushed to the limit, this model leads to turning the tourist zone into an annex of the countries providing the tourists" (90: 67).

5.10 The last statement has several implications: (1) As tourism develops there is a tendency for international hotel chains (linked with airlines) to create a system which replicates the environment of the countries of tourist origin. (2) This system requires greater adjustments by the host and fewer by the tourists. (3) Time constraints and schedules generally limit contact between tourist and host to formally structured events. (4) This limits the exchange of ideas between host and tourist. (5) There is a greater likelihood of informal/unstructured relationships between tourists, partially justifying Horne's (49) conclusion that "tourists go on tours to meet other tourists." (6) The institutionalized tourist may, then, desire the illusion that he is sharing in

an unfamiliar culture without giving up the security of a familiar environment (facilities, other tourists with the same cultural background).

5.11 The evidence with regard to the type of contact (and its depth) between the individual non-institutionalized tourist and host is mainly inferential. Nearly all authors (see, for instance, Moore, 75; Smith, 96; Robineau, 90) refer to the enthusiasm with which early tourists were welcomed. But, it must be remembered that this was at the early stages of tourism development in each locality. We do not know whether this continues with the growth of institutionalized tourism. Is it that the non-institutionalized tourist is different only in that he must make his own arrangements? Does he have sources of information and contact which permit greater contact with hosts? Surely, the information network developed by the "modern explorers" (the "hippies") would provide this advantage. But even this group, as Allsop (4), Cohen (14) and Theroux (102) suggest, have had their trails organized and their contacts are more with each other than the local population. One could still infer, however, that the non-institutionalized tourist makes greater adjustments to the population of the destination area and the services available.

5.12 Finally, although it has been suggested that the type of tourism is more important than the purpose of tourism, the purpose does play a role. Where, for instance, the tourist is interested in sun and sand (as in the case of the charter tourist in The Gambia) or in safari tourism (as in Kenya), it is likely that contact with the local people will be minimal and confined mainly to the provision of services. This would also be the case with the types that Bennetts and Burak (1976) defined as "extravagant consumers" or "playsters." However, Cohen's (16) "vacationer" even though mainly interested in facilities is quite likely to make contact with the local population, particularly if he goes repeatedly to the same resort.



### The Setting of the Encounter

5.13 Tourism sociologists (for example, MacCannell, 67; Nunez, 79) have tended to examine the encounter as a "play" to the neglect of the setting. For these sociologists, the place only has reality by virtue of the "meanings" that human actors attach to it. Thus they have concentrated on the role-playing of the participants to the encounter, but not on the influence a particular setting may have on the behavior of the participants. Hugill (51), a geographer, examines the influence that the physical environment has both on the type of visitor and his behavior patterns. The "place" is the Golden Mile in Southend-on-Sea. The general character of the neighborhood limits visitors mainly to the lower economic strata who want a cheap weekend holiday. Hugill demonstrates how the setting -- the character of the buildings, the way in which amusement stands are physically placed -- and the stage management of this setting encourages the desired type of behavior: a sense of relaxed, uninhibited behavior. The influence of place, therefore, cannot be discounted in analyzing tourism encounters.

### Who Does the Tourist Meet?

5.14 The evidence here is clearer for the institutionalized than for the non-institutionalized tourist. Nunez (78) points out that the contact between the tourist and host in Cajitilan (Mexico) is primarily economic; when it is non-economic, the host is treated as an inferior. This implies that contacts between tourist and host are mainly limited to hosts in service occupations -- vendors, boat owners, waiters. Cohen (14) suggests that the contact between drifters and the local population is mainly limited to the lower social levels and to similarly minded youth who seek out the drifters. This view is confirmed by Theroux (102). With regard to Leavenworth and Bodrum (Turkey), Packer (82) says that the contacts between tourist and host are mainly limited to service contacts. In Kotzebue and Nome, Alaska, Smith (96) says that

the persons with whom the tourist comes into contact are members of an out-group and not the best representatives of their own society. In Mykonos, Loukissas (65) points out that tourists contact mainly the lower class Mykonian -- the aristocrats and local elite are affected by tourism but do not come in contact with tourists. As far as possible, the upper classes try to leave the island when the tourist invasion commences. A survey showed most of the junior high school students interviewed had no contact whatsoever with tourists. In the Gambia, the charter tourist contacts mainly locals in service occupations and boys who hang around the hotels offering to be guides. Kent (57) contrasting tourism in Hawaii in the 1950s with tourism today, suggests that the earlier tourism at least allowed for some contact (because it was more leisurely) and an appreciation of the cultural diversity and natural beauty of Hawaii. Today, he says, tourism is a charade in which the encounter between tourist and "host" is mainly limited to room maids and waiters. Data with regard to non-institutionalized tourists are inadequate. It could, however, be hypothesized that with more time and less structure, the non-institutionalized tourist is likely to encounter hosts from a variety of stations in life, with less formality.

#### Mediators and Mediums: The Culture Brokers

5.15 The culture broker -- that felicitous term to describe an individual who straddles two cultures and serves as interpreter for the members of each -- recurs often in the literature under review. He takes on a variety of roles and cuts across all age groups; he is the "entrepreneur," the guide, the tour agent, the friend, the agent of social change.

5.16 In Mexico he is the Guadalajara businessman (Nunez, 78), the returning resident, the resident American, the boy who conducts a tour for visiting optometrists (Evans, 28). In Los Santos, they are the Swedes and the defrocked nuns (Moore, 75).



In Valloire, it is the mayor--even though he fails (Hutson, 52). In Eliat, they are the Arab boys (Cohen, 14); in Iran, they are the Jewish merchants (Loeb, 64). In South-west USA there was Fred Harvey and Don Lorenzo Hubbell (Deitch, 19). In Bodrum and Mykonos, the male youths serve as culture brokers for the tourists, while the local populations are served by resident foreigners and non-resident fellow nationals (Packer, 82). In The Gambia, the boys who hang around hotels serve as culture brokers (Esh & Rosenblum, 27). Examples could be multiplied.

5.17 The motivations are wide. In Mykonos, the mere knowledge of a foreign language (particularly English or French) is a passport to a steady income. In Eliat and The Gambia, contacts with tourists open up the possibility of foreign travel and escape from limited economic opportunities. For others in The Gambia, it also serves as an opportunity to learn about foreign cultures. In Cajitilan, Puerto Vallarta, and Los Santos the skills of the culture brokers introduced social changes. Again, since the culture broker comes from a variety of stations in life it cannot be generally said that he is the "best" interpreter. There is, however, the view that in times of rapid social change the culture broker, who does not usually come from the politically and socially most powerful strata of society, can be an important initiator of social change and an interpreter who links local values with these changes (see Nunez, 79). This is an aspect that merits greater study.

5.18 There are other issues with regard to culture brokers which merit further examination: (1) Although the role of the culture broker in the early stages of tourism development has been fairly well studied, there is little information on the role and status of culture brokers in later stages of tourism development (for example stage III). Does the culture broker become "bureaucratized," an agent for the wider political authorities or international hotel chains? Are culture brokers replaced?



(2) Does a culture broker have to become an "outsider" in his own society to serve as interpreter? The limited evidence would suggest the contrary. Ritchie (89), for instance, writing of Apirana Ngata, a Maori culture broker who encouraged modern schools, the study of Maori traditions, the development of museums, and strummed country-western ballads on a guitar, states Apirana was still recognized as a Maori--being "a Maori is an available role that is validated in its recognition by others" (89:52).

#### Changing Valuations of the Encounter

5.19 Do host perceptions of tourists change? Is there a point in time in every tourist destination when, as Sutton (99) puts it, the strain becomes too great and the relationship between tourist and host sours? Are there some societies which develop patterns or social rules for relating to tourists without imposing strains on the social fabric? This section will seek to offer some answers to these questions.

5.20 There are numerous examples in the literature of the enthusiasm with which the host society greets the first tourists: the villagers of Fuenterrabia, the islanders in Los Santos and Tahiti, the Alaskan Eskimo, the Mykonian. As tourism grows, the host population draws a distinction between the earlier visitors and the later. The earlier visitor is remembered, or regarded, with favor; the later, with little enthusiasm. The Fuenterrabian villager is ambivalent towards the later visitors. He is economically tied to tourism, dreads the possibility that the tourist will not return, and yet finds the tourism business unpleasant and "conflictful" (Greenwood, 45). The Kotzebue Eskimo has closed his doors, screened his home, and prohibits photography (Smith, 95). The Mykonian is irritated with "mass" tourists and "hippies" whom, he believes, have driven away the big spenders and reduced his income (Hoagland, 48; Loukissas, 65). The Puerto Vallartan also distinguishes between earlier tourists and today's tourists. The latter are treated as business propositions; the earlier, as

friends (Evans, 29). Intellectuals and politicians inveigh against tourism, particularly in the Caribbean and the Pacific. There are reports of crime against tourists (again, mainly in the Caribbean); immigration procedures are introduced to bar the entry of certain types of tourists. Are these inevitable effects of tourism development?

5.21 Doxey (23, 24) has attempted to trace these changing valuations and to construct an "irridex" (an index of the level of irritation). Doxey believes that irritations resulting from the contact between tourist and host cannot be wholly avoided but, unless identified and controlled, will be destructive of tourism in the destination area in the long run. Doxey's "irredex" covers four levels of expressions of reactions: (1) Euphoria--usually the initial phase of tourism when both visitors and investors are welcomed. (2) Apathy--the transition to this stage varies in time; there is a gradual formalization of contacts, tourists are taken for granted. (3) Annoyance--doubts about tourism begin to be expressed; the saturation point is approaching. (4) Antagonism--the overt expression of irritation; all ills, social and personal, are attributed to the outsider.

5.22 Doxey believes that the causes of irritation are numerous and interrelated: economic, social, cultural, psychological, and environmental. He makes two basic assumptions: (i) the reactions of both visitors and hosts will vary in different destinations; and (ii) at the root of the local response is the belief that the outsider (which can include a fellow-citizen) "represents a challenge to the life style of the destination" (24: 195). Some of the variables giving rise to these irritations are (i) fears on the part of the locals that they are being treated as second to tourists; (ii) the belief among locals that their culture is being threatened; (iii) the exclusion of locals from physical amenities (beaches are the most prominent example); and (iv) improper dress or alien behavior. Doxey points out that it is

the value system of the destination that must be investigated because "there is no 'typical' tourist, nor homogenous destination" and that, therefore, it is a question of the spill-over effects--real or illusory--of interpersonal relationships" (24: 195).

5.23 Doxey's observations can be classified into five "principles": (1) Destination areas are not homogenous, therefore what will cause "irritations" in a particular destination will depend on the value system of the population at the destination. This value system must be identified. (2) The irritations result from contact between the local population and the outsider and stem from a variety of complex causes. (3) The local population must believe that its values are being threatened. (4) Implicit in Doxey's "Irridex" is the fact that increasing numbers of outsiders are an essential ingredient of rising annoyance and antagonism. (5) Although irritations are inevitable, they are both identifiable and controllable through planning and continuous monitoring.

5.24 Doxey applied his hypotheses to two tourist destinations: Barbados, and Niagara-on-the Lake, Ontario. In the former destination he concluded the further expansion of tourism would be dangerous because it would constitute a confirmation of the residents' belief that the "charm" of the island was being irreparably damaged (really a composite of social and environmental "causes"). In the latter destination, he found that simple regulation of traffic would dispel the irritations and the belief that a way of life of the local residents was being threatened.

5.25 Doxey's analysis is useful in that it attempts to trace the stages of growing antagonism, which can be linked to the stages of tourism development set out in the previous chapter. But it is rather simplistic, and deals with symptoms. For example, if tourism constitutes a challenge to the "life style" of a destination, whose life style does this refer to? Those in power, the economically or politically disenfranchised, or an established religion? Is the disenchantment with tourism really the result of unequal (real or perceived) distribution of tourism benefits? An expression when some groups in a pluralistic society retain the benefits, and promote or constrain



social change to suit their own ends? Are the majority of people in a tourist destination against further expansion of tourism? Is it numbers of tourists that arouse these fears or antagonism, or is it the type of tourism or tourist? Is it the fact that, as tourism expands, the tourist visiting the destination area comes from a different cultural background from his host and this difference arouses antagonism? These are some of the questions that must be answered if the causes of antagonism are to be identified and, if possible, checked.

5.26 The answers that can be deduced from the literature are:

(1) Only a few surveys exist of the attitude of the host population towards tourism. These surveys indicate that the majority of those interviewed are in favor of continued tourism: The Gambia (Esh & Rosenblum, 27), Barbados (Doxey & Associates, 25), Mykonos (Hoagland, 48), Leavenworth (Packer, 82), and Bali (Noronha: 1976). The only exception are the Eskimo, who believed that tourists ridiculed their customs and diet (Smith, 96).

(2) Mere numbers of tourists do not by themselves constitute a threat, as pointed out earlier (see para. 4.17 above).

(3) Where the tourist and host come from widely differing cultures at different levels of economic development, it could be hypothesized that opportunities for misinterpretation of behavioral patterns, nuances of language, and customs could be greater. The literature, however, provides no clean answers:

(a) Where the tourist and host share the same general cultural background, there does not appear to be resentment against the tourist per se: Cajitilan (Nunez, 78), Los Santos (Moore, 75), Valloire (Hutson, 52) Colpied and La Roche (Reiter, 87) and Kippel, Switzerland, (Friedl, 40).

(b) Where tourist and host do not share the same cultural background, the evidence is mixed. In the Caribbean, the example cited most often, it is unclear whether the resentment of the vocal minority is against the tourist per se, or against the tourist as a symbol of continuing national dependence on the and a replication of the plantation system (Doxey & Associates, 25). Further, as Calvo (11) points out, this resentment against tourism is not expressed by those who earn their livelihood from tourism but by those who rarely come in contact with tourists: the intelligentsia. In the Virgin Islands there is greater resentment against the resident black alien than the tourist (Blake, 9). There is no generalized resentment against the foreigner in Uganda (Aerni, 2), in Bodrum (Packer, 82), Guam (Sanchez, 94), San Blas (Swain, 100), and Puerto Vallarta (Evans, 28).

5.27 Undoubtedly, however, on occasion resentment and antagonism are expressed. An examination of the areas and circumstances in which these are expressed show that they are directed against (i) a type of tourism--"institutionalized" tourism; and (ii) a type of tourist--the "hippie".

There are two levels at which this resentment is expressed:

(a) Local: At the local level what institutionalized tourism does, particularly when the destination area has proceeded through the stages of tourism development, is to withdraw local control over the further development and management of tourism. This loss of local control, the lack of ability to plan, and the failure of the wider authorities to consult with local groups enhances the belief that the local population and its resources are being "used"; that they are mere pawns in a economic

economic game which is being played without their knowledge-- the fruits of the game being reaped by politically more powerful "outsiders" while the local population is left in dependent ignorance. Institutionalized tourism (which implicitly includes numbers of tourists) heightens local issues, and the problem of the distribution of power (political and economic) between the local and the wider authorities. This is the real issue, but tourism becomes a convenient focus for local fears. This was the situation in Mykonos and Fuenterrabia. The Cajitilan villagers were resentful of their government; the Guamanians, the villagers of San Blas and Puerto Vallarta, are afraid that further tourism development will result in the intervention of national governments, and loss of control.

(b) National: On a national level, there is a fear of "institutionalized" tourism (popularly, but erroneously, referred to as "mass" tourism) for reasons similar to local fears: loss of control, inability to influence "demand" factors. Many developing nations believe that tourism will provide a convenient source of foreign exchange which will enable them to modernize, but they lack the resources (economic, technical and managerial) to proceed on their own. Domestic tourism is rarely well-developed, and outside assistance (financial, international hotel chains, airlines, travel agencies, marketing experts) is needed to attract tourists on a scale significant to provide the exchange. Hotels are constructed, airports expanded, roads built, incentives granted, on the basis of present and/or anticipated tourism. Briefly, this could lead to what Robineau (90) calls a "total economic system" with non-nationals in control. Governments make concessions, provide incentives and then



realize that most of the tourist dollar remains abroad, or flows out as a result. They believe that there is little that they can do. They cannot, as for instance Ceylon cannot (Radke et al, 86), invest in expanding their own airlines. This would be uneconomic. They lack marketing resources. Tourism again becomes the focus of fears and "irritations," and the fears are often expressed in terms of loss of cultural values.<sup>1/</sup>

This leads to a conundrum: Institutionalized tourism arouses the greatest local and national fears and resentment, and yet the institutionalized tourist has the greatest formal (and, therefore, superficial) contact with the host population. On the one hand, institutionalization demands the creation of a whole set of facilities and formal behavioral patterns in the destination area; on the other, the institutionalized tourist is least able to influence the host population through direct contact. Institutionalization insulates the vast majority of the host population from this contact. The seeming conundrum is resolved if it is realized that institutionalization as a system is different from the institutionalized tourist. As a system, institutionalization involves greater changes on the part of the local population than for the individual tourist. The local population has little input into, or control over, these changes. On the other hand, the institutionalized tourist as an individual need make few adaptations. As Goldstein (43) suggests, institutionalized tourists have no social, emotional, and economic commitment to the places they visit; they do not have to learn social cues, and are, therefore, quite likely to overstep boundaries and cause resentment. The host, on the contrary, has to smile and accept (almost) every faux pas (see Kent, 57). Only the Eskimo did something about this (Smith, 96); others, as in the Caribbean or Greece, react with "bad" service or even physical violence. This is, however, sporadic and a complete understanding (as, for instance, in the Caribbean) would also require an investigation into the sociocultural history of the destination area.

---

<sup>1/</sup>

See, for instance, the comments of Dr. Hibbert, Education Minister, Solomon Islands, quoted in W.D. Patterson (1972).

There is antagonism (again, expressed mainly by government officials and through customs and immigration procedures) towards a certain type of tourist: the long-haired "hippie." Cohen (15) suggests that this antagonism stems from the ambivalence of developing countries towards the West. These countries want "selective modernization"--the "good" and profitable, not the "bad." For Cohen, the "long-haired hippie" (a species!) is the symbol of "all that is negative, rejectable or despicable in contemporary Western culture" (15: 102). A more plausible explanation is that the "puritan ethic"--with its emphasis on hard work, and postponement of immediate gratification of needs, as the basis of success and income--has been preached as the forerunner, and corollary, of modernization in socialist as well as capitalist countries. The "hippie" presents a living example to developing country populations in contradiction to the urgings of their governments which are striving for modernization through emulation of the "ethic."

5.28 There are, however, some destination areas--for instance, Bali, New Zealand, and Leavenworth--which have "accommodated" institutionalized tourism without resenting it. Can this be attributed to a re-definition of roles relating to contact with tourists? The area examples have been discussed in detail earlier (see paras. 4.18 - 4.22, above). In this section only the general principles will be restated: First, the resilience of these areas can only be partially explained by reference to the cultural history and values of the host populations. Second, a more valid explanation is to be found in that (a) tourism supplements existing occupations; the income from tourism is used to strengthen existing cultural values; (b) the local organizational structure is sufficiently differentiated to take advantage of the present level of tourism development without necessitating a re-definition of roles; (c) each "event" has independent meanings for tourists and hosts, the event can take place without the presence of tourists; and (d) in the case of Leavenworth, planning was an integral part of local development.



"Demonstration" Effects

5.29 "Demonstration effects" like "tourist pollution," is one of the "buzz" words in the literature on tourism: it is comprehensively vague and arouses negative emotions about tourism. On analysis, the term connotes two different "effects" which the tourists are said to have on the host population: First, there is an impact on the cultural value system and attitudes of the host population--for example, self-determination, "love" marriages, dating--an intangible import of tourism. Second, the local population's observations of the dress, accommodation demands, and food habits of the tourist are said to induce in the local population higher spending and demand for consumer goods which reduces savings and capital formation essential to growth. This section will be confined only to the first connotations, although it should be emphasized that both aspects of the term are interlinked.

5.30 The argument in support of the position that tourism affects local values and the social structure of the host population is deceptively simple: Tourists are representatives of countries with cultures different (generally) from that of the host population; their style of behavior differs as also their wants, tastes, and habits. The local population attempts to imitate tourists. This imitation results in the break-up of the social structure and changes in value systems--for instance, the decline of community (Greenwood, 45).

5.31 There are several assumptions implicit in the proposition:

- (1) Every society has accepted "models" of behavior; tourists are one "model" for the host population which is worthy of emulation;
- (2) There is a nexus between the contacts (or example) between tourist and host and the changes that results;
- (3) The changes are unidirectional--they proceed from tourist to host only; and



(4) The impact of these changes is generally destructive of the host culture and social structure, particularly when the contact is between tourists from a developed country and hosts in a developing country (see West, 109, for a journalistic account of this).

It is necessary to examine the validity of these assumptions.

5.32 To be a "model" worth emulating a tourist must have prestige; he must be accepted by the local political and economic elite as possessing that prestige; he must influence the local and political elite to accept the values he represents; and finally, the values that the tourist induces must be dissonant with existing local values. Is the tourist such a model? It does not appear to be so. The "models" who stimulate changes are generally local residents (sometimes resident foreigners) and national modernizing leaders. The literature appears to support such a view. In Mykonos, the host population imitates Athens (see Packer, 82; Loukissas, 65). In Morocco, the tourist, usually wealthy, is hardly "a model for malleable young Moroccans" (Kjellstrom, 58: 388). The examples of Eskimo youth looking down on their traditional values (Smith, 96) and the local population in North Kohala, Hawaii with its increasing appetite for education and consumer goods is more an emulation of the general values of America, not an imitation of tourists. In Valloire, Cajitlan and Kippel the changes were a local response brought about by local leaders (see Hutson, 52; Nunez, 78; and Friedl, 40). Where foreigners have played a part in changes, the foreigners have been resident and have had to make accommodations to the local social and cultural patterns before they were accepted as "leaders" or models (see Moore, 75; Packer, 82; Evans, 28).

5.33 It should be noted that most authors who refer to the "demonstration effect" have not carefully examined whether it is the local leaders who form the "models," and not the tourists. Packer has examined this question closely for Mykonos, Bodrum and Leavenworth. He sums up what is the most acceptable position:

"Significantly, the evidence suggests that tourists do not serve as the motivating source for the adoption of (new) values but are only the channel or medium for transmission of such information. The real transmitter and source of information is urban industrial society. Tourists serve primarily to focus the information signal upon the residents of the community so that supplementary channels for these values can be established. The supplementary channels take the form of foreigners and outsiders who come to live in the community...it is the assumption of residency by these outsiders which serves to make them function as effective models for learning. In all three communities, resident outsiders are the primary models for assumption of urban values whether because of their presence as realistic examples of tourist values (Mykonos), their attendant social and economic services (Bodrum), or their infiltration and assumption of control in service organizations (Leavenworth)" (82: 241).

5.34 The second question is the nature and extent of the contacts between tourist and host which will permit the transmission of tourist values. This has already been examined earlier.<sup>1/</sup> The general conclusion there was that contacts between the "institutionalized" tourist and host are limited, both in duration and depth. Further, the "institutionalized" tourist appears to meet only sections of the host population directly involved in the tourism industry who are, rarely, "leaders" in their country. It could, however, be hypothesized that the contacts between the non-institutionalized tourist and host are greater and could influence local values. But information on this is inadequate.

5.35 Most authors fail to show a connection between changes in values and social patterns, and tourism. For example, in Fuenterrabia the changes could be more

---

<sup>1/</sup> See paras. 5.14 and 5.27, above.



readily attributed to industrialization and urbanization which had already taken root before the development of "mass" tourism (Greenwood: 44). Even Greenwood, who has been the most articulate with regard to the deleterious impact of tourism on local values, admits that Basque values have not changed. What has changed is the assessment of the means of attaining those values (Greenwood, 45). This is also the view of Ritchie (89) with regard to Maori values. To assume uni-directional alterations in value systems as a result of the encounter is to deny both cultural resilience and cultural integrity of the host populations; to suggest that all changes are harmful involves a subjective judgement by the observer. Further, there is negligible evidence to separate out changes which are peculiar to tourism from changes which are broadly found to accompany "modernization"/"industrialization." And, finally, there remains a question, which again the literature deals with neither consistently nor with any satisfaction: Assuming, for the sake of argument, that changes in value systems do occur as a result of tourism, are these not changes desired by, or goals of, at least some segments of the local population?

5.36 The net effect of this discussion is that "tourists" do not have the impact on local population values that is often claimed. Tourists may portray a style of life different from that of the host population. Whether, however, this style of life results in changes in the host population value systems depends on the method by which these values are transmitted: through prestigious residents, on the goals and organizational capabilities of the host population. The "demonstration effect," then, is at most indirect and mediated.

## VI. THE IMPACT OF TOURISM

### PART I - SOCIOECONOMIC

6.00 This chapter evaluates the socioeconomic impact of tourism on host populations: employment and occupations, other than arts and crafts, land, ownership,



local resources, and social services. The chapter also includes a discussion of the distribution of the economic benefits of tourism among host populations.

### Employment

6.01 A recurring theme of the literature is that tourism creates jobs for the local population: directly, for instance in hotels; and indirectly. In most tourism destinations the top management in the hotel industry is generally non-local (expatriate, or fellow non-resident nationals), with one exception: Antigua (see Joshi & Sharpston, 54). This is also often the case with the supervisory levels in hotels (see, for instance, Samy, 92; and Kent, 57). However, the predominance of expatriate or fellow non-resident nationals at the upper levels of hotel employment is a process that takes place with the gradual development of "institutionalized" tourism. At the earlier stage, hotels are generally locally-owned, and often managed by families.

6.02 With the development of tourism, locals generally occupy the lowest levels of employment in the hotel industry--the semi-skilled and unskilled occupations (waiter, busboy, room maid, gardener, kitchen helper). But are these employees unskilled/semi-skilled? There are two parts to this question: whether they are "objectively" unskilled/semi-skilled in regard to training; and, whether they are unskilled/semi-skilled in relation to the general level of skills in the host population. Esh and Rosenblum (27), who examined both questions with regard to employees of charter hotels in The Gambia, found 37% had no formal education, and 53% had a secondary school education. In Fiji, Samy (92) found 45% of the Indo-Fijian staff had worked in agriculture, compared with 15% of the Fijian staff; for most of the Indo-Fijian women, hotel employment was their first wage employment; and more than half the Fijian women employed had worked as nurses. In fact, on

the whole, the Fijians were better educated than all other ethnic groups except for the expatriate management. On the basis of this limited information, while objectively the lower level employees may not be highly educated, in terms of the general standards prevailing in the country they belong to the relatively few who have received formal education. As Diamond points out with regard to Turkey, in a country where "50 percent of the adult population is illiterate, the possession of a foreign language can be viewed as a skill" (Diamond, 21: 611). Undoubtedly, the information on the formal education qualifications of lower level employees is limited. More research is necessary to support a tentative hypothesis that even lower level employees in hotels have higher qualifications than most of their fellow countrymen.

6.03 The evidence discussed so far leads to another question: Does hotel employment divert labor from other sectors of the economy? Or, phrased differently, is hotel employment in direct competition with other sectors that could equally use the labor? Esh and Rosenblum answer these questions affirmatively: "...the tourist industry attracts the young and relatively well educated people...who, from the outset, have a fair chance on the labor market..." (27: 29). But their answer is qualified, later, with the proviso that this situation might change with the expansion of tourism as planned. In Fiji, it is a matter of inference that the Fijian women (at least) had been drawn away from other sectors. In the Cook Islands, this is one of the fears (see LeFevre, 62); in Tahiti, there has been a fairly widespread movement away from traditional agriculture into the wage-earning sectors, including tourism, as Finney (31) points out. The evidence, however, is far from complete. With regard to Morocco, Kjellstrom says tourist "regions are not located in areas where there are a multitude of alternative lucrative occupations available"



(58: 278) and hotel and restaurant business is preferred by unskilled employees. In Sri Lanka among the hotel employees interviewed, 21.3% had been unemployed; and it was the first job for 17% (Radke et al, 86). It is suggested that any satisfactory answers must weigh both regional factors and the data whether the employees were in fact capable of being employed elsewhere. The flood of applications that hotels receive for employment (see, for instance, Fukunaga, 41; Esh & Rosenblum, 27) could be interpreted in two ways: first, that the applicants are unemployed, or come from areas of underemployment (for instance, agriculture); or, second, that they are being diverted from present employment because of the attractiveness of hotel employment.

6.04 The next question is from which geographical areas do the employees come? Are they from areas proximate to the hotels; do they come to the area in search of another job (that is, after making the move from their own native villages) and then secure employment at the hotel; or do they move to the area only because of hotel employment. The answers to these questions are far from satisfactory. The only data available are from Esh and Rosenblum's (27) study of The Gambia and the Radke et al (86) study of Sri Lanka. In The Gambia 43.4% of the employees of the four charter hotels were born in areas proximate to the hotels. Of those born outside, 19.2% moved into the area before the hotels commenced business; of 33.5% who moved into the area after the hotels commenced business, the authors found that only 17% could be considered genuine hotel/tourist migrations. In Sri Lanka, 48.6% of the employees of the four hotels surveyed resided in neighboring towns and villages. Radke et al (86), however, included temporary employees, and also could not find out whether the employees were native residents of the neighboring towns and villages or had moved there before, or after, obtaining hotel employment. In Mykonos, Loukissas (1975) found that most of the hotel employees were Greeks, but not natives of the island.



In North Kohala, as also in Guam and Truk, employees come from the areas surrounding the hotels. It may be that potential employees are drawn from a wider geographical area when tourism increases, reaches the "institutionalized" stage and higher degrees of skill are demanded of employees.

6.05 Do patterns of employment reflect local political and economic strata? The clearest evidence available is in Samy's (92) study of a luxury hotel in Fiji. In that case not only did levels of employment reflect the economic power structure of the country, but the type of work was related to the stereotypes hotel management and tourist industry had of different ethnic groups. There was no apparent relationship between qualifications and type of employment: Europeans (mostly expatriates) occupied almost all the executive and managerial positions, they predominated in administration and reservations; occupations requiring face-to-face contact with tourists were staffed mainly by Fijians (reception and tour desks, band, switchboards, bar, and security); and other lower level positions were staffed by Indo-Fijians (accounts, maintenance, gardens, and kitchens). The management confirmed the ethnic approach--the European is more a "public relations man;" the Fijian, "an extrovert;" and the Indo-Fijian, "more an introvert." The same appears to obtain in Tahiti (see Robineau, 80): at the top are the foreigners, non-Tahitians, followed by the "creoles" (Europeans born in Tahiti), the Chinese, the "demis" (descendants of Polynesian-Europeans), and, at the lowest level, the Polynesians who constitute nearly 80% of the population. In Hawaii, Kent points out that the native born Hawaiian (as contrasted with the Haole) occupies the lowest rungs of the hotel industry. This phenomenon, called "layering," is also said to exist in Guam: the third layer (mainly native Chamorro-Guamanians) comprises "those who follow... carry the suitcases...serve the tables, make the beds, and perform the innumerable chores that are necessary to keep the island going, the visitors happy, and the people in the top layers prosperous" (Sanchez, 94: 85).

6.06 In Hawaii, Kent (57) says that the tourism industry pays the lowest wage scales in comparison with construction, communications and utilities, manufacturing, and finance. In Sri Lanka, hotel wages rank in the seventh decile when compared with average rural income for a household of four persons; and, in the fourth decile to urban income similarly compared. Since, however, most employees interviewed were supporting households of more than four persons the comparative rank of hotel wages was even lower (Radke et al, 86). Sri Lanka was entering the stage of institutionalized tourism. The last two comparisons do not appear to be general: in Morocco, for instance, earnings in the hotel and restaurant business can be as much as seven times higher than in agriculture and "even twice as high as in construction work" (Kjellstrom, 58: 279). This would also appear to be the case in Bali (Udayana University: 105). Two inferences could be drawn: (1) In an LDC hotel wages are generally higher than are available in other sectors for persons with like qualifications and ability. (2) In LDC's with institutionalized tourism and foreign hotel management, wages are likely to be higher than in many domestic enterprises.

6.07 Another aspect of this discussion of hotel employment is the relationship between employees, and the possibilities for promotion of those at the lowest levels. In Fiji, and The Gambia--two areas for which there are data --the attitudes of each ethnic group to the other reflect general stereotypes: the European expatriate manager both in Fiji and The Gambia believes that the hotel will be a shambles without him; he believes, in Fiji, that the Fijian has a low intellect and is not entirely honest. In The Gambia, the management believes that morally the Gambian is dishonest, lies and cheats and that Gambian culture (about which they know little) is inferior to European culture. In both cases, there is little understanding of local talents and needs. In these circumstances it is not surprising that promotion is rare.

There is another aspect to this argument--one that Kent (57) expresses forcefully with regard to Hawaii: the skills learned in hotels (except, perhaps in hotel maintenance) are not readily transferable. Therefore, why should anyone work in a hotel at a lower level and be condemned to a dreary, monotonous job, at a young age, from which there is no escape. Kent's argument should be limited to the peculiar circumstances of Hawaii. Certainly, the chances for promotion at the lowest levels of hotel employment are slim. But is this any different from any other industry--say, for a factory worker in the steel mills? The other important aspect, touched upon in this and the preceding paragraph--the reflection in employment patterns of local (and national) political and economic structure, the obstacles to advancement placed on the lower economic sections, will be discussed in detail below.<sup>1/</sup>

6.08 The discussion so far has been confined to employment in hotels, largely because evidence is available. Tourism, however, has an impact beyond employment in hotels: transportation, travel agencies, shops, the construction industry and agriculture. Most of the evidence in this regard is in the nature of "guesstimates." The only clear evidence is to be found in Packer's study of Mykonos, Bodrum and Leavenworth. In all three towns Packer found that tourism increased employment both in traditional occupations and also in new occupations that tourism gave rise to. Particularly in Mykonos tourism income formed the basis by which the residents could modernize. This modernization also took place in Bodrum and, to a much lesser extent, in Leavenworth where there was a much lower reliance on tourism. In Mykonos tourism plays a dominant role in the economy. However, it should be realized that in most other areas tourism plays a small role in the economy--for instance, 5%

---

<sup>1/</sup> See paras. 6.29- 6.31.



of the labor force in Fiji is employed, directly and indirectly, in tourism (leFevre, 63); in Tahiti, it is 3% (see Robineau, 90); in Bali, it was 0.68% of the working population in 1972 and would be even lower (0.45%) in 1974, according to Udayana University (105); and in Sri Lanka, it was 0.13% of total employment (Radke et al, 86).

6.09 Despite the low percentage of employees in tourism and tourism-related occupations, in relation to the total labor force generally, what social impact has tourism employment had on host populations? Forster (36) suggested that the character of work would change. This is not the only result. There are five other major effects:

( i) Employment in the tourism industry is often seasonal. This means that tourism employment only occupies the individual for part of a year; it must be supplemented by other work (in agriculture, for instance, as in the case of Morocco; or in traditional occupations--carpentry, architecture--as in Mykonos). This is not always possible and for many, the non-tourism season is also the "hungry" season.

( ii) The greater the dependence on tourism, combined with "institutionalized" tourism, the greater the likelihood that shifts in demand will leave many unemployed, sometimes with no possibility of finding alternative occupations. This was the condition of Greenwood's (44, 45) Fuenterrabians. This is the likely condition of the Tahitian who now prefers wage labor to agricultural self-cultivation (Finney, 31). This is the fear of the Mykonian today (Loukissas, 65; Hoagland, 48).

(iii) A question raised by Nunez (79) is that if there is relative insecurity in tourism why is it that so many individuals leave their traditional occupations for employment in tourism? A partial answer is the level of unemployment in traditional occupations: economic opportunity in tourism. However, as in the case of migration to cities, there are more reasons than the mere prospect of a wage income received regularly: scarcity or loss of land, better opportunities for children, the greater availability of social services are some (Force & Force, 35). Further, as Finney (31) points out with reference to Tahitians, the transition to wage labor may involve a change in values.

(iv) There are adjustments of hours and methods of work. These adjustments may take some time since they may involve adjusting values. In both Mykonos and Bodrum, at the initial stages of tourism local landlords found it difficult to accept payment for their accommodation from tourists because of customary hospitality. In Micronesia, the residents face the same problem. Further in Micronesia there are also differences between what the Micronesians believe tourists will want in the way of food and accommodation and what tourists actually want. For instance, Micronesians do not want to serve papayas (which are fed to pigs) and bananas (which the poor consume) to tourists who are believed to be wealthy; nor do they want tourists to live in shacks without electricity when the

Micronesians prefer a "functional concrete cottage with an electric light bulb hanging from the ceiling" (Ashman, 5: 137)-- to the Micronesian, the concrete cottage is progress!

( v) Although adjustments are made the extent to which these affect social relationships or responsibilities is a moot question-- the Gambian employed in the industry who leaves his village to come to work in the hotels does not ignore his responsibility to kith and kin (Esh & Rosenblum, 27). It would seem that ties with the extended family are maintained notwithstanding migration to an urban environment (see Force & Force, 35). But there is little hard evidence of the nature of the impact that tourism has on families of migrants. In Mykonos, the family continued as a viable unit even though there was an increased tendency to live separately (see Packer, 82). In Colpied, La Roche, Kippel and Fuenterrabia, the decline of the extended family and mutual cooperation was the result more of industrialization and other sectoral developmental influences than tourism.

#### Land

6.10 The literature contains numerous references to speculative increases in land prices, and the gradual loss of land by the local population: for instance a 2,000% increase in value in Mykonos (Packer, 82), and between 300-900% in Kailua, West Hawaii (Fukunaga, 41). This prices land out of the reach of most local residents for "traditional" uses (Greenwood, 45; Fukunaga, 41).

6.11 The process by which this takes place deserves some examination. At the early stage of tourism development, it is the local owners who profit. Land, often thought to be worthless (for example, non-agricultural areas near the sea) obtains



a new valuation as it can be put to a new use; the local owner sells the property at an enormous profit. Alternatively, the local owner converts the formerly valueless property to the new use and makes a profit from it. As tourism develops, it is non-resident, economically powerful fellow nationals who generally enter into the real estate market. It is at this stage that land prices soar above what some may opine is their real worth. At a still later stage of tourism development the national elite--often with the financial backing of governments, either directly (or indirectly), through access to government guaranteed credit and in partnership with international hotel chains--demands land which drives prices up still higher. This process is not invariable. National governments may enter into the tourism field at an early stage and acquire lands for a generally nominal compensation to the original owners, deriving some of the enhanced value for themselves. What is evident in the process is that fellow nationals themselves are the first to make the profit. The principle behind the complaint is, then, not so much price, but deprivation of local owners through what is retrospectively defined as fraudulent dealing. LeFevre's example of land speculation in the Cook Islands (LeFevre, n.d., 93) crystallizes this argument.

6.12 The effects of speculation can be viewed from two aspects: First, the type of tenurial system involved; and second, the development of policy. Where there is individual tenure, as in Mykonos, Bodrum, Leavenworth, or Bali, the sale of land is still a matter of individual arrangement, and individual calculations. Group tenures--found often in Africa, Asia, Melanesia and Polynesia--are generally "traditional" tenures. The acquisition or transfer of these lands involve large numbers of individuals (including, at times, unborn persons) who have "rights" in the lands. The application of principles of "western"/"common" law generally results in conflict

between the "owners" and the acquiring body or transferees--both in terms of the different meanings of the two systems, and in the understanding of the original "owners" as to the nature of the "rights" acquired or transferred. In "traditional" group tenures where generally there is no power to alienate lands permanently, it is essential that these limitations be recognized and interpreted if future conflict is to be avoided. A sociologist can play an important role here in interpreting the nature of the transaction, and suggesting techniques by which the transition to "modern" law can be effected smoothly.

6.13 The second issue is the development of policy. It is important to determine what lands are sold, to whom they are sold, and for how much. Restriction of sales and verification of price paid are important; but they are dead letters when powerful interests can get around them through, for instance, ostensible purchases in the name of a local resident. Policy without the means or will to enforce it is useless. Wealthy Athenians could construct, notwithstanding an order suspending building; Turkish economically powerful interests could do the same (Packer, 82). A feasible approach, particularly in the case of group tenures, is that suggested by McGrath (69). He suggests the creation of land control boards as the final authority in all land use cases. Among the goals of the board he recommends that it should ensure that all land-use proposals are in conformity with a master resource development plan; and that "there is maximum direct participation by the original landowners by providing them with a proportionate share of the annual profits and a share of the stock of the venture undertaken on their land" (69: 139). These proposals were first made for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1946; and are in effect in Fiji (where native land is controlled by the Native Land Board).

#### Ownership

6.14 Linked closely with the previous section is the changing character of ownership patterns--from residents to "outsiders" (who may be resident for part of the year).

These patterns extend to land, and business. In Leavenworth, the downtown businesses are increasingly owned by immigrants; the same can be said of Mykonos. In North Kohala, the supermarket replaces the neighborhood store; in Tahiti and The Gambia the small family hotel is replaced by international hotels. But this is not a universal phenomenon--Antigua is an example where local ownership still prevails, although it is a matter of inference that ownership is mainly in the hands of the local economic elite. This transition is not, however, necessarily connected with the rise of "institutionalized" tourism: in Hawaii, for instance, the control of both business and land was already in the hands of companies long before the development of tourism; in Leavenworth, the influx of outsiders into the field of business was related to community revival in which tourism was a minor goal.

#### Competition for Local Resources

6.15 Four points in the literature will be discussed in this section: (1) use of local resources, particularly consumer goods and physical resources, by both tourists and the host population; (2) competition for employment in the tourist industry; (3) common use of social services by the host population and immigrants; and (4) diversion of resources for expenditure on the tourist industry rather than on other sectors.

6.16 The examples under the first point relate mainly to rising prices of consumer goods and shortages for the local population during the tourist season, and the exclusion of the host population from the use of its beaches. In Bodrum, the price of fish during the tourist season is three times higher than in the non-tourist season. Further, the fishermen sell fish first to the restaurants that serve tourists; the surplus, if any, is then available for local consumption



(Packer, 82). In Sri Lanka, the price of fish, also supplied to local hotels, rose 100% between 1968-1972; far above the general price rise (Radke et al, 86). In The Gambia, the price of a bag of rice rises during the tourist season (Esh & Rosenblum). In Mykonos, the cafes are crowded during the tourist season so that residents can find it difficult to get a seat. The waterfront promenade tourist crowd makes it difficult for the residents to walk in comfort (Packer, 82; Loukissas, 65). In Fuenterrabia, tourists get pride of place at the Alarde (Greenwood, 46); in Niagara-on-the-Lake and Puerto Vallarta tourist cars tend to crowd out the local residents (Doxey, 24; Evans, 28). In Hawaii, the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel has stopped local access to the beach (Tong, 103). This is quite common in the Caribbean. In the Pacific Islands, the growth of recreational tourism has accelerated the decline of shallow water fish which were part of the local diets (Johannes, 54). In Uganda, regulations prohibiting the slaughter of animals in game parks to preserve them for safari tourists, have deprived native residents in and near the parks of a traditional food source without providing a substitute (Aerni, 2; Dasmann et al, 18). These examples, which could be multiplied, point to the need for both careful planning and monitoring of local impacts.

6.17 The population influx into a tourism destination area could lead to increased competition for local jobs. The migrants, generally unskilled, are to be found at the lowest economic levels. They constitute an additional burden on usually inadequate social services (health, education), on the tax payer where social security schemes are in force (see Robineau, 90; Kent, 57). In addition, migrants usually become the target of local frustrations and fears.

6.18 It is said that "it is not unusual to detect some bias toward tourist-related facilities and away from the more general need" (LeFevre, 63: 105). Fukunaga (41), for instance, suggests that investment in agriculture rather than tourism in North Kohala would better sustain development. Perez (83) believes that expenditures to

augment police forces, marketing, hotel training schools, construction of roads, and extension of airports to support tourism might be more economically spent on projects designed to assist the local population directly. It should, however, be noted, first, that in many instances the expenditure of the local government on infrastructure construction benefits the local population as well (for instance, on roads and water supply). Further, this expenditure may have to be undertaken independently of tourism and is, presently, often carried out under "tourism projects" with low interest grants/loans. There are, undoubtedly, instances when this has not been the case: For instance, in Mykonos where the new water supply was made available to a hotel and offered to passing yachts rather than the local population even though the residents desperately needed it (Loukissas, 65). Second, it is also necessary to consider whether tourism provides the most efficient method of earning revenue which will permit a country to attain its development objectives. This may involve a temporary diversion of resources from objects of direct benefit to the local population. Earning money from tourism as part of a development strategy and initial expenditure for that purpose is not necessarily irrational or 'immoral.' As Kjellstrom points out, "Spartan monasteries in France see nothing reprehensible in earning huge profits on the sale of a very special liquor...there is no reason for countries to be any less rational or 'immoral.'" (58: 390).

#### Impact on Women

6.19 There is growing evidence of the impact of tourism on the position of women. Probably the most dramatic is Cottingham's study of female hotel employees in Hawaii, referred to in Fukunaga (41). Hotel employment gave women economic opportunity and consequent independence. Men often continued to work on the plantation; the women worked a forty-hour shift at the hotel. Cottingham has suggested that there is

inadequate evidence that tourism employment increased divorces among women surveyed. The decline in marital stability must be viewed against a background of previous patterns where women were confined to the home and their contacts limited to relatives generally. The movement of women out of the house, the potential for rumor, probably only aggravated pre-existing strife. A later study by Smith, though not representative, indicated that once the initial transition period was over, many women experienced an "increased sense of self-identity and self-worth. They liked the material things that the new income would make possible, and the new voice they now had in the family decision-making process" (Fukunaga, 41: 210). In Fiji, hotel employment was usually the first wage employment for Indo-Fijian women. In The Gambia, women are not generally employed--it is a matter left to the discretion of the departmental head in each hotel (Esh & Rosenblum, 27). What is interesting about The Gambia is that the average age of the women employees is lower than that of the male employees. In Mykonos, women went out and bargained with tourists who needed accommodation; hotel employment also permitted greater contact with fellow-employees and tourists and became an additional source of income. It does not seem that women were frequently employed in hotels either in Bodrum or in Morocco.

6.20 The preceding examples indicate that tourism does not have a uniform impact on women in different countries. Whether women gain directly from tourism is largely a matter of the culture of host populations. For example, in North Kohala, the changed position of women could be explained by reference to the dominant values in American culture which stress both equality and self-determination. Tourism was a catalyst for the attainment of these values. Probably the most frequent area in which women gain economically from tourism is in the realm of handicrafts. But the evidence of increased freedom or economic independence is inadequate since it is unclear (1) whether males determine when, and if, a woman should work; and (2) who controls income.



### Migration

6.21 One of the results of tourism is to reduce migration, particularly the movement of the young (and, often, the best educated) away from small towns and rural areas to urban centers. Examples of this abound: in Leavenworth, Mykonos, and Bodrum (Packer, 82); in North Kohala (Fukunaga, 41); in Colpied and La Roche (Reiter, 87). It is of interest to note that a significant amount of tourism commences in relatively economically underdeveloped areas. Tourism provides additional opportunities for the local population and thereby lowers the migration rate. This is one of the goals in the development of tourism in the Cook Islands (see LeFevre, 62).

### Nutrition, Health, Education and Welfare

6.22 The consensus of opinion is that nutrition standards are improved with tourism. There is unparalleled economic growth in Fuenterrabia (Greenwood, 45); the intake of beef has increased in Mykonian diet (Packer, 82); in Antigua and Barbados diets have improved and the range of consumer goods available has increased (Joshi & Sharpston, 55; Doxey & Associates, 25); the Tongans are eating better (Urbanowicz, 108); both Fiji and Tahiti are able to import food stuffs (Robineau, 90; LeFevre, 63). This capacity to increase dietary intakes is partly the result of rising incomes and availability of a wider range of goods with tourism. In North Kohala, the advent of tourism has resulted in a rising median income, the growth of supermarkets, the provision of credit, and a whole range of consumer expenditures (particularly on furniture and TV sets)--an expenditure assisted by the fact that many more women are now working, mainly in the tourism industry (see Fukunaga, 41).

6.23 Less data are available about the impact of tourism on health. Joshi and Sharpston have suggested that tourism may have brought some strains of influenza not known to Antigua and some venereal disease. Journalists (notably West, 109;

and Turner & Ash, 104) have indicated that tourism is linked with the decline in standards of health. The same is said of urbanization. However, the link has not been proved. On the other hand, the Swedes in Los Santos insisted on, and introduced better standards of hygiene and health (Moore, 75). Health facilities have increased in Puerto Vallarta (Evans, 25). The evidence does not, however, permit of any general conclusions.

6.24 The evidence suggests that there is an indirect impact of tourism on education. Certainly, there are hotel training projects (11% of the hotel employees interviewed in The Gambia had been trained in the UNDP hotel training course: Esh & Rosenblum, 27). But what tourism facilitates is an income which allows families to achieve some of their goals--education is one of the most important. Whether in Mykonos or Bodrum, North Kohala or Los Santos education for the young is becoming a reality. Undoubtedly, cultural values dictate which sex is more likely to be educated--in Bodrum, for instance, education is more easily available for boys than girls--but there is a general trend towards increasing education.

6.25 Like data on health, data on other social services--water, electricity, roads, political access--are meagre. Improvements in sanitation and hygiene, originally made for tourists, have been used by local residents. However, how far these improvements have spread is a matter of some doubt. Roads have been built which have increased access and are used by the local population--but, in the case of Bodrum, for instance, this was a decision prior to the growth of tourism.

6.26 One of the common charges against tourism is that it increases crime, delinquency, and prostitution. This is a topic frequently referred to by journalists (see Esh & Rosenblum, 27; Turner & Ash, 104). The correlation is said to be particularly high in the case of crime and delinquency, when the life style of the



tourists is so much higher than that of the host population as to arouse feelings of envy and resentment. The example generally cited is that of the Caribbean. But there, as in many other areas, there should be a careful assessment of the causes and the socioeconomic background: high unemployment, poor housing, the inability to plan for the next day, stark poverty, and cultural history. The tourist is often the focus, not necessarily the cause. Further, there is little analysis of how many crimes are committed against fellow citizens rather than tourists. Finally, is it that crimes have increased, or that crime statistics have improved?

Fukunaga, who believes tourism contributes to increased crime and delinquency, presents statistics which show a comparative decrease in crime with the growth of tourism-- attributed to the "cultural integrity" of the local population in North Kohala. In fact, in the case of North Kohala the increase in crime could also be attributed to the loss of employment with the impending closure of the sugar mill and, again, the inability to provide support for the family. What is not evaluated is whether with a rising population formal methods of control must replace informal methods (see Forster, 36).

6.27 With regard to prostitution, it is true that some tourists undoubtedly seek these services. This is linked to the type of tourism and tourists. It is necessary to identify the occasions and areas in which this is likely to occur and to regulate prostitution. What would be of interest is to investigate who owns the brothels ("residents"/"outsiders," for instance) and what percentage of patrons are tourists.

#### Demonstration Effects

6.28 The impact of tourism in the socioeconomic sphere is much more evident than in the realm of cultural values: changes in domestic architecture to accommodate tourists, hygiene, education, employment, technological improvements, health, food habits, hours of work, agricultural production. And yet, even here, the changes have



been mediated by local (and national) leaders and resident foreigners. Whether it has been reconstruction in Leavenworth, technology in Los Santos, or house construction in Kippel and Colpied, the conduits of change have been residents or fellow nationals accepted by the local population. Since this process has already been examined at length before <sup>1/</sup> repetition is unnecessary. Suffice it to repeat that the demonstration effect of tourism is not necessarily as direct or inevitable as it is made out to be.

#### Distribution of Benefits

6.29 In the growth and development of tourism, economic and political interests, not necessarily economic rationality, prevail quite often. To deny economic and political interests are capable of riding roughshod over the local population is to deny reality. Political factors often play a role--not only in the determination of the type of tourism that will be fostered, but also in where resorts will be located. As Kjellstrom (58) points out, the city of Fez was chosen for tourism development to cater to the politically important Fassi. The luxury hotels there are unprofitable and Kjellstrom views this as "presumptive evidence that the best placed and connected segments of the local elite are able to steer the supply of luxury accommodation (and food) according to its own preferences, whether this is in the interest of tourism or not" (58: 382). So also was the grant of a capital subsidy to the Rabat-Hilton in excess of government's own standards. In Bodrum, foreign interests, the economically powerful in Izmir, are buying up land and planning their own schemes for resorts; the same is the case in Moorea, an island a short distance away from Papeete. But to admit that powerful economic and political interests have a way of diverting

---

<sup>1/</sup> See paras. 5.29 - 5.36, above.

development to serve their own purposes is not to support the suggestion of Sanchez that tourism crystallizes, nay freezes, the existing layering of society. There is evidence (for example in Bodrum, Leavenworth, and Los Santos) that tourism might create new layers, introduce "outsiders" into existing strata, or result in new criteria for prestige. It is difficult, however, to generalize about the effects of tourism on social stratification with the meagre evidence available.

6.30 It is also a matter of inference that most of the host population employed in the tourism sector are generally unskilled or semi-skilled. It is therefore possible that, given the location of tourism destination areas, in rural or semi-urban areas particularly in developing countries, the employed are likely to be drawn from the category of the unemployed/underemployed. This inference, however, should be accepted with caution in the light of the evidence, for instance, in The Gambia and Turkey, that those employed might have formal qualifications higher than those of the average fellow citizen.

6.31 Finally, there is very little evidence of the way in which incomes from tourism are distributed among families or relatives. Does tourism, for instance, encourage the avoidance of "traditional" obligations of support? In The Gambia (Esh & Rosenblum, 27) and Bali (Noronha, 1976) this does not seem to happen. It could, however, be urged that in Bali one of the major sources of income from tourism results from "traditional" group performances. This reinforces obligations to the traditional social group. It is suggested that in Bodrum, Mykonos, and Fuenterrabia, tourism encouraged intergenerational conflict, particularly among youths who attained economic independence. It is uncertain, however, whether tourism created new cultural values, or merely facilitated the attainment of existing values since over the past half century there has been, in "Western" civilization, an increasing trend towards "individualism," "self-determination," and the nuclear family as socially approved values. The subject deserves more careful investigation.



VII. THE IMPACT OF TOURISM  
PART II - SOCIOCULTURAL

7.00 In this chapter the impact of tourism on arts and crafts will be evaluated. The topics discussed below are art and handicrafts, architecture, archaeology, dance, festivals, and the "commercialization" of culture.

Art and Handicrafts

7.01 In the fields of art and handicrafts it is generally agreed that tourism has assisted in revival, preservation, diversification, or, at least, job retention. In southwestern USA, Deitch (19) says that "the Indian arts of the Southwest are an example of one instance when the coming of the white man did not destroy something native. Rather, the contact with Anglo society heightened and in certain instances revived old traditions" (19: 15). The jewellery, and rings produced by the Navajo have improved in quality; new designs are now used by this tribe as well as the Hopi and Zuni; production has diversified into the production of silver platters, and decorative cigarette boxes; women were encouraged to continue rug weaving; new media were introduced. Old forgotten designs were traced and revived by museums and archaeologists. In all this, tourism assisted in the increase in sales and a revival of interest in Indian art. In the Cook Islands, LeFevre (62) points out that the recent manufacture of handicrafts by two companies appears to have good prospects of sale to tourists. In Mykonos, Packer (82) says that tourist demand for traditional sweaters and wool items originally produced for home consumption has created a market. With the assistance of the Mykonos Agricultural Cooperative new styles, new materials, and new techniques are now used; knitting and crocheting are now quite common. These items, produced mainly by women, add to their income. Kjellstrom, however, suggests that it is:



"incorrect to talk about job creation due to tourism in (the area of handicrafts); job retention would be a more appropriate term. The demand emanating from tourism could be most helpful in smoothing what might otherwise have been a brutal transitional process with much job dislocation in handicrafts due to increasing modernization of the Moroccan economy. The artisans are carrying on a long artistic tradition of producing delightful items for ornamental purposes as well as utilitarian goods for everyday life.... With no tourism in Morocco, several branches of handicrafts would have languished into relative obscurity instead of experiencing the rather bouyant demand of today..." (58: 281-283).

May (68) tentatively agrees that tourism has helped to preserve traditional art in PNG.

7.02 But what sort of art does tourism encourage? Is it that peculiar species, "airport art," such as the visitors to the Polynesian Cultural Centre usually buy "probably because of uneducated tastes" (McGrevy, 70: 23)? It has been suggested that mass tourism, with its demand for souvenirs, encourages the entry of fakes and lowers the general quality and standards of art (Udayana University, 105).

7.03 May (68) has examined this question perceptively with reference to PNG. He places art in the continuum ranging from "true traditional art" through "psuedo traditional art" to "wholly introduced art forms." Of the first type are those works which, without regard to aesthetic quality, are "made within a traditional society for use--religious or secular--within that society or for trade with traditional trading partners" (68: 125). In the second category, which includes airport art, the works are usually mass produced by persons who have no knowledge of the traditional culture and are often not even members of the society whose art they pretend to exemplify. In the third category, embellished with varying degrees of creativity and adaptation the example, in PNG, are tapa handbags and the work of individual creative artists. May believes that the role of the tourist lies somewhere between people who deprive a nation of its treasures and who encourage art preservation. But the tourist has also encouraged the development of pseudo traditional art, particularly airport art,

faking, and the "bastardization of traditional art" (68: 127)--the adaptation of traditional forms to meet foreign tastes or needs, for instance, the reduction of shields and houseboards to suitcase size. Tourists do not know much about traditional art in PNG and therefore are less likely than collectors, administrators and missionaries, to assist in depriving the nation of its treasures. On the other hand, May does not believe that tourism can do anything to assist the plastic arts. The tourist, he says, is a one-shot buyer, generally of souvenirs which capture the spirit of the place or are amusing, provided they are small and inexpensive.

7.04 Although May does refer to the decline in standards of art represented by the growth of pseudo traditional art, he does not deal with two related questions: First, as McKean (72) points out with regard to Bali, a whole range of art works are still being produced--some atrocious (both in style and quality), others excellent. The former are often produced as pot-boilers. Second, the appreciation of art is much a matter of taste and the beauty of it lies in the eyes of the beholder. Although, therefore, purists will carp about declining standards, since the art produced does serve a function can it be criticized too strongly on aesthetic grounds?

#### Architecture

7.05 There are several examples of the impact of tourism on architectural styles: In Mykonos and Bodrum, the architects imitated models from Athens and Izmir, respectively. In Fuenterrabia, after the town was designated an area of national cultural importance, the city walls were renovated, and the fishermen's quarter, where most of the tourists congregate, was rebuilt. In Leavenworth, the adoption of the Alpine theme in downtown architecture was related more closely to the town's attempt to revive itself than to tourism (Packer, 82).

### Archaeology

7.06 The growth of tourism in Mykonos can be partly attributed to the fact that the island of Delos is only three miles away. Greek and Roman antiquities found on the sea bed first stimulated tourist interest in Bodrum. There is now an underwater Archaeological Museum and the restored Castle of St. Peter both of which form tourist attractions. In Bali, "contributions" by tourists partially support the cost of maintaining temples and monuments. But tourists there are also accused of exporting archaeological treasures (Udayana University, 105).

### The "Commercialization" of Culture

7.07 Forster (36) and Cohen (13) speak of the "commercialization" of culture; Greenwood (46) uses the term "commoditization." The terms, which are interchangeable, apply to a phenomenon that takes place with the institutionalization of tourism. The phenomenon refers to aspects of the local culture (ceremonial dances are the most common example) which, with the growth of tourism are monetized. What the local population formerly did as a matter of spontaneous obligation, or ritual, is now performed for the visitor for reward. The term "commercialization" includes the "revival" of ceremonial that has been lost, forgotten, or abandoned (the dances of Hawaii or Tahiti are prime examples of this; so too, it would appear, is the financially successful Polynesian Cultural Centre). This latter aspect has also been called the development of a "phony-folk culture."

7.08 Several consequences are said to flow from this commercialization and development of the phony-folk culture. First, the transfer to the secular realm debases the ceremony in the eyes of the host population. Second, this transfer, unreplaced by other values, can cause social anomie. Third, the commercialization extends only to those aspects of local culture which are deemed by tourism promoters to be of importance--it is the valuation of the promoters not the host population, that determines what is of importance and what should be seen by tourists. Fourth, the



ceremonial tends to become standardized. Fifth, when there is a "revival" of ceremonial it is unlikely that the performers are 'natives' and there is also the implicit degradation of the culture of the host population by asking them to perform "as they were" rather than as they are.

7.09 Greenwood, the leading proponent of the dangers of cultural commoditization, supports his view by reference to the Alarde, the annual celebration in Fuenterrabia of the defense of the city against the French. Before institutionalized tourism, this event was the focal point of community identification, a symbol of unity and common membership despite occupational differences. With the advent of mass tourists, tourists became observers; the Spanish national authorities decided that the annual celebration should be performed twice on the same day for the benefit of the tourists. The result was that Fuenterrabians were no longer willing to take part in the celebrations. They felt that the event had lost all meaning. Greenwood (46) does not clarify whether the resentment of the Fuenterrabians was caused by the failure of the national government to consult them or whether it was really due to the failure of the "outsider" to appreciate the importance of the occasion. May (68) offers another example: He believes that the mass production of pseudo traditional art in PNG "has been partly the result of breaking the link between the art and its traditional religious or secular function in the society..." (68: 126).

7.10 However, the existence of contrary instances caution against acceptance of Greenwood's view as a generalization: The Balinese have not been affected by performing dances, originally of sacred origin, for tourists (see McKean, 71, 72). Deitch (19) says that the "kachina" (a wooden figure symbolizing a supernatural spirit mediator between the Pueblo people and their gods) is modified for sale to non-tribals, thus maintaining a distinction between the religious purpose of the kachina for tribals, and the needs of collectors. Swain (100) indicates that the "Mola" (a traditional blouse

worn by Cuna women) has become a focal point of ethnic identity, and a successful commercial product for sale to tourists. Evans provides another example: in Puerto Vallarta the holiday of the patron saint may have taken on a commercial quality but it has now been extended "from a two to a twelve-day celebration" in which thousands participate, "many in neighborhood-planned performances and costumes" (28: 196). The final example is taken from Micronesia. Ashman reports that when a woman objected to commercializing sacred dances for tourists, another (an older woman, one of Truk's leading dancers) said "that dancing for money has several redeeming benefits. Among them, it would renew interest in learning the traditional dances. . . . Dancing for pay would give (the young) an incentive to learn, would give them spending money which parents cannot provide, and would keep them busy during otherwise idle hours when they might get into mischief" (5: 139). These are examples where tourism fostered self identity, the sacred was not debased (or secularized) by tourism, and a distinction was maintained between the sacred and the secular.

7.11 Thus, the "packaging" of cultural events for tourists does not inevitably result in debasement of the event. The differences in the reactions of the host populations in Fuenterrabia and Puerto Vallarta can be more easily explained by loss of local control in the former area than to loss of meaning. In Bali, and among the Hopi and Cuna, a distinction between the sacred and the secular is maintained, thereby preventing any debasement.

#### VIII. PLANNING

8.00 The previous chapters have provided examples of the effects of tourism with and without planned tourism development. The examples at the extremes are Leavenworth and

and Mykonos. In Leavenworth, planning was an essential element of the town's development. The townsfolk reap the benefits of tourism without adverse social impacts. Mykonos on the other hand, has become a "sacrificial lamb to tourism": tourism development has been entirely unplanned, economic forces have been left to work without restraint, the negative social effects of tourism have been widespread. While most authors, therefore, agree that planning for tourism development is necessary the literature provides inadequate information about the selection of goals, indices, and weights; the type and levels of planning; the formulation of plans with local participation, based on a choice of alternatives (including types of tourists), the possibility of developing backward linkages, and the "carrying capacity" of the selected destination area. This chapter will attempt to deal with these interrelated issues.

8.01 Before turning to a discussion of the elements of planning, it is necessary to dispose of one question: Is it really necessary to pay attention to the sociological consequences of tourism? Although the question seems trite, Gearing, Swart, and Var suggest that "the question of tourism's sociological impact is essentially academic" when "the tourist industry may appear to be the only available alternative for development" (42: 32). The suggestion runs counter to the evidence of the social impact of tourism in areas where tourism is the major method of development: Hawaii, the Caribbean, Mykonos, are some examples. Calvo (11) and Joshi and Sharpson (55) correctly point out that even in these areas the sociological consequences can be foreseen, monitored, and the negative impacts softened by careful investigation of the sociocultural patterns of the destination area.

8.02 The major reason why planning usually seems to be an after thought in a tourism destination area can be explained by the fact that tourism has developed spontaneously in most areas. It is only at a later stage (generally, at the end



of stage II) that the necessity for planning has been realized. And, at this stage, the only type of planning possible may be "therapeutic" (Doxey, 24): remedial planning designed only to reduce, not eliminate the negative impacts that have arisen. Unfortunately, in many instances (for instance, in Fuenterrabia, Puerto Vallarta, Los Santos, Bodrum) planning has only speeded up the transition to stage III and given rise to even greater social problems than the plans attempted to solve.

8.03 Tourism development does not proceed inevitably through the stages outlined earlier.<sup>1/</sup> In some cases tourism development may be entirely planned. The national government may, for instance, determine that "institutionalized" tourism is the type that will provide the greatest foreign exchange earnings, and decide to "induce" tourism rather than wait for spontaneous development. The discussion which follows applies both to "spontaneous" and "induced" tourism development.

8.04 The elements involved in planning are: (1) the selection of goals and the development of policy; (2) the selection and weighting of social indices; (3) the choice of alternatives; (4) the pace of tourism development; (5) the creation of backward linkages; and (6) "local" participation. These interrelated elements are discussed separately only for analytical convenience.

8.05 There are several levels in planning, and also several stages. At the earliest stages, the selection of goals is the most important (see Kjellstrom, 58; Doxey, 24). The goals of most countries usually refer to raising living standards, increasing equitable distribution, and providing for disadvantages sections. These are general goals which must be made tourism-specific. At the national level, plans should also set out policy: the strategy by which the goals are to be attained.

---

<sup>1/</sup> See Chapter IV.

8.06 Policy requires the choice, and weighting, of social indices. This will assist in the selection of alternative strategies, and alternative tourism development proposals. An example of the factors to be considered are set out in Doctoroff's (22) article. The literature on the development of social indices is inadequate for two major reasons: first, efforts to develop social indices have only been attempted in the past decade with the growing recognition of the importance of a social input into planning; and, second, because social indices must be related to the goals of each country's plans. These plans differ.

8.07 The phrase "choice of alternatives" has several implications: It is related to the choice between different strategies for development--for instance, between tourism and, say, industrialization (Kloke, 59); and, assuming tourism is selected, to the choice between different geographical areas which could be developed through tourism. This choice requires information about sociocultural patterns, and likely impact of tourism, and the creation of monitoring units. But, since the impact of tourism is related to the type of tourism, any choice must include a decision about the type of tourism which will be encouraged. This, in turn, requires an assessment of the facilities needed, the type of tourism encounter, and local resources. For example, a decision may be arrived at to foster "institutionalized" tourism because of the proximity of a major market, the tourist's desire for "sun and sand," the presence of beaches within the destination area, and the likelihood that the minimum contact with the local people that this type of tourism implies will result in the least disruption of the local culture. On the other hand, the choice must be weighed against the fact that "institutionalized" tourism requires the greatest local adjustments, and can give rise to local resentment. Again, the choice of a type of tourism also requires an assessment of the role of government in tourism. For instance,



LeFevre (63) points out that governments which do not have the resources to develop and manage institutionalized tourism should consider how they can direct the benefits of tourism to policies which can assist in local development.

8.08 The last point is related to the question of the creation of backward linkages. Kanellakis, for instance, suggests that tourism is not a viable method of economic development of Greece since it is a service industry with no backward linkages. Kjellstrom (58) on the other hand partially answers this charge by admitting that while it is true that tourism is basically a service industry, the charge is "not relevant" because "basic industries with limited outlets are not like to be viable." However, Kjellstrom accepts the necessity for developing backward linkages which could enlarge "local markets for several products, sometimes even beyond the critical threshold level" (58: 126). The present evidence is that institutionalized tourism rarely provides these backward linkages, and the lack of planning combined with import incentives continues this (see Esh & Rosenblum, 27; Joshi & Sharpston, 55). This is clearly brought out in Radke et al (86) on Sri Lanka where the authors found that there was no development impact on the villages which supplied goods to the tourist hotels. They conclude that "the way in which hotels are embedded in their traditional surrounding is much more important (than) the absolute number of tourists" (86: 19).

8.08 It is necessary to determine the pace at which tourism should develop. Joshi and Sharpston (55) and Greenwood (45) conclude that the problems of Antigua and Fuenterrabia, respectively, are the result of too rapid a pace of unplanned tourism development. This conclusion could also be expressed by saying that each tourist destination area has a definite "absorptive" or "carrying capacity" (a term popularized by environmentalists). Dasmann, Milton and Freeman define "carrying capacity" as



"a measure of the number of individuals of any species that a particular environment can support" (18: 33). They recognize that different types of tourism demand different types of facilities and an assessment, in each case, of the carrying capacity. Probably the most reasonable observations on "carrying capacity" (and optimum numbers) were expressed by Belt Collins and Associates Limited and others (6) when they opined that the exercise would only be justified if tourism is the sole economic base. Otherwise, they believed that the exercise was meaningless since so many factors were involved--for instance, the socioeconomic differences between residents and visitors, the type and location of visitor accommodation, the degree to which the local residents receive the benefits and control tourism investment and management. But even they agree that it would be a useful exercise to estimate the number of visitors at any one time (not a total for the year) in relation to the local population. It has been suggested earlier that this is not the most important factor. What, it is suggested is important, and should be estimated in plan formulation is the type of tourists, the extent of local skills and facilities, the number of tourists in relation to the preceding two items and local residents' needs for touristic and recreational assets. Carrying capacity will vary with an assessment of the above items in each destination area.

8.10 There is general agreement that local participation in plan formulation and execution is essential. Fox (37), for instance, believes that the best plans are those formulated in partnership with the people concerned, but only sets out general pre-conditions for this: (i) sufficient information to make intelligent choices; (ii) participation in arriving at the goals of tourism; (iii) opportunity to help formulate the criteria for measuring progress towards the goals; and (iv) sufficient involvement with planning and decision making. Calvo (11) is more specific.

She recommends greater involvement in the planning, control, and development of the tourism sector in order to achieve more harmonious growth of the sector in relation to local culture, integration with other sectors, protection of physical resources, review of incentives and taxation system, re-distribution to provide for distribution of gains, training and research. Both Fox and Calvo are in effect discussing the general elements of planning.

8.11 There are, however, few instances where local participation has been attempted. Two examples of such successful participation are at Leavenworth, and in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Project (Falk & Brodie, 30). It might be suggested that both these instances relate to developed countries. Local participation may be more complex and time-consuming when a large percentage of the affected and "impacted" (to use Falk & Brodie's term) population is dispersed and illiterate. It is in this area that sociologists can assist: in identifying the traditional forms of organization and the means by which decisions are arrived at. To deny that local residents have opinions and are capable of involvement--which failure to consult would imply--is to deny their humanity.

#### IX. AN END AND A BEGINNING

9.00 This chapter will comment generally on the literature, with particular reference to a few key issues; enumerate topics deserving of further investigation; and make recommendations with practical implications for Bank operations.

##### A. General Observations on the Literature

9.01 There is a widespread ambivalence in the sociological literature about the use of tourism as a technique for economic development. On the one hand the changes attributed to tourism, particularly the "negative aspects," are deplored and there is an undercurrent theme that people in the destination area should be "kept as they are;"

on the other hand, there is a grudging admission that in many cases tourism is the only viable means for promoting economic development. What is left unexamined is that change is inevitable and the goals and hopes of the host population should play the most important role in determining the direction of change and the means by which this can be attained.

9.02 A corollary of the preceding statement is that there is no assessment of whether the alleged changes attributed to tourism are peculiar to tourism or whether they accompany all "modernization" processes--for example, industrialization. There is no comparative study available which throws light on this question. In this regard, the statement of Joshi and Sharpston (55) regarding the impact of tourism in Antigua is apposite. They believe that the changes resulting from tourism would have taken place with the development of any other leading sector.

9.03 Assuming that there is "modernization" as a result of tourism, the literature does not clearly assess whether the transition from the "traditional" to the "modern" involves changes in social structure, attitudes, and values, or changes in social structure and attitudes alone. In other words, is it external forms that alone change, does the host population merely re-assess the methods by which it attains its goals, while the goals and values remain unaltered? The entire "modern"/"traditional" dichotomy, which started as an analytical construct but was reified, is currently undergoing agonizing re-appraisal.

9.04 Once it is accepted that the "traditional" can be found in "modern" garb, the analysis and understanding of the impact of tourism is facilitated. It would also be recognized that cultural homogenization need not necessarily result from external manifestations of "modernization." As the analysis in the preceding chapters has shown, the relationship between tourism and resultant changes in the host society has rarely been drawn with clarity. In the case of values, the impact is indirect



and mediated: it requires an accepted agent, who is not usually a "tourist." With regard to heightening racial perceptions and conflict, pre-existing economic and sociocultural conditions have not been weighed carefully. Even in the socio-economic realm, the acceptance of new ways of living, the increased consumption of goods and services, must be related to the goals and values of the destination area and the models which the wider society portrays as acceptable.

9.05 Although there is a good deal of theorizing about tourism as a new form of economic neo-colonialism, few have paused to consider whether, in fact, the very process of modernization involves increasing loss of local control; whether, in other words, functions formerly performed within a small traditional group are taken over by the wider society. The very basis of modernization involves among other elements mass production, through economies of scale and standardization, and the substitution of achievement for ascription as a test of status.

9.06 What appears to be really crucial is the process of the "institutionalization" of tourism. The literature is confusing in its loose employment of the term "mass" tourist to describe the type that predominates with institutionalization. The more acceptable dichotomy would be that between "institutionalized" and "non-institutionalized" tourists. Institutionalized tourism is a qualitative, not merely a quantitative, change in the type of tourism.

9.07 There is no extended comparative analysis on why tourism has a greater impact on some societies and not on others. What has been presented in Chapter IV are hypotheses based on an evaluation of the literature. It has been postulated that there are four crucial elements which will permit balanced growth in a tourism destination area without radical changes in social structure, causing possible social anomie, and resulting in loss of local control (giving rise almost inevitably to resentment).

They are: (i) sufficient differentiation of the local organizational structure enabling it to respond to each level of tourism development without a re-definition of roles; (ii) duality of purposes and meanings of local "events" such that each "event" has an independent meaning for the tourist and host, and the event can take place without the presence of tourists; (iii) tourism supplements existing occupations and the income from tourism is used to strengthen existing cultural values; and (iv) the formulation and execution of plans for tourism with local participation at all stages. It would be desirable if these hypotheses were tested.

B. Topics for Further Investigation

9.08 This part briefly outlines some topics which are believed to be deserving of further research:

( i) Comparative studies of tourism development in destination areas through all three stages. This will add to the few studies that are now available (examples are Tajos, Point Gambell, Mykonos, Leavenworth, Tahiti) and also test the hypotheses that tourism promotes economic and social development in a destination area without causing local resentment if (a) the local organizational structure is sufficiently differentiated in relation to each stage of tourism development to take advantage of tourism without "outside" interference; and/or (b) each "event" or "local resource" (a temple or cathedral) which attracts tourists has independent meanings for tourist and host, and the event or resource can take place, or be enjoyed, respectively, without the presence of tourists; and/or (c) tourism income merely supplements income from existing occupations and is used to strengthen cultural values; and/or (d) planning with local participation is an integral part of tourism development from the earliest stages.

Undoubtedly, since there is no definite, known, time-frame within which tourism develops in any destination area; in numerous instances these studies will involve reconstruction of events or forecasting. As Smith (96), however, suggests, there are many sociologists who have done fieldwork in destination areas where tourism now flourishes. They have made notes on their first and frequent re-visits which should contain information which will enable them to trace the process of tourism development. This information can be recovered without great difficulty;

(ii) Evaluation of the comparative impact of tourism and the development of any other leading sector (say, industry) on a destination area. At present there are two opposing "hunches" about the comparative impact. Joshi and Sharpston (55) believe that the impact of tourism is the same as any other sector; Greenwood (45, 46), however, feels that the impact of tourism is greater because (a) tourism develops more rapidly and (b) tourism uses people in the destination area as "objects." This dispute could be resolved through factual studies. Suggested areas where such studies can be conducted are Mexico, Yugoslavia, and Turkey;

(iii) Studies of the comparative impact on destination areas of "spontaneous" and "induced" tourism. It is hypothesized that "induced" tourism has the same impact on destination areas as stage III or "spontaneous" tourism, unless the conditions mentioned in (i) above are present. These studies would be of great value for Bank operations;



- ( iv) Evaluation of the comparative impact of institutionalized and non-institutionalized tourists on a destination area;
- ( v) Studies of the influence that the physical environment in the destination area ("place"/"setting") has on (a) the type of tourists that will visit and (b) the behavior of tourists;
- ( vi) Analyses of mechanisms of distribution of tourism income with particular reference to changes in social structure, patterns of health and nutrition and life styles;
- (vii) Patterns of migration to destination areas. Effect of this migration on kinship ties and other social obligations;
- (viii) Roles that different ethnic/sub-cultural groups in a pluralistic society play in constraining or promoting social change, and/or contact with tourists;
- ( ix) Educational levels and wages of employees in the tourism sector compared with employees in other sectors in a developing country with/without institutionalized tourism;
- ( x) Impact of tourism on the status of women, with particular reference to her ability to control and utilize tourism income;
- ( xi) Surveys of local attitudes towards tourism/tourists at different stages of tourism development. Why valuations of tourism change, if at all. Whether local resentment reflects "irritation" with tourists per se, or can be attributed to causes other than tourism (for example, loss of local control);
- (xii) Studies of the changing role and status of culture brokers as tourism develops through each stage;

(xiii) The impact of tourism on "traditional" patterns of land-use, land ownership, and exploitation of marine resources;

(xiv) Evaluation of the impact of tourism education programs on host populations. Since this topic has not been dealt with earlier because of lack of data, it might be mentioned that in both Barbados and Fiji tourism education programs were planned to orient the host population to tourists/tourism. The success of these plans is not known.

(xv) The development of social indicators; and

(xvi) Evaluations of the success of tourism plans in attaining targets in destination areas where such plans exist. Who has benefitted? Why?

#### C. The Role of the Bank in Tourism

9.09 To date, the recognition of the social aspects of tourism in Bank tourism projects has been intermittent. This has been mainly due to the absence of a defined sociological methodology which could be applied to Bank tourism projects. The literature of sociology is replete with theorizing, but lacks a generally accepted set of procedures for the analysis of tourism. This exercise, as well as the Seminar are part of the Bank's continuing effort to regularize the inclusion of social considerations in projects.

9.10 It would be useful to set out some "limitations" and describe the different levels of Bank operations before specifying where the input of sociologists would be most fruitful, since it is believed that the input of sociologists, and their utility, will vary with different types of operations.

9.11 There are two "limitations" in Bank operations: First, the costs of project identification, preparation and appraisal place minimum limits on the amounts of loans or credits that can be made. This lower limit therefore excludes Bank interest in



projects, however useful they may be, which are too small. Second, the Bank usually lends to countries where tourism has already commenced. Generally, it enters at stage II of tourism development--often, in the transition period between stages II and III. This places further limitations on the extent to which the Bank can influence tourism development in a country. Where, however, the Bank is requested to assist in "inducing" tourism (for example, in developing new destination areas), the Bank can assist greatly in formulating plans and tourism goals, encouraging local participation and developing local administrative and technical capacity.

9.12 The work of the Tourism Projects Department in the Bank can be divided into three main types: sector studies, project appraisal (sometimes including project identification and preparation), and project supervision. Sector studies could be defined as the overall assessment of the role of tourism in the economic development of a country, the potential for further tourism development, a preliminary identification of geographic areas where such further development might take place, and an evaluation of the country's needs (financial, organizational, marketing, research) in order to attain such development. At this macro level, the role of the sociologist would mainly cover the following areas:

- ( i) Assistance in the development and ranking of goals for tourism development in the country;
- ( ii) Assessment of the social constraints on goal attainment;
- (iii) Description and evaluation of social strata and their relationship to goal attainment;
- ( iv) A description of organizational structures (particularly administrative and technical) in the country;
- ( v) Assistance in defining the type of tourism that the country can carry and should encourage. Evaluation of the means



by which tourism targets can be attained (including the creation of formal organizations where necessary and strengthening existing organizations);

( vi) Assessment of linkages between formal and informal social structures;

( vii) Analysis of population growth and migration patterns;

(viii) Assistance in the development of social indicators and for the collection and monitoring of social data;

( ix) Preliminary assessment of potential social impact of projects in areas identified;

( x) Periodic review to update/modify recommendations made; and

( xi) Recommendations regarding the methods by which local residents in the areas primarily identified as being suitable for further tourism development, can participate in plan preparation and execution. This may involve an analysis of the formal/informal channels of communication and their relative strengths.

Even though the Bank may lend to a country during stage II of tourism development, quite often countries where sector studies are undertaken do not have tourism plans. The Bank has a vital role to play in assisting plan formulation consistent with the country's goals. The assessment of the country's needs might give rise to projects in which technical assistance is the major component--assistance in defining goals, policy, research, marketing strategies; the development of monitoring capacity; the preparation of plans which are based on resources (physical, financial, managerial capability); the assistance in creation of organizations that will follow defined principles regarding, for instance, land-use, acquisition, and transfer; the formulation of policy regarding incentives and ownership; and assistance in the

analysis of alternative methods of attaining developmental goals.

9.13 Projects, the second major area of the Tourism Projects Department's work, generally go through a cycle of identification, preparation, and appraisal before a loan is made. The process involves much greater specificity to the broad outlines laid down in the sector studies (and in the country's plans). It is believed that there are several questions which the Bank should ask itself (and answer) before any loan is made. The most important of these are:

- ( i ) is the project consistent with the goals defined in the country's plans/sector studies?
- ( ii ) who are the target beneficiaries in the proposed project; to what extent do they benefit?
- (iii) will the project introduce/increase "institutionalized" tourism? If it will, is the project at all necessary--are there, for instance, other alternatives such as encouraging family hotels and strengthening these with technical assistance to develop common services (accounting, marketing, laundering)?
- ( iv ) will the proposed project introduce hotels which will compete for tourists who already use existing hotels?
- ( v ) what type of tourists can the proposed destination area carry? How does the project assist in creating the capacity to carry these tourists? In other words, will the project diminish local control in decision-making and management of tourism? How can this local control be fostered and strengthened? Adequacy of administrative and technical skills for the level of tourism planned?
- ( vi ) will the project change patterns of ownership in the destination area, encouraging, for instance, outsiders?

( vii) what provisions exist for the regulation of transfer and acquisition of land? How effective are these? What continuing interest do former owners of acquired land retain in the lands?

(viii) what backward linkages does the project create or strengthen with other sectors? By what methods are these to be achieved (including training)?

( ix) what traditional (informal/formal) social organizations exist in the destination area? How effective are these? How can these traditional organizations be linked with project organizations?

( x) what is the local cultural profile? How will these values advance or hinder project execution?

( xi) what are the existing means of communication of decisions and plans? How representative are these? How can local participation be strengthened or achieved?

( xii) what are local attitudes towards tourism?

(xiii) social strata in the project area;

( xiv) occupational profiles. Attitudes and belief systems relating to different types of work;

( xv) migration patterns. Will the project stimulate migration and/or provide for persons who have already migrated in search of employment? What provisions will be made? Will the increased population in, or near, the project area overburden existing community services, or contribute to social deviance?



( xvi ) will the project deprive/curtail the use of facilities which the local population used, or believes it had a right to use? How can the continued right to use these facilities be provided for?

( xvii ) what provisions does the project contain for the creation or strengthening of the ability to monitor and evaluate the impact of the project?

9.14 Sociologists can assist in answering all the questions--except, possibly, for (iii) which sociologists can only partially answer. It must, however, be pointed out that, given Bank practice, sociologists should be brought in at the earliest stage (preferably at identification/preparation/pre-appraisal) otherwise projects tend to get crystallized and the ability of a sociologist to provide a useful input is reduced.

9.15 In the third major area of the Department's work--project supervision--the main roles of sociologists are:

( i ) assessment of the impact of the project--an evaluation of the extent to which the appraisal estimates and assumptions have been validated;

( ii ) the effectiveness of the organizations in carrying out the work estimated at appraisal and prescribed by the loan/credit documents; and

(iii) any new trends which may require alterations in the project and in future projects.

ENVOI

Most developing countries have adopted ideals of equality of opportunity and equitable distribution. For many of them tourism is an important technique of achieving economic development. But often they lack the skills and the financial

ability to plan for tourism. It is here that the Bank, and other international organizations, can play an important part in assisting these countries to promote development consistent with the goals that have been adopted. The problems attendant upon the institutionalization of tourism are not inevitable if there is careful planning, an acceptance of local participation, a close relationship between plan targets and local capacity, and the growth of organizations capable of managing tourism. Then, it is likely that economic and social growth will be combined with the exchange of ideas, and the spread of understanding between peoples.

INDEX TO ANNEXES

<u>S. No.</u>	<u>Author(s)</u>	<u>Area/Subject</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Annex</u>	<u>Page</u>
1.	Adams, J.	General	1972	II	1
2.	Aerni, L.J.	Uganda/safari	1972	I	24-5
3.	Alexandrakis, N.E.	Greece	1973	II	1
4.	Allsop, K.	Drifters	1972	II	82-3
5.	Ashman, M.	Micronesia	n.d.	II	32-6
6.	Belt, Collins & Assc.	Fiji	1973	II	36-8
7.	Bigelow, C.D. & Assc.	Rwanda	1973	II	38-9
8.	Bird, R.A.	Planning	1971	II	39
9.	Blake, E.W.	Virgin Islands	1974	I	52-3
10.	Butler, R.W.	Off-road vehicles	1973	II	39-40
11.	Calvo, D.	Caribbean	1974	II	2-3
12.	Caribbean Ec. Council	Caribbean	n.d.	II	40
13.	Cohen, E.	Tourist typology	1972	I	26-30
14.		Eliat/Arab boys	1972	I	31-2
15.		Drifters	1973	I	37-40
16.		Who is a tourist	1974	I	53-7
17.	Cowan, G.	Cook Islands	n.d.	I	114
18.	Dasmann, R.F. <u>et al</u>	Ecology & tourism	1973	II	40-1
19.	Deitch, L.I.	South-west U.S.A.	1974	I	57-9
20.	Deval, W.	Free beaches: U.S.A.	1976	I	128
21.	Diamond, J.	Turkey	1974	II	3-5
22.	Doctoroff, M.	Social indicators	1976	II	5-6
23.	Doxey, G.V.	Barbados/encounter	1973	II	6-7
24.		Irridex/Barbados/ Niagara-on-the-lake (Ontario)	1976	II	7-9
25.	Doxey, G.V. & Assc.	Barbados	n.d.	II	9-10
26.	Economist, The	Spain	1974	II	10
27.	Esh, T. & I. Rosenblum	Gambia	1975	II	42-7
28.	Evans, M.	Puerto Vallarta (Mexico)	1976	I	128-130
29.	Pages, J. & T.B. McGrath	Guam/Tahiti	1975	II	47-8
30.	Falk, R.F. & D.Q. Brodie	Great Smoky Mountains (U.S.A.)/ Citizen involvement	1976	II	48-9
31.	Finney, B.R.	Tahiti	1975	I	114-5
32.	Finney, B.R. & K. Watson	General/Workshop	n.d.	I	115-6
33.		Hawaii	n.d.	I	116-7
34.	Force, R.W.	Pacific/urban	1975	I	117
35.	Force R.W. & M. Force	Kinship/urban	1975	I	118
36.	Forster, J.	Pacific/General	1964	I	4-7
37.	Fox, M.	Social impact	n.d.	I	118-9
38.	Francillon, G.	Eali	1974-5	I	110-3
39.	Fraser, R.	Tajos (Spain)	1973	II	83-5
40.	Friedl, J.	Kippel (Switzerland)	1973	I	41-2
41.	Fukunaga, L.	M. Kohala (Hawaii)	n.d.	II	49-52
42.	Gearing, C.E. <u>et al</u>	Quantitative plann.	1976	II	10-1
43.	Goldstein, V.	Planning	n.d.	II	52-3



44.	Greenwood, D.J.	Fuenterrabia (Spain)	1970	I	10-6
45.		Tourism/change	1972	I	33-6
46.		Tourism/cultural commoditization	1974	I	59-60
47.		Updates 1972 art.	1976	I	130-1
48.	Hoagland, J.	Mykonos	1976	II	85
49.	Horne, D.	Package tours	1976	II	53-4
50.	Hudson, E. & E. Peladan	South Pacific	1971	II	54
51.	Hugill, P.J.	Southend-on-Sea (U.K.)	1975	II	54-6
52.	Hutson, J.	Valloire (S. France)	1971	I	21-3
53.	IBRD	Jamaica	1971	II	88-9
		Korea	1971	II	89
		Malaysia	1972	II	89
		Yugoslavia	1973	II	89-90
		Mexico	1972	II	90
		Morocco	1974	II	90
		Philippines	1974	II	90-1
54.	Johannes, R.E.	Oceania/Marine resources	1975	II	56-7
55.	Joshi, V. & M. Sharpston	Antigua	1973	II	11-3
56.	Kanellakis, V.	Greece	1975	II	13-4
57.	Kent, N.	Hawaii	n.d.	I	119-123
58.	Kjellstrom, S.B.	Morocco	1974	II	15-9
59.	Kloke, C.	South Pacific	n.d.	II	19-21
60.	Kreck, L.A.	General	1969	II	57-8
61.	Kruschke, E.R.	Tourism/Energy	1974	II	58
62.	LeFevre, T.	Cook Islands	n.d.	II	21-3
63.		Tourism/Dev.Count.	n.d.	II	23-4
64.	Loeb, L.D.	Jews in Iran	1974	I	61
65.	Loukissas, P.J.	Mykonos	1975	I	54-8
66.	Lundberg, D.E.	General	1972	II	25
67.	MacCannell, D.	Tourism/Stage	1973	I	43-4
68.	May, R.J.	Tourism & art/PNG	n.d.	II	62-5
69.	McGrath, W.A.	Land use & control.	1975	II	65-7
70.	McGrevy, N.L.	Polynesian Cultural Center (Hawaii)	1975	I	123-4
71.	McKean, P.F.	Bali/Culture change	1973	I	45-6
72.		Bali/Cult. involut.	1974	I	61-4
73.	Milner, G.B.	Samoa/Alternatives	1972	II	85-6
74.	Mitchell, F.H.	Kenya	1971	II	25-6
75.	Moore, K.	Los Santos (Canary Islands)	1970	I	17-20
76.	Nash, D.	Tourism/Imperialism	1974	I	65-8
77.	Nolan, S.D., Jr.	Travel styles	1975	II	67-9
78.	Nunez, T.A. Jr.	Cajitilan (Mexico)	1963	I	1-3
79.		General	1974	I	68-71
80.	O'Loughlin, C.	W. Indies/Ghana	1970	II	26-7
81.	Ouma, J.P.B.M.	East Africa	1970	II	69-70
82.	Packer, L.V.	Mykonos/Bödrum (Turkey)/Leavenworth (Washington State)	1974	I	71-98

83.	Perez, L.A.	West Indies/ Tourism & Underdevelopment	1973-74	I	50-1
84.	Pi-Sunyer, O.	Spain/stereotypes	1974	I	99-100
85.	Popovic, V.	East Africa	1972	II	27
86.	Radke, D., <u>et al</u>	Sri Lanka	1975	II	27-32
87.	Reiter, R.R.	Colpied, La Roche (S. France)	1973	I	47-9
88.		La Roche	1974	I	100-1
89.	Ritchie, J.E.	Maori/PNG	n.d.	I	124-5
90.	Robineau, C.	Tahiti/Dev. stages	n.d.	I	125-7
91.	Robinson, G.W.S.	South Asia	1972	II	70-1
92.	Samy, J.	Fiji/Hotel employee	n.d.	II	71-4
93.	Sanchez, G.C.	Guam/Planning	1975	II	74
94.	Sanchez, P.C.	Guam/"Layering"	1975	II	75
95.	Shankland Cox Partnership	Caribbean/Supply	1974	II	76-7
96.	Smith, V. E.	Alaska/Eskimo	1974	I	101-5
97.		Symposium summary	1976	I	131
98.	Stanton, M.	Poly. Cult. Center	n.d.	II	77
99.	Sutton, W.A., Jr.	The encounter	1967	I	8-9
100.	Swain, M.	Cuna/San Blas/ Panama	1974	I	105-8
101.	Talbot, M.	West Indies	1974	I	108
102.	Theroux, P.	Drifters/Afghanistan	1976	II	86-7
103.	Tong, D.	Planning/Hawaii	n.d.	II	77-8
104.	Turner, L. & J. Ash	General	1975	II	87-8
105.	Udayana University	Bali	1974	II	78-80
106.	United States Government	Tourism/U.S.A.	1973	II	81-2
107.	Unpingco, M.R.	Guam	1975	II	80-1
108.	Urbanowicz, C.F.	Tonga	1974	I	109
109.	West, R.	Tourists in Africa	1973	II	81
110.	Zecha, A.	General	1972	II	82

SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE: SUMMARIES  
(arranged chronologically)

NUNEZ, T.A., Jr. 1963. Tourism, tradition, and acculturation:

Weekendismo in a Mexican village. Ethnology, 2, 347-352.

The article examines the impact of tourism on the values, and the social structure of Cajitilán, a village on the sea shore 32 km. from Guadalajara.

The village before 1960

Till 1960 the village and its primarily agricultural community hardly had any contact with the outside world. It was a male-oriented society, with the male role expressed in the machismo syndrome. The village was divided into two equal and rival barrios whose membership was hereditary. The barrios were generally endogamous. The village council with its elected members and unpaid mayor had little prestige. Social control was the function of the church rather than of the police or political authority.

The Mexican war of independence and revolution had largely passed the village by; while land reform prompted village unity and cooperation and diminished inter-barrio conflict.

Tourism enters

"In 1959 two Guadalajara businessmen, interested in land speculation, began to promote the construction of a road into Cajitilán. They 'discovered' the village, purchased tracts of lake-shore property, and persuaded the state government that the construction of a road and subsequent exploitation of the natural beauty of the area would enhance the state's tourist resources." (348). The road was completed in 1960. At the same time, one of the promoters had had constructed motels with water sports facilities along the lake shore. These motels were also completed in 1960.

Effects of tourism

The influx of visitors has resulted in changes in the life-styles and values of the villagers. Briefly, these are:

1. Contacts with wealthy and upper class Guadalarajarans with their "paraphernalia of a twentieth century leisure class: speedboats and water skis, outdoor barbecue equipment and transistor radios, beach umbrellas and brief bathing suits, Mercedes automobiles and uniformed servants -- whatever money can buy". (349). They present an image of urban Mexico as one of wealth and presumably limitless leisure, for the peasant does not comprehend that it represents only weekend leisure. The wealthier have purchased their own plots with plumbing and running water, features unknown to the village. The houses are constructed in "urban fashion". This profile of urban culture is so remote from the villagers' experience that they think that the tourists are Americans and have called the tourist enclave "Barrio Americano". Contacts between



the tourists and the villagers are primarily economic; non-economic contacts always find the villager relegated to a lower class than the tourist.

2. The villagers themselves have not been slow to respond to the possibilities of making money <sup>1/</sup> which tourism has presented: Shortly after the completion of the road, two beer pavilions were constructed on the lake shore; lands formerly used for cash garden crops were sold as building sites; real estate brokers have come into existence; larger quantities of consumer goods have been stocked in the plaza market; there is more fresh meat displayed; local fishermen convert their craft into sight-seeing craft; the village musicians serenade picnicking groups. "Increased and new forms of commercial activity indicate an incipient local market economy and the advent of the entrepreneur as a new and important role" (351).

3. A highly-placed official busied himself in the affairs of the village and in tourist development after the construction of the road. He introduced "reforms" which were "designed to make the village more appealing from the tourist point of view." These reforms, however, have dramatically altered local culture patterns." (349). The most important was the seconding of three rural police ("rurales") directly responsible to the state government. Horse racing and pistol carrying, both indices of machismo were banned; blood feuds were stopped. The increased security has been welcomed by the older family heads; the young resent the change which has closed outlets for the display of their manhood. "Resentment is directed against the rurales themselves and not against the reasons for their presence, tourism" (350). The state government has also prohibited hunting in the hills, and ordered the destruction of stray dogs; drunkenness and urinating in the streets now results in a jail sentence; and the wearing of calzones is forbidden. All these measures were passed without local consultation. But they have been accepted with traditional peasant obedience to outside authority.

4. The alteration of the external symbols of manhood, and the potential for profit through tourism-related enterprises has altered inter-barrio relations, and the prestige of local council membership. Hostilities between the barrios, relatively dormant since the 1920s, has been revived for the control of political power by one or the other barrio has become a matter of the greatest concern. Political allegiance is structured along barrio lines; charges of fraud, special elections, political meetings, and disputes over the operation of the ejido have become common. "These conflicts have resulted in a general breakdown of village level cooperation." (351)

Nunez finds that the holding of political office, formerly a matter of obligation, has taken a different role in the light of tourism and the potential for material benefit. The growing awareness of political power at the local level enabling material gains has given a new importance to an existing structural component of the society.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Throughout this summary and those that follow, the emphasis has been added.

Conclusion

More importantly, from the theoretical viewpoint Nunez pleads for the recognition of tourism as "a legitimate and necessary area of culture change research" particularly since tourism "may bring about rapid and dramatic changes in the loci of authority, land-use patterns, value systems, and portions of an economy". (352). No change is without conflict, and the tourist -- "more ubiquitous than the missionary, the technical assistance agent, or the trader" -- must be considered like his forerunners as an agent of diffusion and acculturation.



FORSTER, J. 1964. The Sociological consequences of tourism.

International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 5, 217-227.

This is an analysis of the development of tourism (viewed as a social "process") based on the author's experience in Hawaii, and New Zealand and on his conversations with persons familiar with Samoa, Tahiti, Fiji, and the Island Territories of New Zealand. The principles developed by the author are "most pertinent to is economies without a long period of modern economic development and which are non-industrial." (218). The economies are single or dual crop economies producing for an overseas market. In other words, though the author has the Pacific islands primarily in mind, his remarks refer generally to "underdeveloped" countries, defined here as "economies which are not and cannot be in the foreseeable future self-sustaining". (218)

Forster's analysis could be re-phrased as a series of principles illustrated by examples from the Pacific:

1. "The introduction of tourism will be disruptive depending upon its relative importance to other sectors of the economy and the extent to which it fits the established local conditions". (219). Advanced economies are not greatly influenced by the development of tourist industries because, first, the general flow of tourists tends to be outwards to countries with lower economic standards; second, the sectors of the economy tend to be roughly equally developed and this is a buffer against severe economic disruption caused, for instance, by drastic occupational shifts in the labor force; third, entrenched interests (both business owners and labor) may be able to block new tourist development, the latter possibly viewing the new industry as lower in status.

2. Countries which are extensively industrialized may yet have pockets of underdevelopment which could become tourist areas within the country. These are generally areas outside normal areas of living and industrialization. They usually possess the following characteristics: (a) "charm" -- they are very old, or possess some local attraction which acts as a bait; (b) a cost of living visitors can afford; and (c) adequate and cheap enough transportation to permit easy access. "A tourist region then must possess natural advantages and a slightly lower standard of living than the region from which it draws its tourists. Such a region is likely to be strongly influenced by the new industry. People may desire to change their occupations, the capital resources of the area may be diverted into tourism to the disadvantage of other sectors. Finally, in such an area there will be relatively little resistance to such a development -- land will be available, and for many people the new occupations will be more desirable than the old". (219).

3. At each stage of tourism development "the interests, desires and capacities of the tourists are different and thus, at each stage different demands are made upon the local community". (220-221). An island is first "discovered" by the wealthy who can afford to reach it and maintain their



lifestyle. Often these elite "discoverers" may combine to restrict the access of others to their land, communications, and other ingredients requisite for a larger influx. This is rare. Increased visitors lower the cost of travel to, and the cost of living in, the resort. Stated differently, "the greater the number of tourists the lower their average spending power". (220). Each increase in numbers of tourists demands greater capital investment which in turn results in trying to obtain a greater number of visitors, particularly in order to maintain returns on what is a heavy investment in a trade which is in fact a seasonal phenomenon. One effect is intense local competition for tourists who at this stage generally come on a pre-paid plan and a tight budget. The only development which may compensate for overcapitalization and the changing financial status of tourists is the "development of permanent settlement by persons who wish to retire in and around the resort area". (220).

4. The money which tourists bring "reaches further both in the sense of touching more people more often and in giving a monetary valuation to more aspects of behavior. Tourism thus causes a change in both the standard of living and the style of life of a community". (221). First, tourists bring an increased demands for new goods and services; tourists are generally persons with a higher than average incomes in their countries of origin and demand certain minimum conveniences. These demands result in increased local competition for resources to supply the tourists -- particularly land and food. Land speculation becomes common; a dual price system (one for locals, another for tourists) is only maintained for a brief period largely because "entrepreneurial activities are gradually taken over by non-locals who will not, or cannot, be bound by local conventions" (221). As the locals are increasingly brought into the cash nexus, the need for cash increases. Native handicrafts are often revived under these circumstances -- an example is Maui where the techniques of making grass skirts were learned from Filipino residents. Along with these internal changes there is increased dependence on external sources of supply -- both commodities and capital -- to compensate for local shortages. The external capital and trade serve to bring new ideas, values, and opinions which further the local changes already initiated.

Tourist demand also touches the local community and changes it through "commercialization" -- the monetary valuation of a task formerly undertaken as a matter of moral obligation. The most apt example is in the realm of native dances and ceremonies in the Pacific "where spontaneous enthusiasm and ritual observances are transformed into a performance". (222). The sacred becomes the profane. Often the result of this commercialization is to debase what was formerly valued and was an attraction for the tourists who now diminish in number leaving the local counterparts with cheap imitations of urban dresses.

5. "One of the first and most noticeable results of tourism is the creation of new occupations, and to some extent, a change in the character of work". (222). Generally, this involves a shift from primary to tertiary occupations which could be disruptive of overall development. These service occupations are generally unskilled or semi-skilled and may absorb local workers despite their low levels of education. But it would be useful to distinguish



between "direct" and "indirect" occupations in some of the new occupations. Examples of the first, involving face-to-face contact, are hotel employees, entertainers, and "natives". The last-named category generally work at first outside the main areas of tourist attraction. For the direct worker it is not so much the wage (which is usually low) but the gratuities and the opportunity, which they often look forward to, "however unrealistically, to some permanent association with wealthy tourists". These opportunities, largely imaginary, introduce intense competition for direct occupations, for the supply outruns demand.

In the "indirect" category are those occupations -- legitimate and, some, illegitimate -- where the workers perform "backstage": the food handlers, communications workers, and mechanics. They are usually more skilled than workers in direct occupations and are occupations which management finds most difficult to staff and control. "It is here that demands for wage increases or improved conditions will first arise". (244). Also included in this category are those who teach the "natives" how to behave like natives -- choreographers who teach the Hawaiians Hawaiian dancing, the "natives" at Suva in Fiji, and at Rotorua in New Zealand.

Tourism not only increases the number of occupations, and the character of work, but it also changes the rhythm of work: both seasonally and diurnally. With regard to the latter: a tourist resort that "goes to bed" at sundown ceases to be a tourist resort.

6. All these changes increase tensions and stratification: First, tourism offers increased opportunities for the young and opens the possibilities of generational conflicts. Second, those with land (who generally form the upper strata of local society) become richer. Third, local decisions now brought into a profit nexus become increasingly politicized -- and this is not merely a matter of "conservatives/traditionalists" who want to "preserve" old values against those for change. Part of this conflict arises out of the fact that tourism brings in more local persons in search of employment and new opportunities who change the character of the existing population. Not everyone is "known". "Such a growth creates both impersonality and the possibility of institutionalizing transitory relationships into a type of exploitation which can work equally for the tourist and the local". (226).

7. Where there are natives, one of the most interesting facets of tourism in the Pacific is the development of a "phony-folk" with a "phony-folk culture". "Within a very short time after a tourist influx the 'natives' cease to be natives in dress, speech, habits, and attitudes, that is assuming they were natives in the first place" (226) -- the Samoan knife dancers are an example. But since the tourist has to be provided with an "authentic" experience the native is dressed up, "ancient" dances revived. It is possible that this gives the tourist the feeling that he is attaining his dreams -- the dreams of going native. The other side of this "phony-folk culture" is that it can provide another opportunity for the confirmation of the tourists' prejudices, and the heightening of class and race differences thereby increasing the potential for conflict. For it is not everyone from among the "natives" that is allowed

to come in contact with him -- in formal settings those in control usually screen out "undesirables": the beach boy, the itinerant peddler. So too the contact between tourist and local takes on a formalism that permits the local an entre as an entertainer, rarely as an equal.

### Conclusion

At the end of a rather discursive paper Forster points out the necessity for further research into this "new and permanent economic sector" - tourism, particularly-in the area of social change as a result of rapid economic development that has important consequences for change in labor force distribution, work habits, and stratification.



SUTTON, W.A., Jr. 1967. Travel and understanding: notes on the social structure of touring. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 8, 217-223.

This article analyzes the contacts between tourist and the host as a series of "encounters" each of which contain the seeds for both good- and ill-will. He is primarily concerned with the "social-psychological and cultural elements in touring's interactional situation" (219).

#### An introductory example

Before Sutton analyzes the two aspects of the encounter (social-psychological, and cultural) he exemplifies the possibility of misunderstanding by referring to the common situation of the American tourist making a local purchase. <sup>1/</sup> Lack of knowledge of the price, suspicion of a local guide who he has been told usually receives a percentage from the shopkeeper, advice that one must bargain, all tend to make the American wary. The shopkeeper, on the other hand, starts with his own stereotypes: the wealthy American, his lack of knowledge; possibly, the feeling that the American ought not to bargain because he is wealthy. All these attitudes and suspicions can easily cause misunderstanding more easily than the goodwill that is supposed to flow from the exchange of visitors. They can, in other words, be exploitative relationships.

#### Social-psychological elements of the encounter

There are four characteristics of the social-psychological encounter: First, the relationship between visitor and host is essentially transitory and mainly non-repetitive. Second, "touring tends to highlight for both parties the importance of what may be termed an orientation to immediate gratification". (220): the tourist has to see and do as much as he can in the short time available. Third, the relationship is asymmetrical, or unbalanced, in character in that the host knows much more than the tourist can -- about resources, about prices. Fourth, the essence of the tourist experience -- the new experience -- carries with it the problem of strain of decision and choice for the tourist; and a sense of repetitive strain for the host.

#### Cultural aspects of the encounter

From the cultural point of view, the "relative congruence" of cultural attitudes varies and can itself be a cause of ill-will. The greater the cultural difference the more likely the possibility of misunderstanding.

---

<sup>1/</sup> This example has been humorously "translated" for economists. See: J. Adams. Why the American tourist abroad is cheated: a price-theoretical analysis. Journal of Political Economy, 1972, 80, 203-7.

"Of course, the particular impact of these social and cultural forces will vary with different visitors, with different hosts, and with different types of touring arrangements" (221). For instance, the planned tour may reduce the need for decision-making and somewhat lessen the knowledge-gap, at the same time it reduces the potential contact with the local host which contact is usually an essential basis of understanding.

### Conclusion

Since each of these types of contact has the potential for creating misunderstanding, Sutton suggests the need for closer examination of the relationship between tourists and hosts before the beneficial nature of exchange of ideas and people is treated as an axiom.

GREENWOOD, D. J. 1970. Agriculture, industrialization, and tourism: The economics of modern Basque farming. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh. (University Microfilms No. 71-4463). <sup>1/</sup>

This is the first dissertation by an anthropologist on the effects of tourism.

### Fieldwork

Field work for the dissertation was carried out at Fuenterrabia, in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa over a period of 15 months (May 15, 1968 - August 21, 1969).

### Purpose

The two fundamental questions the dissertation seeks to answer are "how the Basque family farm adapts its production to the shifts in the magnitude and seasonality of the demand for its produce" and "what long-term effects do these adaptations have on agriculture generally within this municipality" (1).

### The setting

Fuenterrabia is a village with a population of 878 in 1969. The village lies within the Basque province of Guipúzcoa. The village economy is primarily agricultural, but it has been increasingly drawn into the national economy by industrialization, and in more recent years, by tourism. The greater interrelationship with the national economy has affected land values, production schedules, the availability of labor, and occupations. The author analyzes the changes over the period 1920 - 1969.

### The analysis

Greenwood divides his analysis into two time periods: 1920, and 1969, commencing with the latter. The framework is a description of the factors of production (land, labor, and capital) and the means of access to these factors in the two time periods. For the purposes of this summary the comparisons will be stressed to bring out the differences between the two periods.

A chart can best serve as an introduction to the differences:

---

<sup>1/</sup>

With a few alterations, this Dissertation has now been published by Cambridge University Press. See: D.J.Greenwood. Unrewarding wealth. The commercialization and collapse of agriculture in a Spanish Basque town. New York:Cambridge University Press, 1976.



<u>Population</u>	<u>As % of total pop. (municipal)</u>	<u>No. of farms</u>	<u>% of arable land</u>	<u>Owner farms</u>	<u>Tenant farms</u>	<u>Specialization</u>		
						<u>Cattle</u>	<u>Horti-culture</u>	<u>Mixed</u>
1,932	35	256	90	59	168	none	none	256
878	9	168	38			84	9	67

It can be readily seen that the total population and the number of farms has decreased. And, as Greenwood points out, the decrease in the number of farms has not been limited to marginal farms. But there is much greater specialization. Further, in 1969, 163 farms raised enough vegetables, and 159 farms produced enough milk for domestic consumption.

There were further differences with regard to the factors of production with the exception of land. The area was still subject to an unpredictable annual distribution of rainfall.

1. The "capital factor" (excluding land)

In 1920 the same farm buildings as existed in 1969 were already built. They were without water and electricity. Many had these facilities by 1930. Instead of animal traction, the laya was used for plowing. This was "back breaking" work requiring teams of four persons. Therefore there had to be reciprocal arrangements for labor assistance. The use of the laya continued on a large scale until 1945. Around 1920 the "Brabant wheeled plow" appeared in the village. And this plow "revolutionized agriculture". Two people could plow rapidly and deeply with this plow. By 1945 "nearly every farm had one and many of the reciprocal labor arrangements began to lapse" (205). They had a few cows, about two to three per farm. These were mainly Swiss; Holstein the main cattle in 1969, did not appear until after World War II. The animal feed was poor, with only occasional rations of bran. The main source of income for a farmer in 1920 was the sale of apples for cider. There was a press for about every six farms. "At that time cider was everyone's drink, for wine was too expensive for the people of Fuenterrabia" (206). There was little circulating capital; no fertilizers were applied to the land; and the main diet of a farmer was corn bread and milk.

In 1969, 54 farms had power tillers; and 32 had reaping machines. Farming was profitable, with the average profit at about 12 percent per year. Horticulture was, however, much more profitable than cattle raising, accounting for about 80 percent of the total profit (with a return of about 25 - 40 percent per farm). Fertilizers were applied; Holsteins were the main cattle held by farmers and these were carefully fed. The farmer had a better diet than in 1920:



more varied, and of a better quality. Milk was sold at Fuenterrabia and the neighboring town of Irun; meat was sold at those two places and also in nearby French towns on the weekends. Vegetables were sold in the same places as milk.

## 2. Labor

In 1920, labor was the only flexible source of income available. Wage and live-in labor was available but "most farms were too poor to afford it. The life a farmer led was very hard. The question was not so much alternative applications of labor, but gaining subsistence. Irun's factories had only begun to develop and there was still little urban demand for labor. On the farm working hours were long. Plowing was done with layas generally" (206). The gathering of winter forage and the leaves for stall beds was no easier. Funds were insufficient "to pay the rents and thus the apples had to be taken in yearly and all kinds of odd jobs done to make ends meet. Jobs outside agriculture were sought after; but not many were available. The fishermen were not much better off . . . . often the taking of outside jobs was not a matter of choice but of necessity" (207). Reciprocal labor arrangements were reinforced through the concept of vecinidad (neighborhood). It is clear that the farmer "was always seeking ways of making cash to supplement his subsistence, to meet all his debts, to save for dowries, and perhaps to buy a farm or farm equipment. This cash crop orientation provided the basis for the gradual evolution into the completely commercial farming situation described for 1969" (221).

In 1969, labor was to be found almost exclusively in the family farm itself. Nearly a third of the labor force worked in industry. Greenwood estimates the "opportunity cost" of labor in 1969 at 90,000 pesetas -- the equivalent of a low-level factory worker. "Wage labor for farming is in short supply because the local factories compete with the farms for the available labor. The factories offer steady long-term, prestigious employment. The farmers generally need labor only seasonally and, while willing to pay a high price for it during the summer and fall, they were unwilling to pay an annual wage in excess of the factory wage feeling that the additional revenues from the extra labor units are insufficient to warrant this" (131-2). With the movement of labor out of the village, intensive specialization such as that offered by horticulture was likely to be more profitable than extensive specialization (as, for example, cattle raising). In all three products presently sold -- milk, meat, and vegetables -- the farmers of Fuenterrabia are now competing against producers in a wider market. In milk, the major competitor is a semi-cooperative; in meat, industrial meat packers who ship meat into Irun and Fuenterrabia on a national scale; and in vegetables, from "industrially-produced" vegetables of large-scale farmers in the plains of Navarra. Reciprocal arrangements were not to be found.



### 3. Land

There have also been significant changes in the access to land. In 1920, land prices were low; there was little demand. By 1969, land values had risen enormously. Good farm lands were in demand for homesites -- particularly for summer homes. The land values had also been influenced by three other factors: first, the purchase of large tracts of farm land by a country club; the building of an airport; and the proposed urbanization plan of the municipality. Most farm values had risen beyond the reach of the farmers. The farmers were also finding it extremely difficult to obtain loans. Hardest hit were the livestock farmers. Many of them had large tracts of land which they would be willing to sell in one lot; purchasers, mainly those who contemplated building summer homes, were interested in buying small plots. Further, the proposed municipal plan, if passed, would prohibit livestock. While, therefore, the advent of industry and tourism had at first assisted farmers, the continued growth of both threatened agriculture by 1969.

#### Why 1920

There are three reasons why 1920 was chosen as the base year for comparison with 1969. First, there was an extremely detailed local census with outlined land tenure for that year. Second, "this period was at the beginning of tourism which I consider to be a critical phenomenon" (203). Third, details of the period were accessible through interviews, local histories, and archives. There were still farmers at Fuenterrabia who had been farming as far back as 1920.

#### The elements of change

Greenwood divides the causes of the agricultural change from 1920 to 1969 into two main categories: internal and external.

##### 1. Internal

The strong industrial development of Irun began in 1920. The factories attracted people to industry, thereby reducing the village labor force; they also increased the demand for milk, meat and vegetables. The first milk sales date back to about 1920. The additional cash enabled farmers to purchase equipment and increase production. The new types of equipment rendered the old reciprocal labor arrangements obsolete. The industrial demand provided a stable cash income. Further, it provided an inducement for specialization: the smaller farms tended to specialize in horticulture; the larger, in cattle raising.

##### 2. External

a. In the 1920s the Spanish government reached bankruptcy. In order to raise its revenues it imposed a tax on cider. The income from cider -- the main cash income for the farmer till the 1920s -- was already



low; with the imposition of the cider tax, cider production became largely uneconomic. Industry was drawing away the males leaving females to do most of the hard work involved in apple-cider production. And, finally, the Brabant plow, with its long teeth, possibly affected the apple tree roots. A combination of events therefore resulted in the withering away of the cider industry.

b. The second external factor was the development of the contraband industry during the 1940s and 1950s. Basque farmers were heavily involved in this and it pumped capital into the local economy.

c. The Spanish Civil War of the late 1930s did not touch Fuenterrabia. The war ravaged most of the farms, not those of Fuenterrabia. After the war, the famine increased demand for the agricultural products of Fuenterrabia. This was further confirmation for the farmers of Fuenterrabia of the necessity for specialization.

d. Tourism <sup>1/</sup> - "The final and most decisive influence on the local economy has been national and international tourism. Fuenterrabia has always had two distinct types of tourism. In the pre-Civil war period, Guipuzcoa had been the summer playground for Spain's royalty and hence for Spain's aristocracy as well. This type of aristocratic tourism was in evidence as early as 1913 in the form of at least 30 large summer villas built on what was previously farm land in Fuenterrabia. Though the royalty disappeared, the association of this area with the aristocratic ways has continued unabated and the desire of the rich to summer here is evidenced in their key role in inflating the value of land out of the reach of the farmers.

"The second kind of tourism is mainly a post-World War II phenomenon and has been variously called mass tourism or international tourism. The fact is huge masses of middle class Spaniards and French tourists flock to the Basque country during the summers, inflating the population of Fuenterrabia about four times.

"This type of tourism has created a sharp seasonal demand for meat, milk, and vegetables in return for high cash prices and enormous sales volume. The local farmers, already established in specialization, began to approach this seasonal demand as their major source of income. Although milk and meat production is hard to target seasonally, horticulture can be exploited so as to produce enormous amounts of vegetables at specific times, though of course great skill is required to be successful.

"Farmers began to plant larger and larger plots of vegetables and aim for the months of July and August. With high returns nearly a certainty, they have been willing to invest heavily in machinery, chemical fertilizers, and anything else that increases productivity.

---

1/ Since this topic is dealt with briefly, and is the only detailed reference to tourism and change in the entire dissertation it is reproduced here in its entirety.

"This second type of tourism, in addition to making farm profits increase in the case of cattle raising, and reach an average return of investment of 40 percent in horticulture in 1969, has created enormous demand for rentable summer apartments. This demand has further stimulated Fuenterrabia's construction industry, creating more jobs. Also it has resulted in the proliferation of bars, clubs, and shops of every kind.

"To summarize, the local growth of industry and population created an expanding market for farm produce which was met by increasing specialization in production for cash. This trend was intensified in the post-World War II period by the development of the tourism industry.

"Also the increasing demand for foodstuffs forced up the price of produce to the point that large-scale industrial producers from outside began to invade the local market, thereby beginning the process of downward adjustment of profits. Industrialization and tourism stimulated agriculture by increasing demand for produce but then bid the value of land out of reach of agriculture and attracted powerful competition into the local market. In addition, local industry provided an alternative employment for labor and has created an acute scarcity of wage labor in farming...

"Agriculture is thus disappearing in Fuenterrabia and unless general conditions relating to the factors of production change it will continue to wane, having been stimulated and then weakened by industrialization, population increase, and tourism" (223-5).

#### Other cultural factors in declining farms

Greenwood then refers to other factors influencing continued agricultural development in Fuenterrabia. The most important of these are problems of succession to land, role authority, and the collapse of the vecinidad.

##### 1. Succession to land

Basque customary succession is in conflict with the Spanish laws of succession: the former provides for only one heir; the latter for equal shares for all children. Formerly, the Basque rule prevailed. Today, with increasing land values, children are more inclined to fight for their legal shares.

##### 2. Role authority

The possibility of litigation with regard to land has also affected the management of the farm. In earlier years, the farm would be taken over by the most capable and willing member of the family. Today, with the increasing drift to urban areas, there are fewer choices available. Further, the potential litigation over the land increases the reluctance of individual members to take over management.



### 3. Decline of the vecinidad

The lapse of reciprocal arrangements, has increased isolation and mutual sharing is now carried on only within the boundaries of a family. There is the consequent loss of identity as members of a neighborhood.

#### Matters of academic interest

The last few chapters of the dissertation are spent resolving problems of interest to academia. It will be noticed that although horticulture is more profitable than livestock raising, the majority of farms continue to specialize in livestock raising (84 concentrate on livestock as against 9 for agriculture). This continuance of preponderantly livestock farms is against rational profit decisions (agriculture brings in a much higher return) and also against the economic factors that on the aggregate result in lower returns for livestock.

In effect, Greenwood is attempting to resolve the question of more effective analytical tools: Can one understand the economics of agriculture in a village by reference to either the aggregate economic model used by economists, or the farm management unit model alone? Greenwood's conclusion: To arrive at thorough understanding both methods have to be used. 1/ He "proves" this by reference to case histories of individual farmers and the rationale for their decisions. The aggregate model does not explain individual decisions, the management unit model cannot answer the wider cross effects of individual decisions. The reason why livestock farmers refuse to turn to agricultural specialization; or the mixed farmers concentrate on horticulture; is explained by reference to their fears that the demand for horticulture will not last. They have therefore to protect themselves against changes in demand over which they have little control.

Finally, another academic controversy which concerns Greenwood is one among anthropologists: the "substantivist" and "formal" dispute. The adherents of the former view suggest that anthropologists cannot apply the concepts of modern economics to the economies of primitive societies because there are differences of substance, not merely degree, between modern and primitive economies. The "formalists" on the other hand suggest that these differences are merely of degree, and that modern economic concepts are capable of application. Greenwood suggests that both extremes are erroneous.

---

1/ This is not a view peculiar to anthropologists. See Polly Hill. "Rural Hausa", Cambridge University Press, 1972.



MOORE, K. 1970. Modernization in a Canary Island village: An indicator of social change in Spain. Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society, 2, 19-34.

This excellent article deals with rapid change initiated by outside agents who were notable for their almost total lack of power. The agents were seven invalid Swedes of moderate means.

The setting: 1955

Los Santos is one of the villages in the rain shadow of Pico Teide, a 11,200 foot mountain, on the island of Tenerife. A village of 1,200 inhabitants with no cattle, sheep, or gardens. For, in contrast to the northern side of the island, the south is a dry barren wasteland covered with black rivers of petrified lava. The most important occupation was agricultural labor in the tomato fields, fishing was subsidiary. All the land within 20 kms. of the village was owned by three families (caciques). Laborers are paid in cash. The traditional meal was a wheat and corn flour gruel, some fresh vegetables and bananas, occasional fish, and, rarely, beef, goat, or chicken. Mobility across the mountain was rare, and fearful (since the mountains were said to be inhabited by spirits) -- not more than 50 had done this journey. The tomato trucks were the only regular communication with the outside, but these were driven mainly by men from the northern side. A priest visited the village once a month for services. A few received the weekly newspaper, and the presence of the mountain blocked off radio reception. Local businesses were: three part-time bars, one doorway kiosk selling fresh vegetables and staples, a textile store, and a barbershop. There was no restaurant, no butcher, no pharmacy, no electricity (or refrigeration). The fish catch was sold immediately after the boats docked; clothing was hand-sewn, and the shoes (canvas with unlined rubber soles) were locally made. The villagers believed that they lacked political and economic power totally. It was rumored that the cacique families had, through cheating, falsification of records, and murder, managed to obtain possession of the land.

The Swedes enter: 1956

The first Swede took up residence at Los Santos in 1956. He suffered from multiple sclerosis, was a man of moderate means, and wanted a climate and a place that would reduce his arthritis and permit cheap help. He soon invited six friends to join him -- all affected by arthritis, poliomyelitis, or nerve damage. Together they formed a partnership, rented a house (named Casa Sueca -- the Swedish Home), hired a cook and maids, and also teenage boys as wheel-pushers. They learned fluent Spanish in six months. The Swedes were extremely well-received and were treated "with the traditional guest-host ritual of Spaniards characterized by excessive kindness, hospitality, and formality that served to maintain social distance and hide the inner structure of the village (from) those on the outside" (23). Though the

Swedes were of higher status, their need for assistance made for an egalitarian relationship; they assisted the school master with his classes. "But their major effort was devoted to overcoming disadvantages resulting from the lack of electricity, refrigeration, fresh meat, and numerous other conveniences" (23).

Stage II: 1956 - winter 1961-62

By the winter of 1961-62 the following changes had taken place: the baker had started baking bread according to a Swedish recipe; the grocery store owner made monthly trips to obtain canned goods -- especially ham, frankfurters, corned beef. More visitors, at first friends and relatives of the Swedes, **started** paying short visits. The grocer built a second-storey addition, and, later, two more storeys. A resident of the northern side with relatives in the village built a small pension, installed a generator and supplied the surplus electricity to those who paid to have wires installed. The major innovation was the construction of a movie house with money supplied by the landlords, and electricity by the owner of the pension; the first restaurant, modelled on a hot-dog stand, was built. There were four small bars where English & Scandinavian was spoken. The villagers had responded to the Swedes out of traditional values regarding guests as well as through the profit motive.

By 1962 the number of non-villagers in Los Santos varied between 80 and 120, and, of these, about 30 to 40 were non-Swedes from various countries in Europe. "The general pattern of change can be described as demands provided by a market community responded to by village entrepreneurs. The small changes instituted by the baker and the grocer were repeated a hundred fold through the developmental period" (25). Local seamstresses copied fashion magazines; the fishermen took paying guests on their boats, the restaurant owner installed an ice cream machine (and sold the excess electricity providing the first daytime light in Los Santos). When the sale of the electricity proved profitable, he bought a larger generator.

The focal point of the community was the movie house: it became a courting center for the yet unmarried. "The village children who had matured between 1957 and 1962 had developed in a milieu that contrasted sharply with that of their parents and grandparents" (25-6). The focal point was the analysis of the movies and the relative merits of the traditions of the village compared with those portrayed in the films: the villagers admired Swedish technology, education, and literacy, but thought that they were immoral. The Swedes admired the generosity and concern of the villagers but thought that they were stupid and superstition-ridden. The church rarely opened in the entire period (till winter 1961-62) more than once a month, and the religious void was filled by two elderly defrocked nuns who took up residence in the village and collected money from showing religious films. They claimed the village was filled with sin and made public announcements of the of the gossip they could gather in regard to this. They were soon stopped by the federal police on the complaint of the Swedes and some villagers. By then, however, they had some following.



Some of the village boys in their 20s had learned of job opportunities in Europe and were helped by the Swedes who showed them the most inexpensive means of travel, and also gave them names and addresses of friends and relatives with whom they could stay. In 1962 the first wedding between a Scandinavian and a villager (the baker's eldest daughter) took place.

### Stage III: 1962 on

In ten years of small changes the village had, by 1962, become "a socially complex community that was able to provide many of the necessary services of a resort" (27). Some of the effects were: increased range of occupational opportunities; better diet (availability of fresh meat and canned goods in a new supermarket, beef, pork, fish, eggs, rabbits, and goat). Other services available were a full-time doctor, a pharmacy, a full-time priest, a taxi cab, and a clothing store. The bus served the village six times a week and there were also three mini buses. The shoes worn were now typical Spanish footwear for city and resort. Nine privately owned generators now provided electricity so that throughout the night there was some street lighting.

But the expanded population and services also brought some problems: the village lacked public garbage disposal; it was alleged that the villagers were dumping sewage waste from their septic tanks on the beach at night; there were noise and fumes as a result of the generators; and the village had no planning and building code. "The Swedes are aware of these problems, but many believe that it would be presumptuous of them to do anything about them" (29).

There were other changes too: first, the villagers became concerned about the quality of education their children received and asked the Swedes to speak to their government about it. Second, the attitude of the villagers towards foreigners showed a clear demarcation between the Swedes (especially those of Casa Sueca) who were treated as members of the village, and outsiders who were not so treated. Third, new lines of social stratification developed: the new entrepreneurs were no longer classed as laborers by the caciques and not required to do manual labor. This new class of entrepreneurs was also accorded the privilege of this new status by the laborers. There were strong egalitarian ties between the Swedes and the entrepreneurs. Fourth, the presence of a full-time priest intensified pro- and anti-clerical groups. But the general approach was one of accommodation: the defrocked nuns, forbidden to enter the church, had, by the third stage, their own following, a four-unit apartment dwelling, and a new British automobile.

### Conclusion

Los Santos provides an excellent example of the unplanned, non-directed change that occurred through Spain in the early 1960s. Change that is "not readily measurable except by comparisons at five and ten-year intervals" (33). The major factor in this change were the Swedes, not the



building of a road over the mountain. For "the road paving affected equally all the villages on the southern end of the island, but while Los Santos changed rapidly, the others have changed hardly at all. Nor is it the presence of beaches, for the beaches of Las Galletas (another village on the southern coast) are better, but Las Galletas remains isolated and remains much like Los Santos was in 1955.

Moore then analyzes the role of the Swedes in this unplanned change: First, the Swedes posed a threat to the village at no time, nor could they since they were helpless. This helplessness counteracted the power of their wealth. Second, although the changes were precipitated by the Swedes, the "changes were a response to an opportunity rather than compliance with an order" (32). Third, the changes were initiated by the villagers and integrated into their historical life patterns. The change that developed was a surprise both to the Swedes and the villagers. Another view was provided by the villagers: They stated that they learned a lot of the business skills from the Swedes who provided details as to the manner of providing services for visiting Europeans. The Swedes, then, served as "cultural interpreters". The final effect of the Swedes was still developing: the advice given to the young about work opportunities in Europe. By 1965 many had returned with new ideas and skills.

As was pointed out earlier, the measurement of changes such as occurred in Los Santos are only measured over a long term. "For this reason, a study of social change in countries affected by tourism must utilize village and neighborhood studies as well as the broader measurements of tourist impact expressed in terms of total numbers, length of stay, and dollar volume" (33).

#### The future

The development of many Spanish resorts parallels that of Los Santos, "but later developments involved large-scale investment from outside for the construction of hotels and other resort services. Both the Swedes and the entrepreneurs in Los Santos are aware that discussions have already taken place between caciques and representatives of northern European airlines for the development of the area around Los Santos. Anticipation of what might happen is characterized more by fear than by the expectation of new profits. And these fears are more than justified, for in the next stage power will pass out of the hands of both the Spanish and Swedish residents and into those of boards of directors of anonymous societies and to policy makers in Madrid and other European capitals. The growth problems of Los Santos -- waste disposal, land-use planning, utilities, and social control -- have been defined and are slowly being resolved at the local level. But as these plans are replaced by coercive programs of variable worth from distant power centers, the quality of change in Los Santos must inevitably change, moving in the direction of conservatism, resistance to change and the erection of boundary maintenance mechanisms on the part of the villagers, rather than by the vigorous response to opportunities for change that have characterized the first ten years" (34).



HUTSON, J. 1971. A politician in Valloire. In F.G. Bailey (Ed.).

Gifts and poison. New York: Schocken Books, 68-96.

This article is about Martin, the ex-mayor of Valloire, who failed to bring tourism development.

### The village

Valloire is a small mountain commune in the Haute Alpes near the Italian border. At the turn of the century the commune had a population of 1,000 surviving as subsistence farmers. Till the end of the second World War there were few opportunities for the villagers outside agriculture: some industrial development, and construction work. The second World War not only took away some of the men, but continued the urban drift -- mainly migrations to Marseilles -- reducing the population to 400 and depriving the village of its essential farming resource: labor.

### Tourism plans

This drift was stopped, and the population stabilized in the last twenty years by those very factors that were at one time considered inimical to farming: mountains, snow, and hot sun. For, with improved transport facilities, the introduction of the paid holiday, and the increased popularity of camping, visitors started coming to the valley both in summer and winter. In 1953, an association between the four communes in the valley was formed to promote winter-sports development. The first project was to build a ski lift in Valloire the following winter. The prospects for economic development as a result of tourism appeared boundless. In 1959 Martin stood for, and was elected mayor of the village on a platform which promised the abundant fruits of tourism, though he was vague about the methods by which these fruits would be obtained. Five years later, a year before completion of his term of office, Martin resigned in disgrace and left the village.

### The value profile of the villager

Hutson proceeds to analyze the reasons why Martin failed. He does this against the values and behavioral patterns expected by the villagers of members of the village, its leaders, and outsiders.

In many senses Valloire is one of thousands of French communes -- linked to other departments, to the nation, and even to the wider European community. But, in certain contexts, the villager looks at himself and his fellow members as a category apart. This separate category is bounded by the sharing of common values concerning equality, independence and kinship. These values are most clearly demarcated at times of crisis, and serve as a standard against which the conduct of the "insiders" and that of the outsider (etranger) is measured. Mediating between these two categories is the local leadership: persons possessing special characteristics which permit them to deal with the "outside" world.



The three concepts of equality, independence, and kinship are interrelated. They are expressed by the belief that no villager is superior in status, that the family should be a self-contained unit of production and consumption, and that independence does make for trust and community help in times of need. The values of outsiders are not clearly defined except in that they are "different" from those of the villagers. The outsider is not to be trusted, he pursues profit at the expense of the villagers, and he behaves with power, not "right". The leaders must have a combination of villager and outsider norms: they must be able to bargain and communicate with outsiders: they are entitled to profit from their position at the expense of outsiders, not of villagers; they must appear to have the interests of the village at heart while driving the best possible bargain with the outsider.

Tourism development offered a potential backbone for the village economy after the collapse of agriculture. It was a new situation, not entirely capable of being evaluated against the norms, but nevertheless involving delicate negotiations with outsiders, the conversion of land for money rather than labor as the resource to be capitalized. It involved a new concept expressed in the local saying "In order to live before the war, one had a sum of work to do; now one must have a sum of money" (77). Tourism development was a time of crisis.

#### The mayor's performance

Martin tried at first to organize a cooperative society to translate his vision of economic rehabilitation of the village economy through tourism. When that failed, he proceeded to contact the local government department in charge of tourism, which agreed to assist but asked for a year's delay. In the intervening year, Martin proceeded to build a camp-site, and a new road, and provide other amenities for the tourists. All this was done at the expense of the commune who were now mortgagors. There was little consultation with his fellow villagers.

When the local government department in charge of tourism (SEDHA) revived its interest Martin was informed that the valley (where Valloire was one of the communes) was to be developed into a major ski resort in the southern Alps. Martin changed his original plans, supplementing them with new plans to build accommodation for 10,000 visitors. This was much larger than the villagers envisaged previously but since the proposed resort was to be away from the village, Martin still had the firm support of his fellow villagers.

A little later, Martin was informed that the village land would be acquired at what appeared to be a ridiculously low rate to the villagers -- about one-twentieth of the rate at which the villagers knew private sales



were taking place. Further, the National tourism organization (SCET), which had now entered into the picture, wanted to build a coordinating center for the entire valley and for this purpose proposed the acquisition of the best agricultural land of the village (which was also an area of great natural beauty) -- again, at a ridiculously low price. To compound matters, Martin had about the same time sold some of his lands ("not enough to build even a house") at the prevailing market rate. This combination of events finally brought Martin down. Opposition mounted; three supporting councilors resigned; the mayor (Martin) resigned a few months later, a scapegoat for the villagers' failure to realize their dreams (which had largely been roused by Martin); the acquisition and development was opposed.

#### Analysis after the event

In reconstructing events, the villagers refused to see Martin's failure as the result of events beyond his control -- the intervention of the national organizations in which Martin had no effective voice. They preferred to view his conduct in the light of the breach of values which ought to be held by a fellow-villager: the failure to consult, decision-making in his own interest, the increased haughtiness, the possibility of gain at the expense of the villagers not which was permissible of outsiders. Martin, briefly, had behaved like an outsider and had to go.

The concluding part of the article is an analysis of value interpretation even in the light of failure. This analysis is measured against anthropological theories relating to "cargo cults": the rise of "Messianic" leaders (particularly in the Pacific, and in north America) promising their conquered followers material strength to recapture their lost cultural integrity. What is important in the case of Valloire is that even though Martin failed, the failure caused villagers to reinterpret their values (particularly their views of land as essential to work, and therefore something to be inherited, not sold). Villagers came to accept that innovation (which was the basis of tourism development) meant a reassessment of existing values. "In 1959 to sell any land to an outsider was to reject the norms of family and community. Martin's actions, directed towards reinterpreting these values, clearly showed the dangers of certain kinds of transactions, so that by 1967 a definite policy of land selling had emerged, which set out the categories of land that could be sold to certain people at certain prices under certain conditions" (93). The events of the previous years had also demonstrated to the villagers the dangers of letting development get out of their control. Only a few agents can now sell on behalf of the villagers. These agents have to show that they have the villagers' interests at heart.

AERNI, M. J. 1972. The social effects of tourism. Current Anthropology,  
13, 162.

This brief letter to the Editor raises questions of importance regarding the attitude of the host population to tourists and tourism -- the different perspectives of both parties.

Aerni's comments are based on her study of the effects of national game parks on the animal life, human responses to the parks, and the local concepts of the 'national interest' as represented by the tourist industry. The comments, though confined to Uganda, could be generalized.

Aerni briefly touches on the relationship between animals and the local culture; the fact that they were rarely killed and when this was done it had ritual significance. European administrators who wanted to introduce mixed farming thought that cattle could be made the keystone of Westernization. Wildlife were segregated, purchased fish soon became the main protein source. Those who did not accept the segregation of animals are now called 'poachers'.

The segregated animals were kept in parks and administrators were soon convinced that this would bring in untold foreign exchange. Since 1962, the safari tour has brought in thousands of visitors for whose pleasure thousands of luxurious lodges have been constructed within the parks, and hotels within the cities.

The rural Ugandans see this differently. They "assume that the national parks were built by Europeans for the pleasure of Europeans. They see them not as a national treasure or animal sanctuary, but as an intrusion on the traditional hunting grounds. They do not intend to destroy the wildlife. They and their forebears lived from it for untold generations, and they cannot believe that this relationship has come to an end; that the once limitless game is nearly extinguished. If they are to be educated to conserve wildlife, it must be in terms of this traditional relationship, rather than in terms of an economic gain they do not perceive. The concept of foreign trade balances has little relevance to rural people, and, except for the few who work within the parks, they rarely meet safari tourists... (the tourists)... are carried along in their own migration patterns, they have almost no exchange with the African people".

The tourists have roused great resentment in the local people. An example of this resentment was the decision to build a dam exactly at Murchison Falls -- if this plan had gone through, the national park and the related tourist industry would have been wrecked.

Aerni thinks that the fault lies with the "complacent tourist" who seeks nothing beyond the wildlife, the sunshine, and simulated danger. Some humanity must be restored to the situation: the tourists could begin to visit schools, sharing experiences with the local people, mixing with

them in bars, joining them in cultural and religious events. For "tourism without human contact becomes a destructive force".



COHEN, E. 1972a. Toward a sociology of international tourism. Social Research, 39, 164-182.

This article proposes "a general theoretical approach to the phenomenon of international tourism...which includes a typology of tourists on the basis of their relationship to both the tourist business establishment and the host country" (164).

#### The basis of tourism

According to Cohen, mass tourism is a modern phenomenon which has evolved out of a generalized interest in things beyond a man's particular habitat. It is the appreciation of strangeness and novelty; an interest in cultures different from one's own "precisely because they are different". The prime determinants of this ability to wander out have been the technological achievements of the past two centuries, particularly those in transport and communications.

#### A typology of tourists

But even when modern man wanders out, he generally does not immerse himself wholly in the alien environment: security, through the repetition of the familiar, is present in the enjoyment of the unfamiliar. Most of today's tourists must have the familiarity of rooms, newspapers, food to remind them that they are not totally cut off from their own cultures. The proportions of the familiar and the strange which the modern tourist experiences, or is willing to experience, can be arranged along a continuum leading to a typology of tourist experiences and roles.

Cohen proposes a typology of four roles:

#### 1. The organized mass tourist

"This tourist type buys a package tour as if it were just another commodity in the modern mass market" (167). Familiarity is at a maximum here, novelty at a minimum. Almost no decisions are made by this tourist.

#### 2. The individual mass tourist

Although the itinerary of this tourist is not entirely pre-planned, his major arrangements are still made by a tourist agency. Like the first type, familiarity is still the dominant theme although there is greater potential for decision-making.

#### 3. The explorer

More an individualist, the explorer becomes a non-participant observer of the cultures he visits. He learns their language, and associates

with the people. But he does not entirely leave his familiar "environmental bubble": he looks for comfortable accommodations and reliable means of transportation.

#### 4. The drifter

This is the tourist who immerses himself in the people he visits, living with them, sharing their food and shelter. The familiar disappears almost entirely. "The drifter has no fixed timetable and no well-defined goals of travel" (168).

#### An alternative classification

Cohen then reclassifies the types according to degree of institutionalization. The first two (the organized and individual mass tourist) are institutionalized (there are routinized ways of dealing with them, set patterns of travel, prescribed routes, established agencies); the last two are non-institutionalized ("at best only very loosely attached to the tourist establishment").

##### 1. Institutionalized

What are the elements of institutionalized tourism? The basic elements are standardization, mass production, and the "phony" experience which creates the illusion of participating in the lives of others without actually doing so. Transportation, places to be visited, sleeping and eating accommodations are all fixed in advance; efficient and smooth processing of individuals is the key and therefore the tourist experience must be ordered, predictable, and controllable.

Predictability and control of the tourist "adventure" is achieved through two interrelated mechanisms: "transformation of attractions and the standardization of facilities".

Tourist attractions are natural or contrived (Disneyland, for instance). But whatever their category, the attractions have to be transformed or manipulated to make them "suitable" for mass consumption. "They are supplied with facilities, reconstructed, landscaped, cleansed of unsuitable elements, staged, managed, and otherwise organised. As a result they lose their original flavor and appearance and become isolated from the ordinary flow of life and natural texture of the host society" (170). They become "pseudo events" or representations of "phony folk culture". Examples are decently dressed Hawaiian dancing girls, festivals and ceremonies that are well-staged spectacles. This transformation of attractions provides the mass tourist with the novel experience.

The familiar is maintained through the standardization of facilities. The mass tourist originates mainly from affluent countries, he has to be surrounded with facilities commensurate with his level of comfort. "A tourist infrastructure of facilities based on Western standards



has to be created even in the poorest host countries". There are, undoubtedly, touches of the unfamiliar in the hotel room, or the menu, to remind him that he is in a different country, but "even these are often standardized: the decorations are made to resemble the standard image of that culture's art, the local foods are made more palatable to unaccustomed tongues, the selection of native crafts is determined by the demands of the tourist" (171).

The necessity for managing and satisfying mass tourists achieved through the transformation of attractions and the standardization of facilities brings with it a whole range of consequences: First, there is a basic uniformity and similarity of the tourist experience. Second, countries lose their individuality "as the richness of their culture and geography is reduced by the tourist industry to a few standard elements, according to which they are classified and presented to the mass tourist" (171). Third, the tourist is conditioned even before he commences his tour to attend selectively to the host country. This is the result of the literature agents hand him, often accompanied by assigning different levels of importance to the attractions. Fourth, countries therefore become interchangeable in the mind of the tourist. Fifth, modern transport isolates the tourist from the country giving rise to the paradox that although curiosity is one of the main elements of travel, the institution-ization of tourism has decreased the possibility of satisfying curiosity, novelty, and the desire for the strange. Sixth, where there is mass tourism "the tourist system or infrastructure has become separated from the rest of the culture and the natural flow of life" (172) e.g., Greenwich Village, Westminster Abbey. Seventh, the mass tourist travels in a foreign land surrounded by, but not integrated in the host society. He meets tour agents, hotel managers, and carefully selected natives. This isolation intensifies the communications gap. The tourist establishment is more interested in selling, information is related to that goal. Eighth, an international tourist system has emerged "reaching across political and cultural boundaries. The system enjoys a certain independence and even isolation from its immediate surroundings, and an internal homogeneity in spite of the wide variations between countries with which it intersects" (173). Ninth, modern institutionalized tourism tends to perpetuate myths. "The tourist comes home with the illusion that he has 'been' there and can speak with some authority about the country he has visited. I would hypothesize that the larger the flow of mass tourist becomes, the more institutionalized and standardized tourism becomes and consequently the stronger the barriers between the tourist and the life of the host country become. What were formerly formal barriers between different countries become informal barriers within countries" (174).

## 2. Non-institutionalized

In the non-institutionalized forms of tourism, the difference between the explorer and the drifter is in the extent to which each is willing to immerse himself in the host country. The former remains relatively detached -- a non-participant observer. He is also, in some senses, a trail blazer for the mass tourist, for having discovered a new place of interest, the explorer opens the way for its commercialization. And, as mass tourism expands there are fewer places left so that the ability of an area to offer solitude and privacy has itself become a commodity of high value. "Indeed, much of the mass tourist business today seems to be oriented to the provision of



privacy per se" (175).

The drifter is a genuinely modern phenomenon. Often a child of affluence, who reacts against it; young, a student or graduate who has not yet commenced work; looking for experience before being absorbed by his own institutions. He takes life as it is, immerses himself in the culture of a place, lives as inexpensively as possible, and has no timetables. His contacts in the host country "usually belong to the lower social groups" (176). An international subculture of drifters seems to be developing. The drifter is "the true rebel of the tourist establishment and the complete opposite of the mass tourist" (177).

#### Impact on host society

The typology Cohen develops is based on the degree of strangeness and familiarity in the nature of the tourist's experience. The extent to which the tourist affects, or is affected by the host society depends largely "on the extent and variety of social contacts the tourist has during his trip". These contacts increase in depth and variety as one moves from the mass tourist to the drifter.

The manner in which tourists interact with the host society and the reciprocal images they create is generally determined by the extent to which the role of the tourist is predefined. Here, a crucial factor is the length of time spent in one place which "is as important a determinant of social involvement as attitude" (178).

Tourism has important aggregate effects on the economy of the host society. The greater the institutionalization of tourism, the greater the need for institutions in the host country to cater to the needs of the tourist. Agricultural areas may become tourist areas, land rights may be affected, tourism may give agriculture a boost. The "primary impact of tourism has important secondary and tertiary consequences" (178). The explorer and drifter do not affect the general division of labor of the host society to the extent that mass tourists do, although their influence can be quite subtle. One question that ought to be answered is: "How does the impact vary with the different kinds of experiences yielded by each type of tourist role, on the tourist himself, and through him, on his own society?" (179). It might also be "worthwhile to differentiate between the organic and induced growth of the tourist system and look into the differential effect of the two modes of expansion on the workings of the tourist system and the host society... Though tourism could be studied comparatively from several angles, the most important variables of comparison are probably the differences between the cultural characteristics of the tourist and the host and the manner in which tourism is embedded in the institutional structure of the host country" (180).

Tourism is growing and the consequences for social change are enormous. It could be hypothesized that the greater the number of tourists the more limited their contacts with the host society, but the greater their impact on institutional change in the host society which has to cater to them.

The increased variety of tourists also conduces to mixed results for international understanding. Finally, the differential impact on societies, pointed out earlier by Forster, should be borne in mind: the impact of tourism on a developing, or unbalanced economy is likely to be greater than on a well-developed society. "As tourism is eagerly sought for by the developing nations as an important source of revenue, it may provoke serious disruptions and cause ultimate long-range damage in these societies. The consequences cannot yet be fully foreseen, but from what we already know of the impact of mass tourism it can safely be predicted that mass tourism in developing countries, if not controlled and regulated, might help to destroy whatever there is still left of unspoiled nature and of traditional ways of life. In this respect, the easy-going tourist of our era might well complete the work of his predecessors, also travellers from the West -- the conqueror and the colonialist" (182).



COHEN, E. 1972b. Arab boys and tourist girls in a mixed Jewish-Arab community. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 12, 217 - 232.

This article discusses the role of tourism as a mechanism for alleviating the tensions generated by a system from which there is little escape. It is based on six months of fieldwork in a mixed city where 25 percent of the population were Arabs.

#### The problem

One of the fundamental problems of the Arab youth in the city is a crisis of identity: Who am I? This crisis stems from the rejection of the world of his parents, the modern Jewish world in which they live, and the new Arab world around Israel.

The problems are complicated by the difficulty of obtaining a satisfying occupational career, and the problem of sexual gratification. The first problem is one of a high drop-out rate from schools, and schools of poor quality. Further, employment is not entirely open: there are jobs which are not given to Arabs (for instance in the electronics industry). The result of these circumstances is that the Arab is mainly a temporary worker who drifts from job to job -- a service to employers who are thereby saved the necessity of making social insurance payments.

The second problem, that of sexual gratification, is mainly the result of cultural patterns. The Arab girl is more closely supervised and rarely allowed to date; the Arab boy has to postpone his marriage until such time as he can raise a dowry (a practice still prevalent). Around him, Jewish boys and girls seem to be much freer, but there is little scope for the Arab boy to date a Jewish girl.

#### Avenues of adjustment

There are only three modes of adjustment that appear to be open to the Arab boy: become an extreme Arab nationalist (going against the system); taking to drugs (dropping out of the system); or emigration (leaving the system behind). It is the last that is the most difficult, given the paucity of contacts, the lack of education, and the unwillingness of most Arabs in this city to migrate to the new Arab countries around them.

#### The Tourist girl

Enter the tourist girls....particularly "the young, unattached drifters" who play an important role in the life of the Arab boy. They are his window to the world. "All foreign girls were sought after by Arab boys, but there was one kind of girls they were particularly keen on: the fair-haired girls from Scandinavian countries" (225) -- a preference explained by the proverbial inadequacy of the fair man, and the girls' preference for the dark. Although it is a matter of some doubt whether the vaunted sexual feats took place, it is certain that these girls formed a symbol of prestige for the boys: they carried address books with the names of the girls, and talked about the offers of a passage abroad. It is in the latter, more than the sex



education, that the tourist girl played a role.

The tourist girl formed an avenue for emigration. That this avenue was not usually crossed mattered little, for the few cases of successful emigration served to bolster and preserve the myth. The girls interviewed were largely out for a good time, some for drugs which they believed that the Arabs had access to; few were interested in anything more than a fleeting encounter. "In the main the tourists help to create new and essentially false hopes for these boys who are trapped in a situation from which, under the present circumstances, there is no way out" (229).

This release mechanism provided by the tourist girl lies outside the system. For within the system, several institutions (particularly the police) are against the mixing of the Arab boys and the girls. This ameliorating role leads Cohen to speculate about the impact that tourism will have when nations become intertwined in mass social interaction through mass tourism. As he concludes, however, little is known about this impact even though it merits attention.

GREENWOOD, D. J. 1972. Tourism as an agent of change: A Spanish Basque case. Ethnology, 9, 80-90.

This article continues, and to a certain extent expands, the analysis of the impact of tourism on the village economy and life in Fuenterrabia which Greenwood had commenced with his dissertation. Greenwood attempts to provide answers to the following questions: "At the local level, what changes does tourism bring about? Are there any characteristic stages in the development of tourism within a local community? How do tourism-related changes interact with changes brought on by industrialization, population growth, and rural depopulation in the local context?" (82).

#### Tourism development

Till 1965 tourism development in Fuenterrabia was "spontaneous, rather than commercially induced": the number of villas had grown to 200; approximately 30,000 middle-class tourists visited Fuenterrabia in the summer. This had roused local responses, dependent on local initiative. In 1965 intervention by the national government and outside investors commenced. Government intervention took four forms: (i) Fuenterrabia was declared a national artistic and historic monument; (ii) the provincially owned hotel had been renovated; (iii) the airport improved; and (iv) access roads to the nearest major towns were rerouted or improved. Basque sports are actively promoted, the patron saint honoured. Fuenterrabia has become "more an enterprise than a town" (84).

#### Effects of tourism

1. Tourism has altered the rhythm of life, particularly during the months of July and August. Labor and production is focussed around the return of the tourists.
2. Architectural effects: The city walls have been renovated; the fishermen's quarter where most of the tourists congregate, largely rebuilt. In the rural areas many of the old farmhouses have been torn down to make way for new villas; other farmhouses have been renovated.
3. Economically, all sectors have experienced "unparalleled economic growth". But "as a consequence of this commercialization and dependence on tourism, the municipal economy became far more dependent on national and international business cycles than had previously been the case. Balance of payments problems and policies, inflation, and exchange restrictions came to affect the people of Fuenterrabia immediately and directly" (85-6).
4. Social differentiation has increased but has at the same time broken down the old nexus between occupation and status.



5. There is increasing isolation of, and competition between, families in place of the former ties of mutual aid and cooperation.

6. Local municipal activities have become increasingly politicized, with mutual accusations by municipal officials and the people of Fuenterrabia.

7. Other aspects of commercialization are also being found: decreasing family size, younger age at marriage, increased family mobility. There is increased inter-generational conflict, and inheritance disputes among siblings.

8. The presence of the national government is felt more keenly: through the stricter enforcement of building codes; the classification of hotels, bars, and restaurants.

9. The country club, signalling "the local emergence of a non-aristocratic upper-middle class as representatives of the good life" (87), owns more than half of the land in the largest rural barrio. The number of farms has dropped to about 120 (in 1972). Political power is being increasingly controlled by country club members with their ties with outside investors.

"In summary, Fuenterrabia's cultural heritage has become a commodity, a neo-Basque facade packaged and promoted for tourists. As for the Basques themselves, some have identified with the new consumer way of life, whereas the rest appear to be receding into ever more private cultural worlds, leaving only the outward forms of their life for touristic consumption. In the future Fuenterrabia promises to become nearly indistinguishable from all other tourist towns on the coast of Spain" (87). The last statement echoes both Forster (1964) and Cohen (1972).

#### Drawing a balance sheet

Greenwood sets out the "positive" and "negative" aspects of the effects of tourism: an enhanced standard of living with savings against an almost complete dependence on national and international economic conditions -- a dependence over which the villagers of Fuenterrabia have no control ("Springtime is a period of worry and quiet conversation about the probabilities of the tourists' return. Every year there is genuine doubt...", p. 88). While rural profits are at an all-time high, the profits are not translated into greater production, and the market "incentives do not seem to work". A higher standard of living combined with more work opportunities, particularly for those who would have stayed at home before, on the one hand, as against destructive inheritance battles on the other. Increased work opportunities together with the greater prestige of service industries have militated against members of the family staying at home. Increased domestic self-sufficiency together with a much greater degree of privacy which is highly valued on the one hand against isolation on the other. This isolation permits



the outside investor to make inroads into the community which can no longer cooperate since they have lost the concept of vecinidad (neighborhood). This inability to cooperate is increased by the altered indicia of status: wealth, as against the earlier index of occupation. This isolation extends to the abandonment of the aged.

With regard to the "demonstration effect" of tourism: in Fuenterrabia, tourism "does not appear to have been accompanied by a 'revolution of rising expectations'...the fundamental Basque values of independence of the individual and of the dignity of work have not changed. What has changed is the belief that farming, fishing, artisan labor can satisfy these values. Tourism has played a role in this change by demonstrating the apparent advantages of urban occupations in satisfying basic desires for independence, dignity, and abundance, but it is clearly only one of the many causative factors not as yet adequately investigated" (90).

Tourism also appears to be a source of potential conflict: the Basque need the tourists and the money they bring; they also find the "tourist trade unpleasant and conflictful".

#### Stages of development

In Fuenterrabia tourism development seems to have proceeded along three stages: in the first, that of upper-class tourism, there were no appreciable effects on local economic growth. In stage two, which commenced during the 1950s, the response was local, bringing with it substantial economic rewards. At the end of stage two, and at the beginning of stage three (commencing around 1965), outside investors and the government intervened. The industry has kept growing, but the local share is declining; loss of local control has adversely affected agriculture, fishing and the local artisan who now has to compete with outsiders. "Essentially it appears that the large profits which had attracted outside interest have enabled them, because of their scale and organization, to supplant the local interest" (90).

#### The Most Important characteristic

"The most important characteristic of tourism seems to be that it provides economic growth and does so at an extremely rapid rate. Moreover, it is superimposed on pre-existing economic and social arrangements in a way that industrialization is not, because the beneficiaries do not have to leave their homes and move to the cities in order to participate in it. Tourism comes to the community, and this makes it possible to view the effects of rapid rates of growth on local social relationships that did not necessarily evolve in response to the phenomenon of growth itself" (87).

#### A question for further investigation

Does tourism always build on local initiative only to drive out the local people after a certain point in economic development has been reached? This is a point which Cohen also asks.

Cautionary remarks

Greenwood points out that this article is an approximation, not a definite synthesis since his fieldwork did not focus specifically on tourism. Second, tourism and industrialization have developed in Fuenterrabia at about the same time so that it is difficult to separate out the effects of each. Third, the effects of tourism on the fishing sector have been ignored because no data was collected on them.



COHEN, E. 1973. Nomads from affluence: notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 14, 89-102.

This article carries Cohen's earlier (1972a) analysis of one kind of tourist, the drifter, a stage further.

#### The drifter's models

The drifter differs to an extent from his cultural forebears: the hobo and tramp (who came from the lower reaches of society and were nomads out of necessity); the gentleman-adventurer (whose purpose was knowledge, often related to a future career); the member of a youth movement (the Boy Scout, for instance, who has a "serious social purpose"); and the working tourist -- work is not the goal of the drifter, though at times he may work (any kind of work) to survive. The drifter is usually a member of the middle class, has no fixed itinerary or purpose, rarely shares an ideology (if at all, he often tends to be unpatriotic and anti-patriotic), is an escapist after a fashion. He is the peculiar product of modern society to be comprehended in those terms alone.

#### The development of the phenomenon

The growth of the drifter has become a phenomenon of the post World War II world. Their numbers have increased with the development of cheap forms of travel and lodgings. They are, by and large, the children of Western Europe, moving across Europe and "out of sight" <sup>1/</sup> into the East. Their class representation has now broadened to include members of the working class. It is only possible to outline some of the factors that have given rise to the drifter. They are primarily social, economic and political.

#### Cultural and economic elements

The cultural factors are expressed in the desire for adventure ("broadening one's horizons of consciousness"), and through its association with the counterculture (the revolt by the affluent against affluence). To some extent too, the drifter is associated with the drug culture, moving to centers where sources of supply exist. The second reason is economic: affluence "makes competition for a career less urgent and less challenging" (94). Few are willing to take on the monotony of steady work and look for the "real experience" before they do so. Others are disenchanted with studies and want to take time off. Cheap travelling permits them to retain their wealth while satisfying their desires. The third set of reasons are political: youth disenchanted with the Vietnam war, or war in general, in search of an ideal experience and world outside their own society. "One could say, then, that drifting is both a symptom and an expression of broader alienative forces current among contemporary youth. Paradoxically, it came to sudden prominence

---

<sup>1/</sup> Cohen admits his indebtedness to Kenneth Allsop's perceptive article, "Across Europe and out of sight, man". Punch, August 2, 1972



when established economic interests -- e.g., the airlines -- realized that they could capitalize on the very alienation of this (sic) youths, by providing them with cheap opportunities to escape" (94).

#### The institutionalization of drifting

The early drifter, like the explorer of the 19th Century, was an individualist who immersed himself in the host society. Growth in numbers, the development of a mass phenomenon results in institutionalization. This is manifested in "the emergence of such traits as fixed travelling patterns, established routines and a system of tourist facilities and services catering specifically to the youthful mass-tourist. Thus drifting, in its prevalent form, became encumbered by all those paraphernalia of mass tourism against which the original drifters rebelled because they rob the trip of its spontaneity and of the experience of the 'real life' in the host society" (95).

This institutionalization is not confined to the most travelled routes but is present even on the far margins of the circuit -- Nepal, Thailand, Bali, Sahara, and the Malaysian jungles. The tourist establishment has also capitalized on the phenomenon by publishing guides -- an example is the respectable Fodor's "Europe under 25".

With this institutionalization a separate infrastructure from that catering to the ordinary tourist establishment comes into being. First, there is the development of a cheap transportation system. Second, one finds sociologically more important manifestations in "the ecology of facilities and localities frequented by drifters" (97). Gradually "drifter communities" emerge.

#### A drifter community

Based on his experience at Eilat, in Israel, Cohen describes these drifter communities as socially disorganized and ecologically dispersed. There is a core of dwellers who have been there longer than others. This core does not provide leadership or a focus of social cohesion. "The periphery includes drifters who stay for short periods: as well as some Israelis, often of delinquent background, who attempt to gain acceptance into the drifter culture" (98). There is an almost complete infrastructure for the drifters who have little social contact with the local population of Eilat.

#### Effects of institutionalization

With institutionalization, the element of real adventure is drastically reduced; the drifter is mainly in contact with his own kind and prefers to do "his own thing". "In its social dynamics, mass-drifter tourism develops a tendency parallel to that observed in ordinary mass tourism: a loss of interest and involvement with the local people, customs, and landscape, and a growing orientation to the in-group: other drifters in our case, members of the group in the case of the collective mass-tourist" (99). There is at one and the same



time a superficiality and depth of contact between these drifters who do not appear to form any lasting relationships. Their contacts with the local population become highly selective and limited to the lower social levels, as well as to similarly minded local youths who seek them out. Again, "like the mass tourist, the mass-drifter also gets a biased picture of the host society; the latter's perspective, however, is diametrically opposed to that of the former: the one looks at the host country from the lofty heights of an airconditioned hotel room; the other from the depths of the dust-bin" (99).

#### A drifter typology

There are, however, differences among the drifters and Cohen attempts a typology:

##### A. Full-time drifters

1. Outward oriented: The adventurer, the original drifter described in 1972.
2. Inward oriented: the "Itinerant Hippie", the travelling drop-out, on his way to some drug-sanctuary or drifting aimlessly from one "hippie" community to another.

##### B. Part-time drifters

3. Outward-oriented: the "Mass Drifter", usually the college youth who spends a limited amount of time to see the world, meet people, and "have experiences", but tends to stick to the drifter-tourist-establishment of cheap lodgings and eating places and cut-rate fares.
4. Inward-oriented: The "Fellow Traveller", the youth who associates with "hippies" or other drop-outs, and models his behavior on these roles, but remains marginal to the "hippie" sub-culture. He frequents the pop-discotheques and boutiques, dresses "in style", visits the "hippie" community for short periods of time, but after his trip he returns to his ordinary pursuits. He is a "part-time drop-out", and parallels the "week-end hippie". (100-101)

#### The host society

Finally Cohen discusses the reaction of the host society, and the reasons for its reaction. Drifters tend to be the very antithesis of what is the image of the tourist in the host society: they rarely bring in foreign exchange in the quantities expected, they do not appear to be rich, and they work from time to time when in need. Further, if they were allowed to stray



into the established ordinary mass-tourist establishments, they would soon reduce the numbers of ordinary tourists. They are increasingly unwelcome in drifter havens.

But more important are the cultural reasons for host society antagonism. Mass drifters have been increasingly equated with "hippies", accused of strange and immoral behavior, charged with corrupting the local culture. They have been accused of seeking drugs in countries where drugs were permitted. The intensity of the reaction can hardly be explained by reference to the possibility of contaminating local youths for there are other means to do so, like "Western mass culture disseminated through the local communication media". Cohen, therefore suspects "the existence of some deeper, symbolic motive behind the more concrete reasons for hostility towards the drifters" (102). He finds a possible answer in the ambivalence of the leaders of developing countries to Western culture. These leaders constantly remind their citizens to accept the positive aspects of modernization and industrialization and reject the negative aspects. "'Hippyism', represented by the drifter, tends to become the symbol and epitome of all that is negative, rejectable or despicable in contemporary Western culture. In a rather paradoxical manner, the very youths who in their way rebelled against their own culture and rejected it, come to be considered as the most fearsome representatives of its 'negative' aspects" (102).

An alternative explanation, which Cohen does not consider, is that the "mass drifter" is the antithesis of all those elements (hard work, self-negation, are examples) that are said to make for "progress" and "modernization". If this is so, the rejection of the "mass drifter" is the rejection of wrong "models" for developing countries.

FRIEDL, J. 1973. Benefits of fragmentation in a traditional society:

A case from the Swiss Alps. Human Organization, 32, 29 - 36.

This article deals with the difficulties in getting villagers to act in concert to change their traditional land patterns and styles of life in response to changing circumstances brought on by the development of technology and the growth of tourism.

#### The village

The village is Kippel in the Valais canton, Switzerland, a village with 462 inhabitants. For years, possibly centuries, land has been divided to permit each family to have a share in different types of lands: the grasslands, hay fields, cultivated fields, and garden plots. The size and importance of these fields varies with their location -- the garden plots being the closest, the smallest, and the most valuable. Similarly, there are different types of agricultural buildings. Before World War II, with a subsistence economy, the "goal was for each economic unit" (a family) "to be self-sufficient, which required the fragmentation of land and buildings" (33).

#### The advantages/disadvantages of land fragmentation

Fragmentation together with intervillage marriages meant that the family had more than one piece of land distributed at various levels, and in different villages. This had both advantages and disadvantages. Its benefits were: first, protection from localized disaster (avalanches or flood); the possibility, second of stretching out work periods according to altitude and exposure of plots; and third, it gave everyone a chance for subsistence. On the other hand, an inordinate amount of time was spent in transit; the size of the parcels inhibits the use of machinery and rational management (since they are irregular in size and shape); and there is a lack of service roads. But fragmentation was essentially beneficial in that it allowed more intense use of the land by providing necessary space and equipment on or near the actual site of labor (for example, in the hay barns, constructed at heights). Communal labor assisted fragmentation, and the distribution by village council and church of surplus lands provided a safeguard for those in need. When the plot became too small to be further divided, joint ownership right was created in all the heirs -- a valuation of shares without actual partition.

#### The need for change

Fragmentation is however no longer feasible or necessary after the Second World War. The end of the war transformed the economic base of the canton: a mixed agriculture-industrial base, with agriculture becoming more specialized and commercialized. As modern technology continued to penetrate the valley, tractors replaced mules,



roads were carved into the hillsides, and the use of high pastures and hay fields became even more dependent on access. Improved transportation made it possible to obtain easy access to buildings close to the roads. Others were allowed to fall into disrepair.

An increase in population -- from 363 in 1950 to 462 in 1970 -- has put further pressure on land. "But perhaps the most important change since the war that has affected fragmentation has been the growth of tourism, creating a need for even more housing within the village" (35). The steep slopes, and the possibility of avalanches limit horizontal and vertical expansion. New apartments have been constructed on the periphery of the village, but this is largely at the expense of old agricultural buildings. One of the major problems of fragmentation in the new economy is that the parcels are too small for building sites. The values of land have shot up, but the owners receive a small fraction. Another problem is that rational land use with machinery has become impossible, and machinery must be used if the villagers are to compete with the farms in the Rhone Valley.

The villagers recognize that they must consolidate some pieces of land to take advantage of the benefits of machinery and scale of operation. But each is unwilling to start, or to try to find a common basis of valuation. The villagers saw the approach of the British company that purchased land to develop a tourism and ski resort: it began by consolidating continuous parcels of land. They understand that approach.

#### Methods of inducing change

But consolidation is a very touchy subject which can be resolved only through the exercise of prudence and "a willingness to educate the population rather than trample on the recalcitrant members". The villagers are aware that outside interests are exploiting them, but the change must be reached slowly. For the outside observer, it is as much a duty to prevent the wholesale destruction of traditional social orders as it is "to recognize that change will occur at the same rate under any circumstances, not only because of large-scale financial endeavors, but also ... because such change is sought by the majority of villagers" (36). In these circumstances, the outsider could be the one to initiate the change instead of standing back in the name of objectivity and watching sophisticated developers take over the village.



MacCANNELL, D. 1973. Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings. American Journal of Sociology, 79, 589-603.

Both Forster (1964) and Cohen (1972b, 1973) have commented on the development of "phony-folk culture" in touristic settings; Cohen adds that this development tends to get standardized with mass tourism. Neither however, denies that the goal in this "creation" of a phony folk culture is to create the illusion in the mind of the tourist that he is sharing the "real experience"--life as it actually is lived--which is one of the reasons for tourism. The main theme of MacCannell's paper is the analysis of this search for the authentic experience. The paper is part of a wider conclusion that "sightseeing is a form of ritual respect for society and that tourism absorbs some of the social functions of religion in the modern world" (589).

#### An architectural analogy

MacCannell's paper can be best explained by comparison with the architectural arrangements and functions of different parts of a restaurant-- it is an analogy that he himself pursues. A restaurant has a front and a back. The front is the area for the audience--the patrons of the restaurant. The back, the kitchen for example, is an area for insiders; for those who really know what is happening, for those who are members of the group. It is obvious that the "front" of a restaurant is not authentic, it is carefully dressed up, it is artificial. The back has a sense of mystery.

#### The goal of a tourist

Tourists, like most people in the modern world according to McCannell, want to strip away the illusion, the mystery, and step into the world of reality. They want to see life as it really is, to come back with appreciating the host country as authentically as possible. The tourist is aware that he is an outsider, one who would not ordinarily be accepted as a participant in the real world of the host country. But this crossing of the mysterious is one of the goals of a tourist. If there were not the potential for crossing over the boundaries, tourists would soon turn to other areas, other countries.

#### Creating the "authentic"

Therefore, to preserve the illusion that the authentic experience is within reach of the tourist, architectural and cultural events are patterned. This is "staged authenticity". In its simplest form--to continue the restaurant analogy--the "front" of the restaurant is decorated to look as though it were the "back": fish nets hanging in a fish-food restaurant are an example. But this deception is soon recognized as one. The appearance of "reality" cannot look contrived. The setting must be "presented as disclosing more about the real thing than the real thing itself discloses" (599).

Effects of believing the "lie"

The danger inherent in such a staging is that it leaves the tourist, particularly the mass tourist, with the impression that he knows more about the society than he really does: the "superlie" is presented as the truth. And even when the tourist realizes that it is not the truth he does not often come away with the feeling that he has been cheated.

Tourists flock to areas where they believe that they can penetrate the mysterious facade and get a glimpse, however fleeting, of reality. Sometimes, they do manage to do so. The movement across what might be classed as a continuum from "front" to "back" corresponds "to growing touristic understanding."

Local responses

"The local people in the places they visit, by contrast, have long discounted the presence of tourists and go about their business as usual, even their tourist business, as best they can, treating the tourists as a part of the regional scenery." (601)



11. McKEAN, P.F. Tourism, culture change, and culture conservation in Bali. Paper read at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, U.S.A., August-September, 1973.

This brief paper analyzes the impact of tourism on Bali and raises the important question whether, as most other studies seem to suggest, tourism "inexorably and automatically" destroys indigenous cultural traditions.

The analysis proceeds through the examination of cultural performances in Bali (which are believed to be representations of basic cultural values) to differing audiences: the divine, the local and the tourist.

#### The sacred performance

Important ceremonies, like for instance those connected with the rites of passage, always presume the presence of the divine audience that has to be propitiated: the gods and ancestral spirits, good and evil. At these ceremonies, the dance proceeds whether a human audience is present or not. Usually, however, in Bali the local audience is never far away: aware, and withholding (or giving) its critical approval to the performance. There is then, a series of performances where there is a relationship between the audience (divine and local) and the performers.

#### The tourist performance

Performances for tourists differ in important respects from the type just described: first, they are paid for and the absence of an audience results in the cancellation of a performance; second, they do not need the presence of the divine audience, invocations to the divine are not carried out as a matter of course before the performance commences; third, the tourist performances are shortened "popular" versions of some of the ceremonial dances; fourth, there is no contact between audience and performers -- when the performance is concluded all parties go about their respective businesses.

#### Impact of tourism

The impact of this tourist audience has been profound: first, the cash earnings (part of which are retained by the performers) are at the disposal of the groups that create the dances, art objects, and music. Second, the funds are utilized in traditional ways: to improve instruments, renovate temples, purchase costumes and transport, pay for community rituals.

In effect the Balinese have now added a source of income to what they traditionally did: performing their culture. The added funds "have enriched the possibility that the indigenous performances will be done, in effect conserving culture". (emphasis added).

A question

This raises the question first posed: can it be taken as an axiom that tourism is destructive of all indigenous cultural traditions. The Balinese example would appear to suggest otherwise. Tourism has in no way diminished the importance of performing competently for the other two audiences: the divine and the local.



REITER, R. R. 1973. The politics of tourism in two southern French communes. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan (University Microfilms No. 74-15,830).

### Fieldwork

Fieldwork for the dissertation was carried out at Colpied and La Roche during the summers of 1969 and 1970, and the fall/winter/spring of 1971-2 (approx. 12 months). Most of the time was spent at Colpied.

### Purpose

A comparative study of tourism as an economic and political issue.

### The setting

Colpied and La Roche are two communes in the Basses-Alpes in southeastern France. The former has a population of 185; the latter, 204. Colpied is in the canton of Riez, La Roche in Seyne. Both lie in one of the most rural areas of France with almost no industry nearby, and no large cities. In ecological terms, Colpied is Mediterranean; La Roche, Alpine. This means that for the purposes of tourism Colpied can only take advantage of summer tourism; La Roche, on the other hand, is capable of allowing both summer and winter tourists.

There are other differences too: In Colpied there is a strict division of labor and of rights by sex; in La Roche, the family works as a total unit, the houses are dispersed.

### Tourism and the responses

The French government in the late 1950s decided that tourism should be promoted, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of the country, as a major means of development. Reiter first analyzes the differing responses of the two communes to the recommended panacea.

### Colpied's response

Colpied has been increasingly drawn into the commercial and agricultural activities and plans of the region and the nation. During the second World War it lost many of its sons; after the War those that were left preferred to leave the village to work in urban areas. Their place has been partially filled by Italian immigrants.

With the movement of the young out of the village, and the increasing comparative inefficiency of agriculture, the villagers had to move away from self-sufficiency to bi-culturalism (mainly lavender and wheat). However, this movement towards bi-culturalism did not suffice without an improvement in technology—farm machinery was purchased, and the size of farms increased. Improvements in agriculture did not stem the flow of people into the cities.

Towards the end of the 1950s, with increased leisure and shorter hours of work, tourists started coming into Colpied for the summer. The tourists are mainly estivants, urban dwellers belonging to les classes populaires (the masses) much like the villagers. They are persons who cannot vacation in the mountains or the more fashionable resorts. They number about 500 - 600 each year ("the baker's estimate"). In fact about two-thirds of all village buildings have become vacation homes for these summer tourists.

But the response of the villagers to the possibilities of tourism as a means of development--something which has been propounded by the national government--has been unorganized and individualistic. On the local level, the commune officials who are mainly socialists oppose the idea on the ground that it is a Gaullist plot. They have not organized themselves to take advantage of tourism and attempt to control the local effects and benefits. The result is that it is individuals who have, from time to time, sold pieces of land to build vacation homes. The lack of organization has meant that plots sold have been parted with without any thought as to the possible future reorganization of agriculture. Thus if, at some later date, the Colpians desire to modernize agriculture partly through consolidation and plot reorganization, this will not be possible.

#### The response of La Roche

La Roche, 62 kms. away from Colpied, has a totally different response to the potential of tourism. Unlike Colpied, it is not disorganized or anarchic.

In many senses, La Roche has had more dealings with the outside world than Colpied. During the last century, it sold mules--for the Seyne mules are famous--to the army. Again, unlike Colpied, the church still plays a role as an authority in the commune. And, probably most importantly, the local officials are Gaullists.

But La Roche also has many similarities with Colpied: a declining labor force; falling agricultural income. It too needs tourism to stabilize its population and increase local incomes. Its response, however, differs from that of Colpied.

#### Reasons for different responses

Colpied's response to the tourist influx is anarchic, and individualistic; La Roche's is not, it is organized, at least in principle. Why is this so? Reiter concludes that this is the result of two "factors": better organization within the community to respond, and the presence of a "visionary" mayor. La Roche has far more voluntary associations; its division of labor is not based on sex. There are about 20 voluntary associations, with overlapping memberships, organized for different tasks. The most important of these is the association formed to develop tourism in the commune.



The formation of the tourism association is due to the vision of the mayor of La Roche: Hernot. Hernot wanted to save the rural "haemorrhage" of depopulation. He believed that tourism, with its annual 15 percent growth rate would prevent this depopulation and create local employment. This is what has, in fact, happened. Further, marginal farm incomes have been stabilized. But it needed an organized response and Hernot's affiliation with the Gaullists. These contacts with both the regional and national party have enabled the views of the villagers of La Roche to be placed before wider councils. Hernot's ability has allowed for more local initiative.

Hernot was also a visionary because he thought that the careful intermixture of urban tourists with the villagers would gradually introduce the village to modern life styles---life styles that he thought would be useful to enable the villagers to deal with a changing world. The absence of a rigid division of tasks on the basis of sex in La Roche has allowed the young and old to take advantage of tourism.

In both Colpied and La Roche tourism was the only alternative in the face of "industrialized capitalist farming" (233), not, as Reiter says, something willingly chosen. Both villages were remarkably similar in economic terms, yet one chose to mount an organized response to tourism, the other largely let tourism overwhelm it. Reiter attributes the difference in response to the structural organization of La Roche, and its consequent greater ability to respond flexibly.<sup>1/</sup>

#### Tourism and underdevelopment

Finally, Reiter sees both communes notwithstanding their difference in response being drawn more and more into a regional and national web where decisions will not be taken by the communes, and where they will be affected by national decisions, patterns, and fashions.

Tourism, then, for Reiter (and some others) is a form of neo-colonialism where the dependency of the host country on the metropolitan area is strengthened (or, as in the instant cases, the villagers become increasingly dependent). This hold extends not merely over the economic but also to the cultural sphere. It soon leads to the dictation by the metropolitan area of styles of life that are deemed acceptable, of facilities that have to be created, if the dependent area is to continue as a viable economic unit.

---

<sup>1/</sup> This view is also shared by John Forster in his analysis of the differential development of two villages--Keanae and Puuiki (both in Hawaii): International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 1962, 3, 200.

PEREZ, L. A., Jr. 1973-74. Aspects of underdevelopment: tourism in the West Indies. Science and Society, 37, 473-480.

The article continues the theme--referred to by Cohen (1972), Greenwood (1972), and Reiter (1973)--that tourism is a modern substitute for colonialism, perpetuating the dependency of underdeveloped countries on metropolitan centers.

#### The justification of tourism

According to Perez, the rhetoric of development is invoked to encourage tourism; the traveller is induced to visit the West Indies in the same terms as was the 16th century imperialist. Tourism is justified as generating economic development, increasing employment, stimulating local agriculture, and promoting local industries and "native handicraft".

#### The actual effects

In fact, none of these developments appear to take place.

First, "the West Indies lack the resources to support the volume of tourists and the consequent vacation life-style metropolitan agencies impose on the region. Tourism produces immediately, in yet another sphere, dependent economies--the structural basis of underdevelopment" (475). This is achieved through the large import component necessary to sustain tourism, all of which reinforces underdevelopment. Imports from the USA continue to rise. The high import content has two major effects: (a) it exacerbates the chronic balance of payments deficit; (b) it produces cyclical employment patters "reminiscent of the colonial monoculture systems" (476). Tourism creates an entire sector of employees who survive "by gratifying the wants and needs of vacationing white foreigners".

Second, tourism denies access by locals to their own resources: Few West Indians (only small elites) have access to the tourist industry. Foreign ownership is strengthened by legislation which grants incentives to certain types of tourist infrastructure (hotels, for instance) which have to be of a minimum size, generally beyond the financial capacity of most West Indians. Land values soar, again putting choice land out of the reach of most locals. Beaches are withdrawn from public use and reserved to hotels and resorts.

Third, tourism has hardly stimulated the development of handicrafts. The foreign tourist is more interested in purchasing duty-free goods (not available at those prices to the local population) and "the token purchase of 'native handicraft' is often a coincidental afterthought" (478).



Fourth, tourism is sustained through expenditure for infrastructure construction and other financial expenditures incurred by governments in the West Indies: augmenting police forces, investment in public relations and advertisements, hotel training schools, construction of roads and the extension of airports. All these expenditures are designed to cater to the tourist and do not involve an assessment of national priorities which might lead to expenditures on non-tourist-related projects.

Perez concludes that "Tourism adds still one more industry that demands immediate and short-range gratification at the expense of sustained and long-range economic development. In converting former agricultural monoculture economies to travel monoculture, tourism renews and reinforces the historical process of underdevelopment" (480).

BLAKE, E.W. 1974. Stranger in Paradise. Caribbean Review, 6, 9-12.

This article analyzes the increasing impersonality of relationships in the Virgin Islands. This growing impersonality is the result of three causes: increased racism and ethnicity; and rapid economic development. The causes are interrelated but the last, which is the dominant cause, results in the decline in companionship, meaningful activities, mutual trust, and in psychological security among the residents. The population explosion, and mobility, have added to the problems.

It is not that racial and ethnic problems were absent in the Virgin Islands before the last decade, it is just that these problems have been exacerbated. The exacerbation is traced by Blake to "the phenomenal development, expansion and acceleration of the tourist industry and other allied business activities, also some not so allied industrial developments" (10).

When tourism to Cuba dwindled after Castro came to power, the growth of the tourist industry in the Virgin Islands was seen as the most suitable catalyst for development. But the Virgin Islands were short of manpower, partly due to migration to Puerto Rico. The tourist industry developers and the government looked around for a cheap labor supply: the native blacks were considered lazy, Puerto Ricans were unwilling to come and work in the Virgin Islands. The solution, with the cooperation of various West Indian governments was to hire aliens who came in on work permits and were discriminated against.

While the alien was entering the work force, the black native was moving into white collar jobs in government, and in the allied services field (taxi drivers) which brought in a higher income than other tourist centered occupations. The immigrant whites were moving into still higher and better paying jobs in the private sector. With the willing black alien (now constituting 40 percent of the total population) accepting any kind of work, the lower echelons of private industry were soon filled by these aliens.

The growing number of aliens gathered sufficient strength to demand better facilities and treatment: particularly with regard to education. Their increasing strength soon became a ground for tension between them and the native blacks. The most important problem area is education. It is here that some of the severest tensions prevail, tensions that are the result of in-migration patterns. The first, is the in-migration of mainly white teachers who are unable to understand and receive little cooperation from their students. The second, is that the continuing influx of alien children into the public school system has strained the capacities of the school system. The increasing enrollment raises the need for teachers which the local training system cannot cope with; in-migration of teachers continues. And the racial problems increase.

"Problems of ethnicity are leveled more against the aliens, the Jews and the Puerto Ricans than against any other ethnics or national origin group residing on the islands. The Jews control the economic power structure and



and sometimes are subjected to racial and ethnic biases. The Puerto Ricans are seen as a political threat, especially in St. Croix (where they now represent over one-third of the population). The alien is also viewed as a political and economic threat. He is the primary employee in many aspects of the labor force." The consequence is the growth of the "stranger phenomenon" which the Virgin Islanders do not like.

COHEN, E. 1974. Who is a tourist?" A conceptual clarification.  
Sociological Review, 22, 527-555.

1/

This article continues Cohen's analysis of tourism. Here however, the purpose is not to expand a description of the types of tourists but to isolate the attribute, or set of attributes, that mark off a tourist. He hopes that this attempt at analytical definition will serve a three-fold purpose: (i) provide "more adequate basis for sociological generalizations on touristic phenomena" (528); (ii) point to, and encourage further study of, interesting "but neglected forms of partial tourism"; and (iii) "to integrate the sociological analysis of tourism within the broader but as yet underdeveloped field of a sociology of travel and travellers, which in turn should be viewed as a sub-field of the sociology of migration and migrants". (528)

There is, Cohen points out, a great deal of conceptual "fuzziness" about "tourism", and who is a "tourist". Dictionary definitions refer to the pejorative origins of the term. Social science definitions go beyond the dictionary meanings and are neutral. These definitions (in the social sciences) imply that the tourist is "economically speaking, a consumer and not a producer". (529) Again, the UN definition (1963) seems to have the primary goal of permitting the collection of statistics, particularly because of the remarkable growth of international travel.

Certainly tourism is a form of travelling. But travel itself is such a complex and wide ranging phenomenon (for instance, as to purpose, norms, area, time) that this classification does not tell us more about the elements of tourism, or distinguish it from the various types of travel. Further, there seems to be another element in tourism (apart from travel, which emphasizes, primarily, mobility), that is the element of staying in a particular place—the "visitor component".

On the basis of the analysis of definitions, and comparison with other types of travel, Cohen believes that there are six traits which are peculiar to tourism: "temporary", "voluntary", "round-trip", "relatively long journey", "non-recurrent trip", "non-instrumental" (that is, an end in itself). Each of these traits can be placed on a continuum. The traits are examined at greater length below.

---

1/

See Cohen 1972a, 1973, above.



The six traits lead Cohen to define the tourist role as follows:  
"A 'tourist' is a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip". (533)

Cohen then discusses the analytical dimensions of the definition, starting with the broader characteristics first. This, he believes, should enable the student (or theorist) in the tourism field to distinguish between various sub-types along a continuum of an increasing (or decreasing) touristic component:

- ( i ) Permanency: What are the limits here? When does a person become a tourist, or cease to be one? The UN definition adopts an arbitrary cut-off point at the lower limit of 24 hours. This seems to accord with the findings most other recreation studies on the way in which varying time-periods affect the way in <sup>1/</sup> which people spend their recreational time. Cohen quotes Burton who has established five typical periods of recreational time: "(a) very short (up to an hour); (b) short (a few hours); (c) a full day; (d) several days; (e) a week or more (yearly vacations)". (535) Burton also found that only those in categories (d) and (e) had opportunities for travel on a regional or national level. Therefore, the one-day traveller could be termed an "excursionist" (if he covers a long distance, and, particularly, "crosses an international boundary") or a "pleasure tripper" if he covers a relatively short distance.

The upper limit is more difficult to define. Undoubtedly, the temporary nature of the trip is a sine qua non. The tourist is a person for whom travelling is not a normal thing; something he does occasionally. But when does a tourist become a tramp, a hobo, a wanderer? Cohen suggests that travel be viewed as temporary "as long as (the traveller) still possesses a permanent home to which he returns periodically or to which he intends to return eventually, even if he stays away for many years". (536) Therefore, the "itinerant hippie" and other types of drifter-wanderer, have "a marginal tourist role, intermediate between temporary and permanent travellers". (536) Even among this last category, there are "touristic components" of varying intensity.

- ( ii ) Voluntariness: This is less ambiguous (the tourist is easily distinguishable from the prisoner, the refugee). But the trip may contain an element of socially sanctioned, normative obligations that can be contrasted with voluntariness. For instance, a pilgrimage may be required by social sanction. Again, the "tourist exile" could represent an intermediate stage.



- (iii) Direction: This is also seemingly unambiguous. A round-trip can be distinguished clearly from a one-way trip. On the other hand, an element of ambiguity is introduced if one considers the duration of the trip, and a tourist who "lingers around" without deciding whether to settle down in the host country or return. Three examples of this ambiguity are to be found in the "tourist migrant", "permanent tourists", and "expatriates". In the first type, examples of whom are to be found in the Bahamas, Hawaii, and Israel, the tourist sometimes decides to stay on or work there. In the second, we have examples from Mexico (Americans), some Pacific Islands, Majorca, and Malta. Of the third (the term being used here in a narrow sense), are artists and professionals -- for example, artist colonies in Paris, the Balearics, and Bali. Although it is difficult to distinguish clearly between this third type and the preceding two, Cohen suggests that they "are empirically distinct phenomena". (538)
- (iv) Distances of Trip: It has been said that the trip should be "relatively long". But, really, what boundaries can be placed on this? It would appear to depend on the nature of the society -- among some traditional societies, a short trip might be classed as "long"; in more advanced societies, with greater mobility, the distance would change to qualify as "long". But every society has some minimum limits. For instance, a five-mile limit might be sufficient in Western societies to classify the trip as "minimal tourism". For fully-fledged tourism, it would require a much greater distance. "The distinction which comes closest to dealing with different types of tourists, in terms of distance travelled, is that between internal and international tourists: travel within the boundaries of one's own country as against travel abroad." (538) And yet, even here, international travel is not necessarily a greater geographical distance. Further, to those who suggest that international travel implies greater social or psychological distance we have examples of white urban US citizens visiting Indian reservations (or upper class Latin Americans visiting Andean villages) where the distance is even greater between them, than between the white urbanites (or upper class Latin Americans) visiting Paris or Madrid.
- It is obvious that the culturally defined limits beyond which travel becomes tourism change. Remote area visits partake more of the nature of explorations, and the visitor is intermediary between "tourist" and "explorer". Today, almost every area on Earth is open. Only the moon may become an area for tourism in the future.
- (v) Recurrency: This refers to the traveller alone, it does not refer to the fact that many trips are routinized (airlines have regular schedules to the place, and travel agents conduct



completely organized tours there on a regular basis). But it is difficult to say when the touristic component dies out with repeated visits. On a descending scale, Cohen mentions the habitué (for whom the novelty of the trip diminishes with each succeeding visit); the summer-house owner (who is a "marginal tourist", in-between the tourist and resident); and the week-end house owner (at most a case of "minimal" tourism).

- ( vi) Purpose of Trip: The trip is undertaken with the expectation of novelty and change. Therefore, it is not so much "the objective characteristics of a trip -- for example, its length, places visited -- which will help us to decide whether a traveller should be considered a tourist, but primarily the specific expectation . . ." (533). This "expectation" is not the actual derivation of pleasure by a tourist who desires novelty and change, but primarily "the socially defined, institutionalized expectation of pleasure -- and the role-behavior correlative to such an expectation -- which is of relevance here. . ." (541). Thus, for instance, there are many forms of partial tourism, and of mere change, without institutionally defined expectations of "pleasure" or "novelty": a pilgrimage, visits to sick relatives in other countries. These have not been sufficiently analyzed. Nor is there an adequate discussion of the difference between a vacationer and a sight-seer.

Cohen first disposes of the many forms of "partial tourism" -- where "travelling for novelty and change is combined in varying degrees and forms with other non-instrumental or even instrumental purposes". (541) Examples of these are: (a) thermalists -- Lowenthal's term to classify those who "take the waters" -- a dying breed; (b) students; (c) pilgrims -- although this form is now so well developed that they should possibly be considered tourists; (d) old-country visitors -- with the returning old it is less "touristic" than when later or second-generation emigrants visit; (e) conventioners; (f) business-travellers; (g) tourist-employees -- "people who view their work as a means to 'see the world'; and not as a basis for an occupational career" (543). For example, nurses, younger academics, air-stewardesses, employees in foreign technical assistance. More marginal examples are au pair girls, foreign volunteers (like those in an Israeli Kibbutz). These are marginal because they do not necessarily work in their occupation and "are hence an intermediate type between the tourist-employee and the drifter" (544); and, (h) official sightseers -- These are usually persons travelling on occupations of a diplomatic or political nature who add sightseeing to their routine. This group, which grew after World War II, often travels from developing to developed countries -- against the flow of normal tourist traffic.

Even touristic roles can be further subdivided into different typologies. One, of relevance here, is the distinction between "sightseers" and "vacationers". Novelty is different from change in that the former includes the latter, while the latter does not necessarily include the former. The "sightseer seeks novelty,



while vacationers merely seek change, whether or not this brings novelty in its train". The former generally is a non-recurrent visitor. The latter is exemplified by the habitué. In practical terms, the tourist is primarily a sightseer, and multi-destinational on his first visit. Thereafter, he increasingly takes on the characteristics of the vacationer and becomes uni-destinational. These are ideal types. But it can be hypothesized that the sightseer exemplifies the "traveller" component of tourism to a greater measure; the vacationer, the "visitor" component. Further, the former will be more inclined to visit "attractions" (unique sights, artistic treasures) than the latter "who is more oriented towards facilities and amenities" (545), e.g., sun, sea, sand. This does not mean that the sightseer is an "activist" in his search for attractions, while the vacationer is a passive visitor. The sightseer can become a completely passive object in an organized mass tourist visit.

Vacationers will travel to less distant destinations than sightseers. "There is an important practical implication for developing countries in this conclusion: namely, that countries which are at present far-off the beaten track have only limited prospects of success in the development of tourism on the basis of facilities such as beaches, however magnificent these may be. It is possible, though, that the prestige-value of far-off travel may induce some of the vacationers to forego the intervening opportunities and prefer the farther-off to the nearer vacationing facilities. Mere remoteness, then, may prove to be a touristic resource on its own." (546)

In conclusion Cohen points out that research has concentrated mainly on the "central tourist phenomena -- the fully-fledged tourist, and even within this category, often restricted, to the modern mass tourist". (547) Further research on partial tourist roles is necessary if one is to arrive at some conceptual clarity about the nature of tourism and who is a tourist. Without clear concepts, all substantive conclusions about these phenomena are distorted.

19. DEITCH, L.I., 1974. The Impact of tourism upon the arts and crafts of the Southwestern United States. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

The author, a geographer, analyzes the impact of contact with the "white man" on the arts and crafts of tribes in the southwestern US -- mainly the Navajo, Hopi, Zuni, Maricopa, Pima, and Papago. He concludes that "the Indian arts of the Southwest are an example of one instance when the coming of the white man did not destroy something native. Rather, the contact with Anglo society heightened and in certain instances revived old traditions" (15).

Implicit in the last quotation are two strands of thought: first, that contact with "white" cultures has been generally destructive of indigenous cultures; and, second, a more recent re-examination of the effects of the contact, which has led some students of contact to qualify their earlier generalizations of the universal destructiveness of contact on indigenous cultures. The first theme has a large majority of adherents, and the view extends not merely to tourist contacts.



Deitch's conclusion is not arrived at hastily. He traces, in historical perspective, the long history of contact between the Indians and "western" cultures -- from the 17th century Spaniards down. He notes the capacity for innovation; the decline of the arts; the loss of some traditional designs (in pottery, for instance); and the unwillingness of the young to produce traditional crafts.

This was the general situation till the late 19th century and the prognosis would have been one of continued decline. However, two entrepreneurs and the Santa Fe Railroad revived some aspects of Indian arts. The railroad stimulated interest in the "southwestern image" by building numerous stations in the Hispanic-Indian style, and permitting Indians to sell their wares in the stations. The railroad was assisted in its efforts by Fred Harvey whose company built hotels along the scenic routes of the railroad. The hotels were staffed by numerous natives, sold Mexican and Indian crafts, and were constructed in Hispanic-Indian style. Harvey also played a major role in encouraging Navajo weavers to produce quality rugs in traditional designs. In this last endeavor he was assisted by Don Lorenzo Hubbell.

The other factor in this revival of Indian arts and crafts in the late 19th and early decades of the 20th century, were the visitors and settlers. The southwest was advertised as an area of remarkable scenic beauty; the climate was said to be ideal for people with respiratory diseases. Thus the early visitors and settlers came to admire the area, or appreciated its climate. The initiative of the railroad and the entrepreneurs was supported by settler and visitor alike. By 1930 Santa Fe had enacted laws prohibiting architectural styles other than Hispano-Indian.

The war years slowed down, but did not destroy, interest in southwest Indian arts and crafts. The post-war years saw the booming sales of arts and crafts, and a marked interest in them as true art and valuable handicrafts. Deitch attributes the growth to five "causes": (1) The Civil Rights movement with its emphasis on equality of treatment and opportunity for all (particularly for minority groups which had been disenfranchised). This was combined with the growing recognition by tribal groups of the necessity for organization to manage their own affairs; to take their place in America as distinct, legally-accepted groups, and to prevent further "exploitation" by the majority. Tribal guilds were formed for these purposes. (2) Increased settlement in the Southwest enlarged the market for Indian artifacts. This was coupled with the sense of identity with the area. As a result "the wearing of at least a piece of Indian silver became almost a Southwestern tradition" (11). (3) Tourism increased rapidly with the construction of roads and the acceptance of the automobile as a necessity. The tourist was exposed to Indian arts and crafts, sales increased and this increase assisted in the re-acquisition of tribal self-identity as also an interest in Indian art by people who had never visited the area. (4) The 60's saw the "Americana" trend -- a back-to-nature movement, and the earlier days of simplicity of life. The emphasis of the movement in, among other matters, early American arts and crafts lent further support to the renewed interest in things Indian. (5) Rising costs and inflation encouraged investment in arts and antiques, rather than in uncertain stocks and bank deposits.



A recital of the causes of the revival does not convey the areas in which the contact improved/revived the arts, and the ways in which these were altered. The different arts and crafts are, therefore, referred.

Navajo silver jewelry, for instance, was traditionally used as a means of displaying wealth, and as a medium of pawn. The contact has resulted in diversified production -- traditional rings are still produced (as also necklaces) -- silver platters, decorative cigarette boxes are some examples. Designs have expanded to include animal and bird figures. Further, the new designs are used by the Navajo as well as the Hopi and Zuni.

Pottery was originally produced for utilitarian purposes. The settled population and tourists demanded more artistic, and smaller, pieces. Old designs had, in many instances, been lost or forgotten. Archaeologists and museums helped to trace these and revive techniques.

A similar situation to that in pottery existed in rug weaving. Further, young women were not interested in the craft. Initially, the higher prices offered by Fred Harvey for good quality rugs kept the art alive. New designs were introduced by Don Lorenzo.

The "kachina" (a wooden figure symbolizing a supernatural spirit mediator between the Pueblo people and their gods) was modified for sale to non-tribals. The figure is sold, shorn of most of its symbolism, thus maintaining a distinction between the religious purpose of the kachina for tribals, and the collectors' needs.<sup>1/</sup>

Contact not only diversified the crafts and improved their quality, it also introduced the Indians to the use of new media: for example, vegetable dyes were replaced by tempera or poster paints. Painting and sand painting are new art forms that have come into existence after the war.

While there are many cheap and shoddy art works being sold, generally contact with the "Western" world has resulted in better quality work, work that is more diverse, increasing demand, and increased prices for Indian crafts.

20. GREENWOOD, D.J. 1974. Culture by the pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This paper continues the theme first referred to in Greenwood's earlier (1972) article -- the dangers attendant on treating culture as a "commodity".

---

<sup>1/</sup> There are more than coincidental similarities between McKean's (1973) analysis of the arts in Bali, and Dietch's analysis: (a) differentiation between "audiences"/purchasers affecting the nature of art form; and (b) "cultural involution" -- see McKean (1974).



Greenwood points out that tourism treats culture as "part of the local resource"; as something which can be taken out of its context and served up, on demand, to the tourist. Two consequences flow from this method of dealing with culture: first, the meaning of the cultural event is destroyed; second, the event is debased in the eyes of the host population. These results are inevitable since culture is a system of meanings. These aspects are not usually considered in planning tourism since culture is treated as a resource, like any other resource. Planners also fail to realize that culture is an integral part of tourism.

Since culture is an integral part of tourism for Greenwood, he believes that tourism cannot be treated like any other development process. Industrialization for example, to paraphrase Greenwood, does not involve the use of the local culture out of its semantic context. This would seem to imply that tourism is a form of development sui generis -- an aspect which is not dealt with in the article.

In a final generalization, Greenwood believes that tourism exacerbates local inequalities. A statement, again, that is not supported by data.

In support of his view that it is dangerous to treat culture as a commodity, Greenwood refers to the Alarde, the annual celebration in Fuenterrabia of the defense of the city against the French. Before tourism this event was the focal point of the community, a symbol of unity despite occupational differences, a reminder of common membership. It was an event in which all the people joined in willingly, an event that emphasized that all Fuenterrabians were equal. With the advent of mass tourism, tourists became observers; it was determined that the annual celebration should be performed twice on the same day for the benefit of the tourists; the determination was made by the Spanish national authorities, not the local. The result was that Fuenterrabians were no longer willing to take part in the event. They felt that the event had lost all meaning; that outsiders did not understand the supreme importance of the event and viewed it as one more offering to inveigle tourists into the region.

There are several aspects of the article that are unclear: (1) how did the author, an outsider, "understand" the meanings, if it was not possible for the tourists to do so? (2) were the tourists "observers" of the festival or "participants"? (3) was the resentment of the host population due to the fact that tourists did not realize how important the event was or to the fact that the decision to stage the festival twice was made by national authorities? In addition, Greenwood does not distinguish between types of tourism -- "environmental" tourism (where the major purpose, for instance, is just the use of the beaches) does not necessarily involve "culture as a commodity". And, there are far too many unsupported generalizations.

The utility of the article lies in that it points to the fact that were "cultural tourism" exists, it is necessary to determine how far the cultural events the tourists are interested in are interlinked with other aspects of social life; and to educate tourists about local cultural values.



LOEB, L.D. 1974. Creating antiques for fun and profit: Encounters between Iranian Jewish merchants and touring coreligionists. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This paper analyzes the effects of the encounter between tourist and host in a different setting — Iran.<sup>1/</sup>

The Jewish tourist in Iran is, like most tourists, at a loss and searches for those common symbols which will give him a feeling of security. The common symbols are to be found in the shops of the Jewish merchants. They are mainly religious symbols.

The merchant uses his position as intermediary between the tourist and Iran to make a handsome profit by selling faked antiques. But the role of the merchant is not confined to monetary goals, nor is the relationship always one where the merchant makes the profit.

Jews in Iran are a minority, persecuted until the 1940's. For them, contacts with their coreligionists from abroad are an important link. The merchant, then, is not merely concerned with his gains in monetary terms. He forms an important link by which desirable foreign Jews can be introduced to other members of the community, and undesirables screened out. Further, the introduction of desirable foreign Jews to the community increases the social status of the merchant.

The encounter has reciprocal effects -- security, a feeling of being "at home" for the tourist; increased links abroad, the sharing of new ideas with coreligionists for the Iranian Jew. These contacts have caused the Iranian Jew to reevaluate his own behavior and world-view with respect to education, religion, philanthropy, and even business ethic.

As Loeb concludes, "tourism is thus a powerful force in the ongoing process of westernization Persian Jewry is presently experiencing" (13).

McKEAN, P.F. 1974. Towards theoretical analyses of tourism: Economic dualism and cultural involution in Bali. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This excellent paper continues the analysis of the questions posed in McKean's earlier (1973) paper, viz., must one presume that tourism will be destructive of indigenous cultures, or can the host culture selectively adapt to tourism so that it retains both cultural integrity and the advantages of tourism?

---

<sup>1/</sup> See, particularly, Sutton (1967), and Cohen (1972b) for other examples.

There are, as McKean points out, two extreme positions possible on the effects of contact: either the host culture changes totally, or does not change at all. Many subscribe to the enumeration of differences between peasant (read "traditional") and capitalist (read "modern") societies. These differences are usually phrased in terms of the extreme dichotomy mentioned earlier.

McKean estimates the applicability of the dichotomy with reference to Bali. He takes the stages of transition from peasant to capitalist society propounded by Boeke. The characteristics of peasant society (and Bali can indubitably be classed as a peasant society) are: (i) aversion to capital; (ii) only slight interest in finish and accuracy; (iii) lack of business "qualities"; (iv) failure to come up to even the minimum requirements of standard and sample; (v) lack of elasticity of supply; (vi) lack of organization and discipline; and (vii) collective local specialization. McKean finds that only characteristics (v) and (vii) are to be found in Bali. But even here he notes that there is only partial inelasticity of supply since production for the tourist forms a small percentage of cultural activity. Further, there is no relinquishing of one occupation for occupations in the tourism sector. In effect, the economic style is "additive rather than substitutionary" -- the economic roles are enlarged to include additional work for tourists, they are not lost. With reference to collective specialization, in the case of the Balinese the collective specialization strengthens the collective bonds, and improves the product.

Boeke's theory does not have utility, McKean concludes, because in Bali "adaptive strategies have taken place to link the local economy to the international one, without destruction of the former" (8-9).

To deny the applicability of Boeke's theory does not, however, answer a more fundamental question: Will tourism ultimately be subversive of Balinese culture? Can the cultural integrity of the Balinese be retained while economic modernization takes place? Wherein lies the strength of Balinese culture and society?

The "Waikiki-anization" of Bali is a common theme of anthropologists and "well-wishers" of the Balinese who assume that tourism will lead to the domination of the host culture. These theorists assume that the impact of tourism proceeds only in one direction, inevitably: the host culture must change and conform to the dominant culture of the tourist. This belief in the inevitability of change disregards the manifold ways in which groups respond to influences, both internal and external. And, in Bali the inevitable has not happened.

What is taking place in Bali is economic modernization combined with a seemingly contradictory strengthening of the culture. "A continuous syncretic process has occurred in Bali through which elements of the traditions are mixed so that it is practically impossible to distinguish them" -- modern idiom (dress, the use of modern means of transport) is used to pursue, nay improve, the traditional (visits to temples, dance and drama). Borrowing a phrase from Geertz, McKean calls this strengthening of the traditional culture "cultural involution". Tourism forms a major source of funds for modernization and at



the same time strengthening the traditional arts. For tourism, in many senses, has contributed to this strengthening: tourists want to see Balinese culture, consequently increasing pride in the ancient traditional arts.

But there must lie some deeper source of strength, since it could easily be argued that individual competition could supplant association with others in the pursuit of profit. The strength does not merely lie in the voluntary associations characteristic of Balinese social relationships (the sekaha), or in their village (desa), or hamlet (bandjar), irrigation associations (subak), and the sharing of common shrines (pura). It lies in the individual's cognitive map of his place in the world, and the role behavior required of the individual in different situations.

In the complexities of Balinese social structure, each village has its own identity, each caste group has its assigned place in a hierarchy of duties and functions, each status has its assigned role. This complex of interweaving roles are interdependent and provide for the individual both the basic realization of the substratum of interdependence within the cosmos, and his place in that cosmos. Like sheaves in a bundle of rice stalks (ikat), the identity of the individual is to be found only in the "sum total of all his" relationships. The term McKean uses to describe these binding relationships is "terikat". Behavioral requirements change in the varying contexts of binding relationships (terikat). And the Balinese are aware of these role requirements.

It is terikat that provides the cement permitting the Balinese to combine conservatism (and conservation) of culture together with modernization.

McKean then tests this conclusion against an earlier analysis by Geertz of aristocratically dominated enterprises in Tabanan (a town to the west of the capital of Bali, Denpasar). In his analysis, Geertz concluded that the enterprises (trade, manufacture of ice and soft drinks, for example) were not being conducted along "rational" lines -- too many persons were employed, there were far too many claims on profits, they lacked professional management. What the aristocrats were trying to do was retain power, after being stripped of political office, by employing too many individuals from their own village. Geertz suggested that modernization would require the subordination of social to economic bonds. McKean, however, suggests that the behavior of the aristocrats could be interpreted differently: by emphasizing economic interdependence, the terikat bonds were maintained, and power continued in the hands of the aristocrats.

McKean also suggests that industrialization is not the inevitable path to modernization for the Balinese. One could, instead, envisage "the establishment of a truly post-industrial service society" (19) where economic prosperity rests on cultural production. The Balinese could profit from the performance of those things which they "have learned to do so well for their own satisfaction -- perform their arts and religion, their crafts and ceremonials" (19). This would mean that the ties which presently bind individuals and groups in Bali would have to be reaffirmed and strengthened. One could then envisage a future situation where a strong community life is the basis of development.



Will this performance of the culture gradually convert the essential basis of the art form from religion to economics -- making the performance meaningless but profitable? McKean does not think that this will happen in Bali so long as the ties that bind one Balinese to another continue to be the dominant theme in social and religious life. "Balinese will continue to do a variety of things with a variety of persons for a variety of reasons" (20).

This ability to vary performance with the demands of the different audiences in different situations, each of which contain their own meanings, is called "boundary maintenance". McKean exemplifies this concept with reference to the "portable arts". Following Graebner, he classifies these arts into four types: (i) functional fine arts with significance to the people alone (Balinese offerings and temple carvings); (ii) commercial fine arts -- for sale to a special group of connoisseurs (ornamental carvings or tapestries); (iii) souvenir arts -- for sale to a wider audience; and (iv) assimilated fine arts -- imitations of styles that are non-indigenous (like fighting cocks, abstract paintings). Although there is increasing standardization and loss of quality in the third category (also called the "airport art" category), it has in no way affected the demands for a very high standard in the first two categories. The Balinese, as in his social life, is capable of addressing the demands of each audience -- the spiritual, the local and the foreign. Thus exposure has strengthened the foundations of the culture and Balinese self-identity.

Looking into a crystal ball, McKean believes that tourism, with its waxing and waning numbers, will not affect the Balinese so long as work in tourism continues to be "additive" and the ties are maintained. Bali represents "cultural tourism", where the needs and culture of the host population has to be maintained and strengthened, as opposed to "environmental tourism" where the local people are merely an adjunct to the physical scene. In the latter case, the dangers posed to the way of life of the local people is immense -- they can be moved out at will, in the interests of tourists obtaining an unhindered view or use of the physical environment. The actions of the government and other local bodies to strengthen the social bonds and control tourism are of special importance in Bali. Villages could have authorities trained in and concerned about tourism, educating the local people in their culture, and responsible to village and wider political authorities for tourist-native interaction.

McKean looks upon his analysis as a "first step" in a longer journey. "We need additional close studies of locales with different histories, ecologies, indigenous traditions, and socio-economic structures, so that we may ascertain how the tourist-native interaction takes place across a broader range of situations." (27)



NASH, D. 1974. Tourism as a form of imperialism. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

Since this is the first extended analysis of the "imperialistic" nature of tourism, which some authors have touched upon,<sup>1/</sup> Nash's arguments are dealt with at length.

Anthropological interest in tourism is part of the general concern with the consequences of culture contact and social change. Culture contact and its effects must be seen in a context broader than the immediate contact context if it is to be comprehended.

Nash views this broader context as the "imperialistic situation". Imperialism for him is a relationship of dominance in which the weaker partner may often be a willing partner in the expansion of expatriate interests. These interests are not confined to the economic. The relationship, and changes in the relative status of the parties, has important social consequences.

Tourism as a form of imperialism: The "investigation of tourism", Nash says, should cover "the phenomenon of travel for pleasure wherever it occurs" (3). There is no difference between internal and international tourism. The "focus of inquiry ought to be on the tourist-host relationship which involves transactions between different groups or societies" (3).

The principal forces generating tourism are to be found in more productive, especially industrial, societies. These centers that generate tourism -- "metropolitan centers" -- have varying degrees of control over the development, and nature, of tourism. The control is exercised, initially, in alien regions. It is this capacity to control that makes the metropolitan center imperialistic, and tourism a form of imperialism.

Any analysis of tourism development must therefore cover the tourism generating centers if the analysis is to be complete. An ideal-typical example is the American tourist who expects, and obtains, a "home away from home". The tourist is supported by a metropolitan-dominated infrastructure engaged in transactions with a native people, marked by power disparity. The transactions may involve individuals, groups, or societies.

The scope of investigation of tourism will therefore depend on "the relative significance of different social structures for understanding it" (5).

The generation of tourism ( observations about the development process of tourism). Tourism comes with higher productivity, the development of leisure, the expectation that a holiday is a necessity. Mass tourism is to be expected in advanced industrial societies. The opportunity (leisure) must be linked with individual desire and social expectation.

---

<sup>1/</sup> See, for example, Cohen (1972a), Reiter (1973).



The creation of tourist areas: "Touristic expansion takes place according to the needs and resources of productive centers and their people" (7). The selections or creation of these resort areas varies with their accessibility and the character of these areas. Although they are not entirely the creation of metropolitan centers -- for native peoples often take the initiative or actively collaborate in the creation of resort areas -- the areas are created with reference to metropolitan needs. The extent of native collaboration coincides with the imperialistic expansion in these centers.

The factors conducive to tourist-resort linkages with metropolitan centers include cost, adequate and cheap transport, a tourist area with a slightly lower standard of living (though this is not universally true if one remembers the numbers of visitors to urban and industrialized centers), a place different enough to satisfy the touristic impulse assessed in terms of metropolitan expectations or needs, e.g., the development of Puerto Vallarta and Vail.

The result is that the fates of the resort area and the metropolitan center become linked "with exogenous forces over which they have less and less control" (8-9). It is therefore necessary to learn more "about the forces that generate specific touristic aspirations because they will tell us which places in the world are likely to come under what metropolitan pressure" (9).

Equally important for analysis is the role played by native peoples and the reasons for that role. This analysis is necessary because a native society may not only prevent or promote tourism, but select that form of touristic relationship which to it seems most advantageous. In this analysis, the earlier and later choices of native peoples would have great utility for it would demonstrate differing native assessments of the advantages of tourism.

Touristic transactions: Whether these are long or short, the transactions depend on the perceptions between individuals and groups as to the nature of the transactions. These perceptions have the following characteristics: (i) a condition of strangerhood (involving temporary sojourn) resulting in interaction on a more general, impersonal level; (ii) a tendency to generalize or categorize; (iii) the treatment of each other as objects with a consequent tendency of each party to act entirely in their own self-interest. This tendency is usually restrained by social controls involving force or law, or, in the ultimate analysis, by the possibility of forcing intervention; and (iv) the development of "culture brokers" -- tourism agents -- to continue the tourist relationships since strangers have a tendency to clump together with their fellows. "Any analysis of the tourist-host relationships therefore probably will require a consideration of some group of stranger-tourists and the agents and organizations which mediate their relationships with the hosts." (14)

The nature of the transactions is affected by the nature of tourism itself: work-leisure distinctions separate host and tourist. The tourist is a person at leisure, experiencing or toying with the world. The tourist is "not expected to make the adaptations necessary for involving himself in the essential life of the host society" (15). This burden usually falls on the hosts who have to select what adjustments have to be made. These adjustments could possibly be



analyzed on a maximizing model.

That the adjustments themselves are made is an indication of the great incentives for, or restraints on, touristic development. But the adjustments may be based on erroneous calculations, particularly if the adjustments involve compromises not originally foreseen. There may then be second thoughts about the initial calculations and the adjustments themselves.

Two kinds of research appear to be appropriate for the analysis of touristic transactions: (1) microsociological analyses of tourist-host, tourist-tourist relationships; and (2) institutional analyses to facilitate an understanding of why these relationships take a particular form.

The consequences of tourism: The consequences flow from the peculiar nature of the intergroup contact involved. Assistance could be derived in the search for the consequences from studies of modernization, urbanization, development of particular resort areas, and the effects of metropolitan exploitation. In addition, studies should also focus on "touristic universals and their consequences for the individuals and societies involved" (17).

Touristic transactions are reciprocal, with consequences for both the host and the tourist countries.

In the tourist resort country, tourism involves the introduction of a new sociocultural reality: an adaptation to a transient, external based, leisure class and their accompanying infrastructure. The principal social adaptations to this reality are (i) between groups and societies or classes (tourists have to be transported, a service group has to exist/come into being); (ii) provision must be made for leisure activities. Investigations should focus on individual and collective adaptations to these "primary" consequences of tourism. These adaptations are likely to result in some psychological and social conflict, viz., the pressures for acculturation on culture brokers to learn, at least superficially, metropolitan ways, needs, and desires (this could also lead to conflict between hosts, and between hosts and tourists). The conflict could also result from competition over, or differential involvement in, the touristic enterprise. "The individual and social mechanisms which are developed to resolve these conflicts and thus facilitate the adjustment of the host society to touristic imperialism could be an important factor in social change. Any investigation of the dynamics of the touristic process would have to consider them in some detail." (19)

On the metropolitan side the consequences are the result of the creation of a leisure class and the infrastructure necessary to support this class. With greater industrialization, the "travel industry" (one could really speak of an institution of travel) emerges. This industry not only serves certain social and psychological needs, it also develops needs of its own. The extent to which the satisfaction of industry and individual needs affects other metropolitan institutions is an equally important subject for analysis in the study of the evolution of tourism.



The evolution of tourism: Nash believes that as tourism evolves, it would be possible to analyze the relationships on the basis of a contact model involving a "transitional touristic system" — a structure intermediate between the traditional and the modern, possessing elements of both. But it must be remembered that there is no inevitability in the direction of tourist development or the direction of change, as a brief survey of specific cases will confirm (Nash refers to Cannes, Leningrad, Acapulco, and Pennsylvania as examples). Any attempt to generalize about the evolution of touristic systems "requires an identification of those parameters which are especially significant in sociocultural change" (23). These include: the needs of the metropolitan center(s), distribution of power in the system, the economic base, and the social divisions relating to tourism.

A tourist system tends to reflect metropolitan needs. Modernization or rationalization of a tourism resort area to initially cater to metropolitan needs will continue to reflect subsequent developments in the metropolitan area. The extent to which the reflection corresponds to metropolitan changes "will depend on where the power lies in the touristic system" (23). The economy of any tourist system becomes externally oriented. Since the resource base lies outside national boundaries the expansion of tourism alters the degree of dependence of occupational roles on outside resources. This dependence has implications for the economy as a whole and the rest of society. Insofar as social organizations are related to the economic structure, changes in the latter induce non-economic changes. The new arrangements resulting from tourism will induce strains towards consistency within the system, conflicts, and inconsistency. New social cleavages may arise, existing cleavages will be exacerbated. These are the result of exogenous and endogenous factors.

Although there is no theory that can satisfactorily explain the development and consequences of tourism, Nash believes that imperialism forms a useful conceptual framework of analysis.

24. NUNEZ, T., 1974. Touristic studies in anthropological perspective.  
Unpublished, Mss.

This article is in the nature of a "foreword". Its purpose is to gather together the main ideas of the previous papers. Nunez achieves this objective partially. He also touches briefly on theoretical models, the role of the anthropologist in the field, the obligations of anthropologists, and the profitable use of the notes of anthropologists which have lain unpublished largely because tourism has only recently been considered a "proper" subject of academic inquiry. Because of the vast gaps in our knowledge of the processes of tourism, its types, and the different impact tourism can have on different types of societies, Nunez rightly characterizes all the previous papers as "preliminary observations".

### Models

1. Acculturation model: This is the model most often used: the analysis of the impact of contacts between members of different cultural milieus and levels of economic development. Within this framework what has been examined is



the nature of the contact situation, the distinctive profiles of the contact personnel, different levels of sociocultural integration, numerical differences in population. It must be obvious that if we view society functionally (that is, we accept the fact that parts of society and different institutions are interrelated), the acceptance or rejection of tourism has far-reaching consequences (both direct and indirect). For changes in one institution, for example the methods of work, will have repercussions on other aspects of society.

It is believed that hosts are more likely to borrow from tourists than vice-versa. Just because tourists are transient, their effects should not be minimized or ignored -- "a tourist clientele tends to replicate itself" (2).

The contact between tourist and host is asymmetrical. The most striking aspect of this asymmetry is in the field of language. Tourists do not have to learn the host language, the hosts have to learn the language of the tourists. For those hosts who do, the "rewards: are greater mobility, new occupational avenues, and greater compensation than their monolingual countrymen."

Despite all the criticism of the effects of tourism and the results of this asymmetrical contact, it is curious that it is developing nations that are using tourism as a tool of development and inviting tourists from the developed countries. Often, the countries whose citizens are most courted are those very countries whose colonialism the developing country terminated.

It is now well-accepted in acculturation theory that both parties to the interaction must be studied. The same applies to studies of tourism: both host and tourist have to be evaluated if some comprehension of tourism is to be gained.

2. Innovation and personality theory: Innovation and personality theory can supplement acculturation theory in the analysis of tourism. In the realm of innovations, two classes of persons are usually referred to: leaders and "marginal men". The former are considered more effective in gradual change, especially since they are believed to be more conservative. Tourism is usually connected with rapid change and it is here that a particular type of "marginal man", viz., the "culture broker" comes to the fore, demonstrating the advantages of adaptive entrepreneurship.

3. Dramaturgy: If one studies the nature of the interaction between hosts and tourists it will be realized that it is instrumental, rarely affective; almost always marked by degrees of social distance and stereotyping. The greater the ethnic and cultural distance, the greater the likelihood of confusion, misreading of cues and meanings of actions.

Nunez suggests that the best technique (read "methodological device") for presenting and understanding the nature of the interaction between host and tourist is the "dramaturgical" method of Goffman. This views the interaction of tourist and host as a drama, with both playing assigned roles. The roles are, in many senses, "masks" of the true self. What the anthropologist who studies tourism must do, is not only to portray the drama, but also to get "backstage as well as to view the performance from the audience" (11).



### Tourism Taxonomies

Taxonomies are the usual method of classifying a range of diverse phenomena. Tourism studies are at too early a stage to attempt definitive taxonomies. One might, with the literature in mind, suggest "ethnic" and environmental tourism (though there are few places with a forbidding environment that become tourism resorts); internal vs. international tourism; "packaged" and programmed tourism vs. individual tourism; resort tourism vs. off-the-beaten-track tourism; religious vs. secular tourism; recreational vs. educational or cultural tourism. These categories are both tentative and overlapping.

### Processes

We know little as to why tourists make their choices between one vacation or another; or why different nationalities prefer different areas. Nor do we know the process of stereotyping -- both by host and tourist -- of each other. Again, some societies are plural societies and differential reactions to tourism should be expected; or some segments of a society may benefit from or suffer as a result of tourism differently from other segments. In multi-ethnic societies one must find out who profits and loses, who makes decisions, with the advent of tourism. Why are traditional occupations abandoned for tourism-related occupations, and what is the effect of this abandonment.

### Anthropologists and Tourism

The first problem that faces the anthropologist is in the field. He is likely to be identified with the tourist especially in areas where tourism is nascent or relatively recent -- that is, before interaction patterns have been routinized and can be easily interpreted and studied. This potential for identification can result in the anthropologist obtaining the wrong information. It should also make the anthropologist wary of this possibility. In addition, the anthropologist can, on occasion in the field, play the role of a "boundary man" -- an educator interpreting patterns, ideas, and expectations to tourists and their hosts.

The necessity for a host population to exploit tourism for economic purposes should not be decried by anthropologists. "The ethical question. . . is who or how many profit from the exploitation." (3) This is what anthropologists should be concerned about, and be willing to advise regarding these consequences of tourism. Restraint in condemning tourism is necessary for three reasons: first, because it is not possible to demonstrate at the present state of our knowledge about tourism, that tourism is uniquely destructive or evil per se. Second, the welfare spin-off from the infrastructure built for tourism may provide the best alternative available, or the only means for welfare. Third, changes in a local community are more often accepted, or opposed, in a larger context. Tourism usually commences without planning and may (and usually is) more often welcomed rather than rejected by potential hosts "even though promoted at government and economic levels little concerned with long-range results at the community level" (14). Tourism could in fact be viewed as a redistributive mechanism -- with the haves (the tourists) sharing their surplus with the have-nots (the hosts).



Finally, "it is certain that many other anthropologists and other scholars have considerable unpublished data in their possession. It is hoped that this effort" (the series of articles above, to be published in book form) "will encourage them to bring forth their findings and to extend their research in this area" (16).

PACKER, L.V. 1974. Tourism in the small community: A cross-cultural analysis of developmental change. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. University of Oregon. (University Microfilms No. 74 - 26,556).

This is a comparative study of the impact of tourism on three towns: Mykonos (Greece), Bodrum (Turkey), and Leavenworth (Washington State, USA). It is also an assessment of tourism as a "developmental social process which is centered around, but not limited to, economic behavior" (2). In this second aspect, the dissertation also examines the process of differentiation of structural elements in these societies which could be attributed to tourism.

#### Fieldwork

After earlier visits to Bodrum in 1966 and living in an Aegean town for a year and a half, the author did fieldwork in Mykonos from April to December 1971, and in Bodrum from December 1971 to February 1972. In a manner of speaking, fieldwork in Leavenworth was continuous: the author lived for 10 years in a town 150 miles away from Leavenworth, and has gone back to the area often.

#### Objectives

The dissertation has three objectives: (a) a description of tourism and changes in the social structure associated with it; (b) a comparison of the common characteristics and effects of tourism; and (c) the formulation of theoretical concepts which would provide an understanding of the elements of tourism and its impact on the communities in order to apply generalizations from these three instances to other similar communities.

#### I. MYKONOS

Mykonos, a town with a population of 2,896 in 1970, is blessed with a mild climate from June to September. It is an island of stark beauty, strategically located three miles from the island of Delos. The population has both declined and grown: a decline with the reduction in fishing in the early years of the century and with the great depression (when many Mykonians migrated - particularly to Joliet, Illinois); a revival, as the population shifted back from the rural areas to the towns particularly with the economic revival which tourism has brought.

#### Private Enterprises

The major private enterprises are fishing, farming, and business (as traders) all of which are, today, inextricably linked with tourism.



Fishing declined with the advent of the steamship. Tourism has revived the profession. There are now a variety of activities that fishermen undertake: fishing proper (to supply the 19 eating houses, and also export lobster); lightering; conducting tours to Delos; and renting houses to tourists. The fishermen have diesel-powered boats and nylon manufactured nets; they supply fish to the eating houses at higher rates than to the local population (thus creating competition between the houses and the population for fish); their houses, occupying the "new village" in town, are substantial and modern. With the departure of the tourists, the price of fish drops. Then Mykonians can obtain fish. Lightering and tour conducting are occupations that came in with the advent of tourism, so too the renting of houses. Since the size of their families has not increased appreciably, there is a greater capital investment possible. Again, fishermen had the initial means (boats) which could be adapted to tourism without much trouble, and the patterns of fishing permitted adaptation to tourism without loss of time from their traditional occupations.

Farming is the major occupation of about 400 families (approximately 2,000 - 2,440 persons). The farmers export wheat and beans. More important, in terms of cash incomes, is livestock. The average number of cattle per family 25 years back was 1 - 2 head, today 5 - 6 head are common. The increase can be dated to 1967 when the demand for beef for tourists increased. At about the same time pure-bred bulls were imported and bank loans to purchase more stock were obtained. Hides are also exported to Athens. In addition, with increased revenues from tourism, the local population has also increased its beef intake. The number of sheep has reduced, as the importance of cattle has increased. Sheep are kept for milk, meat, and wool. It is the last category that has grown: as traditional sweaters and wool items became the objects of tourist fascination what was originally entirely for home consumption now found a market outlet. The "Mykonos Agricultural Cooperative aided farm families in developing this trade through introduction of new techniques and materials, and by housing in the town Coop building weavers who wished to sell items to tourists". (38) Although the weavers had to return to their homes because of complaints about noise, the influence on weaving in terms of new styles, new materials, and new techniques has been permanent. Garden produce is another item sold by farmers and, since their prices are lower than those of town grocers, their produce is sold quite quickly. The number of these farmers who sell garden produce in town has increased -- from 3, about 12 years ago, to nearly every farmer today. It is estimated that 40-50% of every farmer's agricultural income comes from the sale of this produce. In this extension the farmers have been aided by the introduction of motor-driven well pumps by the Cooperative. Garden produce has the added advantage of bringing in income throughout the year, thereby smoothing out the troughs in income that occurred with the close of the tourist season. The migration of farmers has also been slowed down by the possibility of employment in construction and in the barium mine. Finally, tourist housing and land sales are adding untold wealth (in the farmers' eyes) to their coffers: land that is not agriculturally valuable has a ready market; agricultural land is still the object of affection and security. Thus farmers, like fishermen, have diversified their occupations as a result of tourism. In this, their income increases have been assisted by



technological improvements, and the Cooperative. Some of the income has been spent on consumer goods, but capital investment has also taken place -- both in agriculture (primarily) and outside. Tourism has permitted farmers to commercialize on articles that formerly had only traditional value.

Of the 340 stores that Packer lists, 139 (41%) are tourist shops. However, if one includes establishments that do at least 80% of their business with tourists, the number rises to 230 (approximately 67%). The number of shops has grown remarkably: from only 5 - 6 in 1950, to 50 in 1966, to 139 in 1971. Again, based on estimates, observation, and applications for building permits, the critical years appear to have been 1965 and 1966. Packer lists 45 types of establishments. An examination of these establishments evidences a fairly significant absence of "professional" establishments (for example, architects, doctors). Among those listed, the type worth noting are eating establishments. The four, in decreasing order of customer formality, are the restaurant, the taverna, the cafe, and the snack bar. Though all have been affected by tourism, the third category (the cafe) has changed the most: from a coffee-house, serving mainly Turkish coffee, ouzo, a few other drinks, and hors d'ouvres during a leisurely conversation, it has extended the range of items served. Now, in the summer months, Mykonians have to compete with the tourist to get a seat. In almost every phase of business, tourism has given the impetus for growth. The extent of financial gains is not, however, known.

Finally, there are the fairly profitable miscellaneous occupations. The most rewarding among these is room rentals. Most of the estimated 1,500 beds are in private homes where the capital expenditure for conversion is minimal: a curtained-off area, investment in beds; the children being moved off to another room, or to a relative's house. Nearly every house now has a toilet -- which only a few had 25 years back. Mykonos is credited with being the first town to board tourists at home and the process involves soliciting at the docks (with much competition and argument ensuing, and bargaining in fractured English). Pensions, which have a registered 500 rooms, are converted houses -- a shrewd investment by landlords. Room renting forms a steady supplement to the income from major occupations. It also provides an income that is regular, and certain, during the year from June to September. The second miscellaneous occupation is real estate. Although financial details are lacking, the prices of land appear to have risen about 2,000% over the period 1960-1970. This has affected even agricultural land: for example, in 1970 the Mykonos Agricultural Cooperative purchased land at approximately 13,600 dr. per stremma (that is, about US\$400 per half acre). The third type of occupation is building construction. This provides work, in addition to those professionally engaged in it, for the young, and part-time work for farmers and others who are busy with tourists during the summer months. Building construction takes place mainly during the fall and winter, slack months for tourism. The construction has reduced the migration of the young, and has provided an income to the 18 merchants directly connected with the supply of building materials. Because of its architectural features, Mykonos was put under the operation of Greek Civil Law 1469/1950 in 1962. This law regulates construction and preservation of sites of historical and architectural value, among other matters. Building permits



have to be issued by the Mykonos Archaeological Museum. The numbers of permits issued shows a steady increase, with the peak years for housing construction being 1966-1969, and for all construction from 1967-1971. Other trades include bus companies (there are 7 buses which ply regular routes only during the tourist months), taxis (there are 9, all independently owned), and luggage carriers (usually the occupation of middle-aged, or "embarrassingly old" men).

### Government Organizations

There are numerous government agencies and organizations, national and local, that are directly or indirectly concerned with tourism. The responses of all, unfortunately, are based on temporary expedients -- as, for instance, in the building of water storage tanks by the national government. These will only partially meet the current demand for drinking water. Packer examines in detail only those organizations, local and national, that are directly connected with tourism.

#### Local

On the local level there is, first, the town council and the mayor. The mayor is the sole decision-maker in matters which fall within his jurisdiction (streets, public toilets, garbage cleaning, the playground, library, and zoo, are some of these matters). The present mayor, a former sea captain, is a contrast to his predecessors (all fishermen who, though honest and sincere, had no real comprehension of the job other than that it was an honor). The present mayor comes from a sea-faring family, is well-connected by marriage and is a wealthy landlord actively involved in real estate. Despite this background the mayor has not taken an active interest in coordination of the tourism trade or in the obvious problems it faces -- this possibly due both to the mayor's own business pre-occupations, and "to a lack of community spirit based on Mykonian cultural values". (59) A further possible curb on the mayor's involvement is the fact that he is appointed by the national government and is limited by the terms of his office.

The second local organization is the Mykonos Agricultural Cooperative. Organized in 1938, it started functioning effectively from 1949. The membership of this Coop is 295 (about 74% of the farm families). With this representation one could suppose that the Coop would be mainly responsible for the sale of goods produced by its members. In fact an estimated 40% of the goods produced are sold through it. This is only partly the result of the dependency of the Coop on the Agricultural Bank and the insistence of the latter on centralized decisions. But even more to blame is tourism: increasing demand for produce has led to direct sales to merchants and tourists. The Coop has been bypassed, and its effectiveness reduced.

#### National

On the national level, only the police are directly concerned with tourists. The civil police (one of the three departments -- civil, harbor, and tourist) are in effect the organ of the national government administration in



Mykonos. The harbor police tend to complicate matters, rather than solve them, by their activities. The tourist police try to arrive at settlements agreeable to parties in all disputes (for example, for non-payment of rent, nuisance). In this they are apparently quite successful. The three arms of the national administration have little policy formulation authority. With few exceptions they are all non-Mykonians (part of government policy to reduce the possibility of entrenched posts and corruption) with a mandatory rotation. While this has advantages, it prevents the administrative personnel from gaining an insight into Mykonos, Mykonians and their problems, which longer residence might have provided. It also reduces the level of commitment to the place.

### Tourists

Packer then turns to an examination of tourists ("who is a tourist"), types of tourists, the encounter between tourist and host, and the impact of tourism on the island, its people and economy.

#### Who is a tourist?

Tourists are differentiated from "foreigners". It is a distinction which Mykonians themselves make. There are several categories of "foreigners". First the families that migrated to Mykonos after the War of Independence (1821); second, non-Mykonian Greeks who usually come to Mykonos to do business during the tourist season; and third, the non-Mykonian non-Greek who is a "permanent" resident. Most of these are from the United States. The average length of residence of this last group is between 4-5 years. Some have married Mykonians but they are not accepted as part of the community. "They are, instead, tolerantly treated in a friendly manner as curiosities of the outside world." (65)

Tourists are non-Mykonians -- Greek and non-Greek, who reside for a short period of time (a day to the entire tourist season in one year) who come to utilize the resources of the island.

Types of tourists range from the "corporation executive" or "jet setter" (who uses all facilities in his hotel or beach complex, including transportation) to the "back-packer" and "hippie". Back-packers are mainly Americans on a European tour, "hippies" are long-distance travellers passing through on their way to far-flung destinations. The last two types tend to stay longer than average and to occupy camp areas. All use buses. Back-packers sometimes rent rooms. Finally, there are the "vacationers" who spend the least time (1-3 days). In status their range is great, the average age, like that of the back-packer and "hippie" is between 20 - 30.

Americans form the predominant tourist nationality, followed by French and then Germans. Most business is done in town: the back-packer and hippie types seen mainly during the day; the corporation executive type during the night; and the vacationer, at all times.



Behavioral characteristics also distinguish back-packers, hippies, and the tour ship tourist: dress, bright clothes, and loud conversation. The ship tourists, however, do not use public transport facilities and overnight accommodation.

In terms of resources, Mykonos offers climate, architectural beauty, tourist shops, beaches, eating establishments, and sleeping accommodations that are unique and cheap; and "a freedom from rules and inhibitions that is fostered by the Mykonians through their, at least outward indifference to tourist social behavior" (69).

### The Encounter

The "behavior pattern occurs in particular areas of social transaction and. .delineate points of cross-cultural contact that have served as points of tourism-stimulated social change" (69): Sleeping, eating, transport, walking, shipping, entertaining, being photographed, visiting, observing.

### Impact

#### Occupations

Tourism has presented Mykonians with both new opportunities as well as the chance to expand old occupations. This has resulted in a diversification of occupations, at the same time, however, it has also made Mykonians increasingly dependent on tourism.

#### Building design

Traditional building design has changed as a result of tourism: the adaptation has mainly taken the form of modularization (subdivision of rooms for letting to tourists). Most frequent changes are in the area of conversion of rooms from traditional function to rooms for rental, tourist shops, and eating and drinking establishments.

#### Access

Tourism has opened the path to modernization in Mykonos. For the Mykonian this "means access to Athens since it is the center of Greece from which all sources of political power, modern influence, and communications spring". (71) This is historically so. Further, Athens is only 110 miles away. Today, the contact with Athens is not merely by boat, but also by plane. And these means continue through the winter. The access has had two effects: it brings "in the form of tourists, living models of modern industrial society into the streets, homes and stores of the Mykonians. . . (which) has stimulated (it is suggested) a desire for new personal behavior patterns previously not present in Mykonos and has primarily affected the younger generation of Mykonians". (72) Secondly, material goods are available and much in demand.



### Residence

Tourism has complicated residence patterns. Formerly, families stayed in one house, and only at times used any other. Now, families often give up houses in town to tourists and move into the country during the season. Others, particularly the owners of high-fashion shops, have purchased winter homes in Athens because Mykonos is "too dull in the winter" or to purchase for the next season -- this pattern of residence imitates that of the 12 Athenian and nine other non-Mykonian shop owners, an example of the breakdown of traditional differences.

### Time

The seasons and social conventions set traditional time patterns. Tourists have added new patterns. The tourist season (April to November) sees the phased opening of shops, and the gradual adjustment of work patterns to the presence of tourists (since all derive some income from tourists). With the increase of tourists, the traditional patterns become less significant. Usually most shops were closed between 12:30 and 4:30 p.m. In the evening, from 7:00 to 10:00 was the time for strolling (the shops remained open) along the waterfront dressed in one's finest.

Today, the tour ships arrive regardless of weather, therefore the lighterers have to be there at any time. The ships arrive in the afternoon so often that the traditional closing is not possible. This is particularly the case for the waterfront shops. Thus shops remain open for nearly 15 hours a day during the season (from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.). The numbers of Mykonians strolling has been added to by the tourists (most of the latter prefer to sit in coffee shops). But the tourists do window shopping and the Mykonians have added the shopping area to their evening perambulations.

### Trust

It is claimed, by Mykonians, that the advent of tourism made it impossible for them to leave their homes unlocked -- the tourists, they say, steal anything that can be stolen (including icons). The Mykonians "attribute its incidence to the rapid increase in the number of hippies and back-packers in the last two years". (78)

### Language

The knowledge of foreign languages (mainly English and French) has become a passport to success because of "the degree and type of contact it permits with tourists." (79) There are two ways in which languages are learned: through direct contact, and in school. Both are popular. It is the young in particular who are the most practised speakers.



### Attitudes towards foreigners

"The dominant Mykonian attitude toward foreigners is that of unrestricted acceptance of the dress and behavior of those who come as tourists and residents." (79) This is what assisted the island in becoming a tourist center. Discussion followed the first bikini, and the first bar. But they have been accepted. Part of the reason for this acceptance is the fact that Mykonos has been visited by foreigners for generations. Probably more important is the fact that to protest would result in the loss of income. However, "the strain of acceptance .may become too great a burden". (80) Some Mykonians are refusing to adjust their shop hours; others, to rent their homes; houses and churches are being locked.

### Business ethics

Some suggest that Mykonians are now willing to cheat tourists in order to increase profit -- a thing that would not have been done 10 - 15 years ago. On the other hand, it is equally possible that Mykonians are extending to the tourist the same patterns of behavior that they practice among themselves: to survive, a profit must be made by any possible means; the survival of one's family may be viewed as cheating by another. "Honesty and other abstract ideals are followed only within the confines of the family, relatives, and friends -- in decreasing frequency of application." (82) This is a code which Banfield calls "amoral familism", and is equally applicable to Mykonians as to Italians. The defense of one's status (and, by implication, that of one's family) is the major concern of every Greek, of every Mykonian. What was acceptable within the terms of Mykonian society is now being questioned when it is applied to tourists.

### Youth

Tourism has affected the youth much more than the older generation. About the latter group there may be some discussion about the nature of the change, not about youth. The new wealth has permitted children to follow non-family professions, assist in their parents' shops (which they will take over when they grow older), to go in for higher education, even though this means that for many parents their children will no longer be "true Mykonians". These are the positive changes. On the negative side there are changes which are viewed with varying degrees of disapproval: attendance at bars and discotheques is disapproved not so much because of the dancing and drinking but because of the effects. "One of these effects is to disrupt the traditional daily time-table of work and leisure." (85) Others complain that the bars encourage the imitation of dress and behavior which is foreign, and dating (including meeting foreign girls at the beach). The traditional double standard still prevails in Mykonos and, therefore, of the ten marriages with Mykonians only three involved Mykonian girls. Seven of these couples live in Mykonos and follow the tourist trade in the summer. But these marriages tend to break down traditional patterns of family residence -- the newly-weds often insist on a separate residence and a separate place of business.



### Labor

Tourism has decreased the incentive to enter into traditional occupations. Thus there is, particularly in the summer months when services are needed most because they are used the most, a shortage (electricians, carpenters, plumbers). Women too have been affected: they are less willing to go in for weaving and prefer knitting and crocheting (which are more saleable), work as maids in hotels where they make more money and can mix more freely with other Mykonians and tourists. Contract work has fallen in terms of quality and ability to complete work in time. The high demand prevents penalties from being levied. Continued local dependence on labor will perpetuate shortages and decreasing quality.

### Foreign residents

"The greatest significance of the increasing number of foreign residents is that they present models for further social change." Both Greek and non-Greek present alternatives not available within the traditional environment. Since the tourists are transient, they do not play the role of models, and "fail to have much impact upon adult Mykonians". (91) But the differences in the ways in which the resident foreigners make use of Mykonian resources (which they share with Mykonians) are neither strange nor unachievable. The modernity and monetary success that these patterns demonstrate provide sufficient motivation for their adoption. The most "conspicuous source" is the "foreign" Greek.

### Planning

With increasing tourism most Mykonians are aware of the need for coordination and planning. But they plan only for themselves, and leave coordination to the national government. This attitude is partly national, and in part, local. There is a national dependency on centralized planning for matters outside the family, despite attempts at increased participation in decision-making. Therefore, Mykonians see no contradiction in planning for themselves and extending businesses and other ventures, and leaving coordination to the national government. The second factor is the result of the strong familism of Greek society, and the absence of any stimulus to cooperation outside the family. Mykonians also refer to their individuality fostered by their insularity, and take pride in their inability to cooperate. It is the national government that has responsibility for drafting a tourism plan for Mykonos. In 1968, the application of the architectural law was to be an intermediary measure, and the National Tourism Organization whose planning board visited Mykonos was to come up with a plan "soon". Despite a lapse of three years since that visit no one has heard about the plan. Not even Packer, despite enquiries in Athens.

Packer summarizes the impacts of tourism on the island. Among the aspects, he mentions the overuse of physical facilities on the island and their deterioration (sewage, water, communications are examples). Further, the



administrative organizations have not kept pace with developments in economic and social areas. The lack of adaptation of the administrative structure to the changes has, in fact, retarded development. This has been non-developmental. On the whole, however, "the over-all process of change has been developmental". (97) Planning, an element in the developmental process, must take place since the entire community is deeply involved in tourism. Planning will involve the change in traditional familial values, which is bound to take time.

## II. BODRUM

If Mykonos is stark, Bodrum is beautiful in the variety of its landscape. Water, like in Mykonos, is a problem but there are many more ground-water sources; late summer temperatures are higher and there is greater humidity. Close to the Greek islands of Kalymos and Kos, the population of this peninsula situated on the southern shore of south-west Turkey reflects political changes: There was an 'exchange' of populations during and after the Turkish War of Independence (1921-1923). The population of Bodrum (18,724 according to the 1970 census) reflects this heterogeneity of origin: one-tenth of the population of the town are of Cretan origin. They occupy a well demarcated area. Others of Cretan origin continue to come to Bodrum, from the neighboring Greek isles (Kos in particular). Therefore, ties are maintained with Greek isles and relatives who continue to live there. Packer deals mainly with the town.

### Private Enterprises

The major private enterprises are farming, fishing, sponge diving, boat building and business.

#### Farming

Nearly 4,200 acres, out of a total of 12,000 are cultivated. Fruit production (olives, citrus, quince, almonds, apricots, figs) accounts for 2,640 acres. Dry farming of cereals, beans and tobacco is practiced on 1,320 acres; and market vegetables account for 500 acres. Figs and olives, the traditional fruit, have declined in importance as cash crops, having been replaced by citrus fruits. The State Agricultural Bank loans for equipment and expansion has been the major factor in encouraging this transition. Livestock is another component of income -- though not to a great extent, except for the specialized livestock breeder. Farming, therefore, has been little affected by tourism except for re-investment of income from enlarged citrus groves in further expansion, livestock, and minor conversion of a few olive groves fronting beaches into resorts.

#### Fishing

The sea has always been a major source of livelihood and transportation. At first, it was the Greek residents who were the traditional fishermen. They were replaced by Moslem immigrants from Crete. Soon other, non-Cretan, Moslems took to fishing when they realized that they could "make a respectable living, contrary to local traditional belief". (111) In this expansion, the residents were assisted by loans from the Agricultural Bank (in the 1950's). The fleet now



consists of eight modern trawlers and approximately 150 smaller fishing boats. Access to cities (and therefore new openings for the sale of fish) came with the construction of the road to Bodrum in the 1950's. This was paved in 1969. Fish are now sent in trucks to Izmir where the prices are three to four times higher than in the local market. This has both reduced the supply of fish in the local market and raised its price by 33% over the last five years.

The supply of fish available for local residents' consumption has also been reduced by tourism. Local prices of fish are three times higher in the summer (the tourist season) than in the winter. The fishermen sell to restaurants first. It is the surplus that is available for local residents' consumption and that too, in the summer, at exorbitant prices.

Before tourism, fishermen used to rely on their winter earnings to pull through the summer. Now, summer means that they can charter their boats to tourists every day. For some fishermen, the business is so profitable that they have converted their boats, or purchased new ones, specially for charter work. Others find the transport of construction materials profitable, since there is an increase in building activity. Others profit from the sale of Greek and Roman antiquities found on the sea bed. Archaeological finds first stimulated tourist interest in Bodrum. There is now an underwater Archaeological Museum.

The initial impetus to fishing development came from outside: Government investment in an ice plant, the construction of a road, and loans by the agricultural bank. Tourism provided a further incentive for pre-existing resources were converted, and given the tourists' preferences for sea-oriented activities, new occupations became available for fishermen (unlike the agriculturists). Tourism also provided a second source of investment.

### Sponge diving

Bodrum was one of three main sponge diving centers in Turkey. The beds in the other two areas were depleted leaving only Bodrum. But sponge diving is no longer a profitable activity: the business is controlled by the merchants from Kalymos and the Bodrum divers had to accept whatever price they were paid. From 1968-1971 the sponge merchants did not visit Bodrum and the result was that in 1971 only a few sponge boats put out to sea.

Sponge diving was a seasonal activity (April to October) which has now benefited from tourism. The sponge divers gradually invested in free diving equipment. In 1971, nearly 110 boats had this type of equipment. With depleted returns from the sale of sponge, nearly 23 boats were converted for full-time charter to tourists. Others have taken advantage of their ownership of diving gear to provide tourists with equipment for underwater fishing and exploration (one of the major activities for tourists who visit Bodrum). With a few modifications of the boat, it can be used by tourists. The divers themselves often serve as instructors. Some former divers are no longer in the trade but have moved into construction.



### Boatbuilding

Like fishing, boatbuilding was originally a Greek occupation now taken over by the Cretan immigrants. The business is quite profitable and the number of yards has increased in recent years: there were seven in 1971. Until 1965 all boats built were work boats. Since then an increasing number of boats have been constructed for yachting and chartering. The boatyards are now "booked with orders two to three years in advance". (119) In 1971, the value of boats under construction was US\$150,000. The limiting factor on the increase in the number of boats is the method of training followed: the master, who is usually the owner and supervisor of the yard, instructs apprentices in boat construction. The number of masters is few, and, therefore, the number of apprentices (about 3 - 4 per master) is limited both by time and the need for supervision.

### Merchants

There is a much greater variety of merchants in Bodrum than in Mykonos. Packer lists 67 different types. These include electricians, machinists, and drug store owners. The variety is partly explained by the fact that the economy is mixed. Further, Bodrum is the marketing centre for the peninsula and the outlying areas rely on Bodrum skills. Most merchants have two or more occupations mainly because it is impossible to rely on one occupation as a means of livelihood. This tradition is now being adapted to tourism. Some of these shops are seasonal (for instance, the discotheques patronized generally by tourists and by a few locals who have tourist girl friends). There are no bars in Bodrum, although wine is served at restaurants and in discotheques. Of the 20 hotels (small, multi-storied buildings) most were constructed between 1967 - 1969. Tourist merchants comprise 19% of the total number of businesses — a significant comparison with Mykonos where they accounted for 67%. There is, therefore, a lower degree of dependency on tourism. This lower dependency is partly due to more important sources of income (fishing and fruit) and a greater supply of agricultural produce available.

### Miscellaneous occupations

Room rentals are one of the major miscellaneous occupations. At first, the people were opposed to the idea of breaking tradition and accepting payment. This was circumvented by arranging for the tourists to pay the local Tourism Association which then turned over the amount to the landlord after deducting a small fee. Gradually, however, rents came to be accepted directly. The number of landlords renting rooms has risen and entire houses are now rented (sometimes for a month at a time). This has led landlords to renovate old houses, and sometimes, to construct new ones near distant beaches. The new houses are equipped with modern facilities. Most of the booking, however, is still through the Tourism Association.



Property values, particularly of property on the waterfront and shopping areas, have risen sharply. The greatest demand for this property is for hotels. When the hotels were first constructed, waterfront properties sold at about US\$3,000 per half acre. In about five years the price has risen to US\$100,000 per half acre. And the prices are still rising. In the shopping area prices have also risen, but not by as much as the waterfront area. Bodrum peninsula is also feeling the effects of property price rises in town: the prices there range from US\$2,200 to US\$7,000 per half acre. The land is also being sold in larger units than in town, mainly to "foreign and Turkish financial consortiums which plan to construct hotel-complexes and resort facilities on the property". (128) These are near beaches. And, suddenly, Bodrum owners have found that non-agricultural property, formerly considered valueless has now become invaluable.

Room rentals and real estate has provided Bodrumites with an alternative use of their traditional property, without much capital investment initially. The earnings from tourism are channeled into traditional areas of expenditure (wedding ceremonies and property for inheritance) or new areas (consumer goods and higher education for the children).

Building construction is an activity that has prospered greatly with tourism. In this the Tourism Association has assisted with the grant of small interest-free loans for capital rental improvement. The traditional Bodrum builder worked from a rough sketch. The new modern buildings have, therefore, been constructed by firms outside Bodrum while "the traditional builders only work at rental improvements and house construction". (130) Bodrum now has two full-time architects. But construction costs have also increased: from US\$18 per square meter in 1969 to US\$36 in 1971. Labor costs have risen 60% in the same period. There are three reasons why costs have increased so dramatically: first, increased demand has led to inflated prices; second, Turkey devalued its money by 35% in 1970 so that construction material prices rose correspondingly; and, third, Bodrum, like many other areas in Turkey, is being depleted of its young men who are leaving to work in Germany. Even an isolated area like Bodrum, therefore, is being affected by national and international economic conditions.

Smuggling has been a time-honored profession in Bodrum. Formerly, it was a means of avoiding taxes and to obtain goods manufactured in Greece. The traditional motives have been replaced (since, partly, the goods are now available locally) by the smuggling of antiquities -- a profitable, though precarious, occupation.

### Government Services

There are two major levels of government services and organizations in Bodrum: local and national.

#### Local

At the local level there is, first, the mayor and his council. The present mayor (like his predecessor) has been mainly interested in promoting private sector investment. He shows little interest in planning for the consequences of development.

Then, there have been three associations: sponge divers, fishermen's, and tangerine growers. These cooperatives have also been failures. There are several reasons for this: the centers of economic power and decision-making lie outside Bodrum (as the case of the sponge industry shows). Without the ability to transport and market their produce, Bodrum workers in these sectors are able to do little. In fact the sponge cooperative has closed down. Another reason is the low membership of these associations -- barely one-fifth of possible membership. The members joined for their private ends and left the association when these had been served. There are other reasons variously offered: the individualism of the Bodrumite; "ethnic" views of Turks and Cretans about each other -- each calling the other group lazy and inhospitable; others attribute failure to historical, political and economic insecurity which reflects itself in the "exploitative attitude towards organizations larger than the kinship unit". (135) Whatever the true reasons(s), there is insufficient motivation to make a success of any of the three cooperative associations.

On the other hand, the Tourism Association has been a success, at least in its early years. It was founded in 1959 with seven officers (representing a variety of occupations) who were determined in their devotion to make a success of tourism. These men resigned in 1968, "tired of doing it all by themselves". (136) Their successors are neither so devoted nor competent. There are 132 members who elect a Board remarkable more for their popularity than for their interest and ability. But the decline of the effectiveness of the Association cannot be entirely attributed to the changed Board composition. Times are totally different today from what they were when the Association was first formed and the specific services offered by the Association (loans, registry of rentals, for instance) are now no longer needed. "Tourist accommodations are now being established by outside investors and international consortiums whose scale of investment necessitates the implementation of concepts such as holiday village, motel, family bungalow, and motor-camping. Private financing. is now sought through the four banks and through certain merchants whose role as investors and money lenders now exceeds that of tradesmen." (137) A comprehensive plan for the development of the entire Bodrum peninsula has been prepared by the National Parks Department and this Department has taken over the function of direction which the Association once had. Turks from the larger cities are now investing and they have both the "financial and political power to influence, regardless of opposition, the direction of change for specific property and its environs. . . ." (137) Therefore, the resources are no longer available for the Tourism Association to be the effective organization it once was.

### National

There are three major institutions here: The Harbormaster, the Bodrum Tourist Office (which only maintains contact with Bodrum officialdom) and the Castle of St. Peter (first constructed from 1402 with material from the Mausoleum of Helicarnus which dates back to 352 B.C.). The Castle has three museums which are supervised by the Ministry of Antiquities.



## Tourism

Following the same pattern as he did for Mykonos, Packer then discusses the specific changes attributable to tourism.

### Identity

The residents of Bodrum draw a distinction between those who reside permanently and those who do not. With regard to permanent residents, those who can speak Turkish are accepted (apart from an occasional derogatory reference to the Cretans and Turkish). "Foreigners" who do not reside in Bodrum and earn a living in Bodrum -- and this includes retirees, both Turkish and European -- are referred to by one term.

Foreigners who come to view the sights are called tourists. The Bodrumites draw a distinction between foreign and Turkish tourists. Local tourists (Turkish from the larger cities) constituted 42% of the tourists both in 1964 and 1969. Tourists are mainly vacationers, a few jet-setters and hippies, and couples (often, single girls travel in pairs).

### Resources

The resources are both natural and cultural: sea (for scuba diving and spear fishing), beaches, archaeological and architectural sites. "One of the greatest cultural resources in Bodrum is the ability of the people to accept, without excessive attention, the different behavior of foreigners. This is in sharp contrast to the proverbial suspicion and staring behavior of the Anatolian Turk".(143) The Bodrumites take pride in this overt indifference.

### Contact

The main areas are: finding lodgings, sitting in restaurants, attending discotheques, shopping, wandering, visiting, chartering, diving, camping, renting, buying, making friends and dating.

### Effect

- ( i) Occupation: Tourism has brought new occupations as well as re-directed traditional occupations. Part of the reason is the reliance of Bodrum on two levels: traditional and modern.
- ( ii) Habitation: The traditional arrangement of architectural styles caters to the separation of the sexes. This arrangement is peculiarly suited to tourism. Once the decision is made to take advantage of tourism, a family can then rent out areas of the house without major changes in architecture. Tourist demand has led to the installation of modern conveniences: toilets, refrigerators, gas. After the tourist season is over, Bodrumites use these conveniences. Architectural styles are mainly the result of estimations by the owner of what is "modern" design.

- (iii) Access: Lord Kinross's description of life in 1950 contrasts sharply with conditions in 1971. Bodrum is opened to regular contact with the outside world by steamer, ferry and road). The road, in particular, has increased access of the Bodrumite to innovative economic behavior. Further, "tourists provide (through their behavior and requests for the availability of material accompaniments) ready examples of modern living styles which can be adopted". (148) Attaturk laid the foundation for an accepting attitude towards modernization. "Consequently tourists (both local and foreign) provide models which are enthusiastically imitated". (148) Bodrumites are now in a position to travel to the major cities, and to purchase those items which make them more "modern".

### Residence

There are two exceptions to traditional patterns: first, the renting of houses to tourists; second, it is increasingly difficult for parents to buy a house for their sons close to theirs because of the increase in land prices.

### Time

Agricultural activity is not affected by tourism to the extent that sea activity is: during the height of the tourist season (July, August), tourism affects all activities, both those carried on on land and at sea. Businesses are now open during the tourist season from 7:00/8:00 a.m. to 10:00/11:00 p.m. without the traditional 12:30 - 2:30 p.m. break. Even the law is broken during the months of July and August. The traditional closing time is 6:00 p.m. which is ignored during the tourist season. After the tourist season, the traditional hours are followed.

### Attitudes towards tourists

The Bodrumites accept tourists easily, this is partly due to their cultural heritage. There is a fairly uniform tourist behavior: tourists do not, for instance, wear bikinis in town. The techniques of chartering and the discotheques make for a fairly homogenous tourist population.

### Youth

Male youth have certainly changed. But the changes in both sexes are difficult to determine because there have been changes on the national scale. Tourism, however, has influenced some changes. These are: increase in employment and reduction of immigration to cities; the dating of tourist girls: "Many young men, especially those with their own boats to charter or hired on larger ones, spend the summer in an endless cycle of dating, dancing, dining, love-making, and affectionate farewells. Not only is this life exciting but it is also economically profitable". (154) Parental attitudes towards this vary. It



is not entirely altruistic (or economical) for some do take their friendships with tourist girls seriously. There is the possibility of fights between the young men (as has happened).

Another problem is the desire of the young men to sell the family property. This affects traditional unity.

Tourism has had little effect on the Bodrum girls. Though there have been changes in their employment (they are now employed in boutiques, and banks), by and large their position is unchanged except that they now are exposed to more "high" fashion than they were.

#### Property inheritance

Land used to be divided equally among all males. Now, a son who is not resident in Bodrum gives a percentage to the son who stays behind and cultivates the land. There is also conflict when land has touristic potential: at times it is the father who wants to sell it; at others, the sons want to reap the benefits immediately. How this conflict is resolved varies mainly according to the personalities of the parties.

#### Foreigners and Local Control

The influence of foreigners in the years 1966-1971 has been indirect: only five tourist shops have foreign owners and even these have Bodrum partners; only 3 out of 23 registered charter boats have foreign owners. But the Tourism Association needed financial grants from the Ministry of Tourism in Ankara; underwater archaeological expeditions needed to be funded by Ankara; and the Agricultural Bank which had a major role in development in Bodrum now shares this with three branches of national banks. Certainly, without the presence of foreign-controlled elements, tourism would not have developed in Bodrum to the extent it has. But it is significant to note that to a great extent the control of the resources was in Bodrum hands. The trend is changing. Within the past years foreign purchases have increased: more than half of the waterfront land is now controlled by foreign Turkish owners. Outside town much land is being purchased by both foreign Turkish and non-Turkish corporations: the largest resort planned outside town has been designed and financed by foreigners (this includes a major complex comprising, ultimately, 2,600 beds spread over 17 acres, with attached facilities). Bodrum has been invaded, if that be the term, by an influx of foreign officials. Now "foreigners who must have housing and require daily living supplies. also increasingly exposed decisions about tourism to the approval of someone besides the Bodrum entrepreneur". (162) The Bodrum charter boats, for instance, must be registered, and pay taxes and insurance. Records have to be kept for tax purposes. Hotels and pensions must keep registers. They are licensed and inspected. And, even though the inspection is not regular, the presence of an outside agency does constrain the local tourist entrepreneur.

#### Planning

The first association was the Tourism Association which had for its goals: advertisement, control, and assistance of tourism development. These



roles have been taken over, particularly with regard to architectural styles. The style that was traditional was that no building over two stories could be built. The contravention of this tradition is causing friction, especially since buildings nearer the sea are blocking out others. In 1970, two Turkish students managed to halt further construction because of their influence in Ankara. In March 1971, with political instability, the guidelines were once more ignored, and building construction commenced again. The ancient town law which prohibits building above two stories is being countered by an equally ancient practice: bribery. Then came the plan, put into effect by the National Parks Department. Public reaction to this plan, which emphasizes protection and use, ranges from enthusiasm to ignorance. Part of the ignorance about the plan is the result of traditional practices in Turkey under which only officials are consulted: a plan is something imposed on the people. Others are enthusiastic because of personal gain, and also because they believe that the plan will benefit the citizens of Bodrum. These enthusiasts believe that the people of Bodrum should not be consulted because they cannot understand matters like ecology. They also believe that consultation will delay the operation of the plan further. Fantasy is the reaction of both those who have never been consulted, and the intellectual, who believes that the plan is beyond the capacity of the government, especially since officials have been the biggest offenders. In any event, planning has now been transferred from the Tourism Association to the national level.

In conclusion, Packer finds that there has been a gradual transition from local decision-making (and capacity) to the national level. The "outside interests have effectively halted locally-instigated governmental development and have substituted agencies representing national and international interests. This has resulted in continued development of the administrative function of local government but has largely removed the policy-making function from local control and halted development in that area". (170-171)

Bodrum has been less disrupted by tourism than Mykonos largely because of the two major important occupations -- "a minor diversion of merchants into touristic trade, and an active role by outside governing agencies in planning the social development of Bodrum, touristic or otherwise". (171)

### III. LEAVENWORTH

The town of Leavenworth is situated at the head of the Wenatchee River Valley, on the east of the Cascade mountains. This location gives the town its unique touristic potential. Average temperatures range from 25°F (January) to 67°F (July), this masks the range which is from 102°F to -22°F, with snows of 10 feet fairly common in winter. The population of the town and the surrounding valley has risen and fallen with the economic growth (when the railroads were first introduced) and declined (particularly in recent years) of the area. In 1969, the population of the valley was about 2,000 (with approximately 1,300 in the town).



Unlike Mykonos and Bodrum where tourism followed a "segmented, incremental pattern of development" (180), tourism in Leavenworth has a definite history. Its origins can be traced to a meeting, held on January 16, 1963, where a project called Leavenworth Improvement for Everybody (LIFE) was initiated.

### Project LIFE

Over 300 members of the community attended this meeting at which a consultant from the University of Washington explained the meaning of community development and the proposed development program. At the end of the meeting the participants realized that they were not being "told" what they had to do by an "outsider", but that the entire planning and execution of the program was their responsibility. A program which had to be carried out if their Valley was to live.

The "crisis" facing the Valley was not of recent origin. It had developed over the years: A declining population (some said that this was due to the lack of economic opportunities) as a result of emigration. The second believed crisis was the failure to pass the school bond -- again, a variety of reasons were offered for this. Third, the merchant sector was also declining: stores were being closed, downtown buildings remained vacant. Fourth, the visual appearance of the town was becoming increasingly depressing: a large portion of the city limits area were full of weeds and had become trash dumping grounds; abandoned automobiles were being left on empty lots and adjacent streets; and two-thirds of residential and commercial buildings were "judged in poor condition and in need of repair". (183) The town had an increasingly sleazy appearance.

Because of their appreciation of a crisis situation, and their desire to resolve it, the LIFE project achieved a high degree of community involvement. A program of studies was arrived at (for instance, population, organization, library, recreation, labor and industries, church, planning and beautification, health, education, tourism, creative industries). This was carried out over a period of two years (1963-1965) both with the cooperation of revived service clubs and individuals. Their first task was to conduct an opinion survey on the various elements that constituted the crisis. The results of this were distributed. Then came the report on various aspects of social organization in Leavenworth, followed by studies on resources of the community in different areas of activity. The results of this interpersonal interaction were benefits both tangible and intangible (for instance, decreased friction among various organizations and the passing of the school bond, the organization of an annual Autumn Leaf Festival). In 1968 Leavenworth won the All-American City Award for special distinction in community involvement and betterment.

Tourism is considered the most extensive activity initiated by LIFE -- this is the opinion of all the residents Packer interviewed. Tourism has succeeded the LIFE project and is now an activity of major importance in Leavenworth.



## Private Enterprises

The major private enterprises in Leavenworth are farming, lumbering, professional services, and business.

### Farming

Nearly all the persons engaged in agriculture (12.7 percent of a total labor force of 820 in 1960) produce apples for which Leavenworth is famous. The other agricultural activities are mainly small farm production for domestic consumption.

### Lumbering

Loggers still live in town although the mill closed in 1922. The men (116, or 14 percent of the labor force in 1960) work either at two mills further east or in the forests nearby. Though this employment is seasonal, it is steady.

### Professional services

Self-employed and employees in this group account for 16.6 percent of the labor force. Most of them work for local or national organizations. The town has, among others, accountants, doctors, dentists, and a variety of technicians.

### Merchants

Packer lists 36 types of businesses to be found in the town, including architects, laundries, and funeral homes. These businesses employed 224 persons (27.2 percent of the labor force) in 1960. The largest single group of businesses are automobile dealers. Only 2 drive-ins serve tourists, primarily, and one restaurant and one cafe get about half their business from tourists. The confectioner's shop gets about 75% of its business from tourists. Three of the six lodging facilities are exclusively used by tourists. Though tourism, therefore, apparently plays a minor economic role in trade, like Bodrum, however, unlike Mykonos and Bodrum, it serves "as a focus for unified community action". (191)

## Government Organizations and Public Services

### Local

The highest decision-making body at this level is the mayor assisted by a council of six. The execution of decisions made is through sub-committees. The council holds meetings twice monthly. The public is entitled to attend and comment. The residents of Leavenworth are also kept informed of the deliberations of the council by the local weekly newspaper which publishes the minutes of the meetings. The mayor does not run on any political platform but on the need to get a job done. For, although the office carries prestige with it, it is also looked upon as a burden. The council has adopted a conservative approach to expenditure, given the fact that the tax base is limited.



Leavenworth also has many associations, some of which are service-oriented and also more active than others: the Chamber of Commerce, the Autumn Leaf Festival Committee, the Leavenworth Snowmobile Club, are instances. However, all associations take part in a variety of fund-raising events each year -- usually during the Autumn Leaf Festival.

The Leavenworth Public Golf Course was first opened in the late 1950's as a public service. In 1969, it was extended to a full course of 18 holes. In the early days, only the valley residents used the course. Now it is becoming increasingly popular with outsiders and passing tourists.

A ski area, two miles out of town, is operated by a non-profit organization: the Leavenworth Winter Sports Club. Founded in 1928, the Club has been extremely successful -- drawing more spectators and participants each year. In 1971, the US Olympic Team Trials were held on its course.

Leavenworth also has a municipal swimming pool and three parks. One of these parks, situated between the highway and the downtown area, has Bavarian motifs and a bandstand. The park next to the golf course is maintained by a service organization.

### National

The two national organizations directly connected with tourism in Leavenworth are the US Forest Service and the Leavenworth National Fish Hatchery. The former, maintains the west portion of the national forest which is contiguous with the boundaries of the County. The ranger station is responsible for all activities in this area of approximately two million acres (mining, lumbering, recreation, and rental of summer home sites). The Hatchery, located four miles south of the town, has taken over the function of spawning and raising millions of salmon which used to migrate to Canada before the completion of the Grand Coulee Dam on the Columbia River. About 5,000-6,000 persons visit the hatchery each year.

### Tourism

Packer then discusses the specific effects of tourism under the same categories as he did for Bodrum and Mykonos:

### Identity

It is more difficult to establish "who is a tourist" in Leavenworth than it was in the case of Mykonos or Bodrum. This is because all the improvements that have taken place in the last few years (for instance, the alpine remodelling program, the downtown park and banstand, the carillon bells) were an outgrowth of LIFE which had two purposes: to "create a spirit of community involvement and cooperation. .(and) to make Leavenworth a more attractive town in which its residents could take pride and its youth would consequently be stimulated to find the means by which to live and work there". (197) The improvements are now



used by both residents and tourists, and the residents think that the goals which were initiated by the LIFE project are still as important as attracting tourists. Therefore, the residents who now use local facilities would not consider themselves tourists. Secondly, there is the group of residents in the areas surrounding the town who now shop in Leavenworth. A greater variety of consumer goods are now available, and the business crisis perceived in 1963 has passed. In a sense, these neighbors are not considered tourists. On the other hand, the neighbors do contribute directly to tourism since they bring visitors to town -- for a drive or shopping. The residents of Leavenworth consider the guests "tourists", not their hosts.

Based on the purpose of the visit and the duration of the stay, Packer distinguishes between four major types of tourists: (i) the "weekender" who "drives in a circle" from Seattle using two highways (US 2 and Interstate 90) and neighboring cities, constitutes the major portion of this group; (ii) the "summer home crowd" -- these are generally middle-class residents of coastal towns who have purchased or rented land and built a second home in Leavenworth for summer use. Most of these in recent times have built in subdivisions other than in the Wenatchee Lake area (which was the earliest area for summer homes). In the eight years (1960-1968), 1,450 lots were made available for this purpose. These summer home users have contributed enormously to the economy in construction materials alone; the Leavenworth lumber yards, and the sole plumbing store. They also purchase substantial amounts of food, clothing and petroleum products; (iii) the "recreationist": he comes to fish, hunt, camp, ski and snowmobile. One of the first projects under LIFE was the report of the Recreation Committee assessing the recreation potential of the area. The Chamber of Commerce then acted on this report and developed a Comprehensive Recreation Plan in 1965. Since then, the golf course has been extended, trails have been constructed, races are held, and a group has been organized to promote a major ski area. The Comprehensive Plan recognized that recreation held the key to future growth; and (iv) finally, there is the "incidental traveller", the person passing through, who may stop to shop.

### Resources

The resources are both natural and cultural. Among the latter, are the architectural styles, the leisurely atmosphere, tourist-oriented stores, events and ceremonies through the year, and the friendly demeanor of the residents of Leavenworth.

### Contact

Contact between tourist and host is mainly limited to local merchants. Other points of contact with tourists are the Ranger station and the Hatchery. The greatest amount of non-merchant contact comes when special events are held: the Mai Fest, the Fourth of July celebration, the Autumn Leaf Festival, sports events. It must, however, be noted that the events provide the greatest opportunity for contact between residents as well. This emphasizes "the dual dimension characteristic of Leavenworth tourism". (205)



## Effect

### Occupation

Since the LIFE project, 70 new merchants have established business in Leavenworth -- attracted by the growth potential of the town. Though there has been only a slight increase in tourist shops, tourist-oriented services have grown. Packer lists 17 new types of businesses that have been started since 1969, in 8 cases the ownership changed. This revitalization has largely been the result of local and business support to the LIFE program and the subsequent alpine remodelling program. It was the people who maintained the momentum in the initial stages; outside businessmen who came in later sustained it.

### Outsiders

From 1963 several outsiders took an active interest in the LIFE project and invested money (which attracted more investments). The investments also served to give the local merchants confidence in Leavenworth economy.

Most investment before 1967 was in the form of property for rental to merchants after it was remodeled or planned. After 1967, the investors themselves started moving to Leavenworth. The changed business community as a result is reflected in the changes in the membership of associations, particularly in the Chamber of Commerce. This infiltration of outsiders was initially resented, but later welcomed. The potential for an existing tourist market, and the possibility of an even greater one, was the primary reason why these businessmen established themselves in Leavenworth.

The two community development specialists of the University of Washington also deserve mention. They provided both structure and guidance.

The next group of outsiders who played a role were two Scandinavians who had previous experience in tourist remodeling in Solvang, California. "These men were experts in European architectural style and lectured as well as worked on the alpine remodelling in Leavenworth." (210) Another architect, of Bavarian descent, was also attracted to Leavenworth and his talents were commissioned to design several buildings. Another Bavarian artist was commissioned to do woodcarving on various remodeling projects. Relatives of local residents also assisted in the remodeling by writing articles on Bavarian architecture. The collaboration between merchants and outsiders set a trend in which outsiders continued to be involved in the development of Leavenworth. "Not only did they provide expertise in technical fields unfamiliar to the residents but also provided personal leadership qualities in the activity as well as financial backing for the changes that were to take place." (211)

### Habitation

The greatest physical change has been in the architecture of downtown buildings. From 1910 till 1965 most of these were unchanged. The earliest report suggested the the first change necessary was with regard to the condition of these buildings. An informal attempt was made to remodel. This failed.



The very failure spurred greater effort towards the remodeling. Meetings were organized by the Chamber of Commerce as a result of which the Bavarian model was chosen. Two outside merchants who had moved in provided the example for this. Their choice was not only financially rewarding but also accepted by the townspeople. By 1965, a formally designated Project Alpine was adopted. Professional architects, artists and woodworkers came to be employed. By 1969, the stores of 21 merchants were completely remodeled. Although all buildings have not been remodeled the initiators believe that they have achieved their goal of an overall "view". The alpine style has spread beyond the confines of the city. Equally important is that the style has provided a theme for revitalization, which other cities are now trying to imitate.

#### Real estate

As in the case of the other cities, Leavenworth has experienced an increase in lot sales and subdivision. Also, prices of land have more than doubled in value -- this increase might be dated to 1966, the year when the alpine remodeling project commenced.

#### Community awareness

Although LIFE was the initial expression of community awareness of its needs, future and identity, tourism has both maintained and continued this. The Chamber of Commerce has been primarily concerned. It is not exclusively a merchant organization. The tax base is not flexible or broad, and, in recent years, the most important has been the business properties which have been remodeled and improved. As an incentive, however, it has been agreed that these premises will not be re-assessed after 1970 to permit more capital accumulation and structural modifications. It is, therefore, understandable why the members of the Council complain.

#### Special events

While the local events are meant primarily to express solidarity and not attract tourists, they do.

#### Time

It is true that since merchants serve both residents (and people from the surrounding areas) as well as tourists, they are not particularly affected by tourism. Therefore, the main changes are the difference brought on by needs in summer and those of winter. For the more tourist-oriented shops, however, tourism has brought changes in daily patterns (they are open, for instance, on Sundays). In the winter, there is less tourism and normal patterns can be resumed.

#### Planning

Planning has been "an integral part of the changes that have taken place in Leavenworth for the last ten years: (224) The first document was the study of resources the community possessed. Second, the comprehensive



recreation plan; third, on town area resources which recommended the establishment of a Central Area Plan; fourth a plan for the entire trading area of Leavenworth (which included social and natural characteristics of the area); fifth, a comprehensive landscape plan for the whole area (1968) which has been accepted by the City Council and the Chamber of Commerce. Since Leavenworth does not possess the necessary expertise, there has been an increasing involvement of outside social resources in development. This is also the case with financial resources. Further, the impetus towards the adoption of the alpine style was first given by private resources. This type of resource has continued to play a role in the development of Leavenworth. Even though funding is required, grants have played a role as well, particularly in the development of the town's tourism potential: the island park, the carillon bells, the donation of river frontage by a sympathetic donor. In fact, since donations have been fairly regular, it has been suggested that some organizations (particularly the Chamber of Commerce) have relied too much on the regularity of these donations.

### Conclusions and Summary

The obvious differences between Leavenworth, Bodrum and Mykonos need not be repeated: in Leavenworth, "the cultural resources for tourism had to be created, whereas in other sites such resources were already largely at hand". (229) Again, in Leavenworth, "The motivation to change and the financial resources initially came almost exclusively from within the community. . . . Only later did outside influence become of major importance in moulding the direction of tourism development. . . ." (230) Further, there is little evidence in Leavenworth of stresses in social and cultural institutions.

The common patterns shared by all three towns are: (i) types of natural and cultural resources shared; (ii) low investment in real estate for financial returns; and (iii) increasing dependence on outside resources for development. "In view of these particular differences and similarities, it appears that economic development is not the dominating aspect of total development in Leavenworth that it is in Mykonos and Bodrum." (231)

### CONCLUSIONS

The generalizations about the process of development of tourism that Packer makes are:

- ( i) Interpretation of resources: The resources, interpreted as such both by residents and tourists, "largely determines not only the type of tourist who will come but also the degree to which developmental processes of tourism will remain controlled by local persons". (232)
- ( ii) Acceptance of certain differences: Members of the community tolerate certain differences between themselves and tourists.

- (iii) The presence of merchant occupations: This is a "pre-requisite". "The existence of merchants ensures adaptation of the community economic structure to the specific demands of tourists." (233)
- (iv) A specific pattern of tourist-resident contact: The contact takes place in areas which are part of local traditional behavior, and, in part, new or innovative behavior.
- (v) A specific pattern of effects: The following are primary patterns of social development:
  - (a) change of occupational structure in the direction of occupations to meet needs and demands of tourists;
  - (b) building patterns change to meet occupational changes, usually resulting in a controversy about architectural styles;
  - (c) changes in the degree of physical access, usually resulting in increased access for locals as a result of demands of tourists -- for the locals, this also involves access to the industrial society of the tourists. "This occurs because the tourists themselves provide models of social behavior of that society and demand physical accommodations appropriate to that behavior." (234)  
An example is improved transport systems.
  - (d) changes in the traditional time pattern followed.
  - (e) changes in awareness of community's needs, future and identity -- this is a matter of degree; and
  - (f) changes in community patterns of social development "from traditional modes of organization to modern planning modes of organization". This is, at times, from within, at times from outside social agencies. In either case there is an increasing reliance on resources of outside agencies. "The total effect of this change is to increase reciprocally the development of tourism in the community and to increasingly remove control of this process from residents of that community." (235)



There are two other ways in which the developmental process of tourism can be viewed: First, the economic aspect (the goods and services) is more easily comprehended. Not so obvious is the use of natural resources. And yet, there must be a certain "charm" before tourists will come. All three sites shared certain characteristics: (i) landscape and climate; (ii) an abundance of sunshine; and (iii) an environment which tourists can use. Thus the cultural values of the tourists themselves are important in establishing the tourist trade: the tourists themselves must be able to take vacations in the summer because it differs from their environment and because it is a time for vacations.

Tourism could also be viewed as a form of communication, in which the trade by tourists for goods and services is an expression of values: for example, the desire for manufactured goods, urban styles of dress and dating behavior. "Significantly, the evidence suggests that tourists do not serve as the motivating source for adoption of such values but are only the channel or medium for transmission of such information. The real transmitter and source of information is urban industrial society. Tourists serve primarily to focus the information signal upon the residents of the community so that supplementary channels for these values can be established. These supplementary channels take the form of foreigners and outsiders who come to live in the community. While tourists may stimulate curiosity about such values, it is the assumption of residency by these outsiders which serves to make them function as effective models for learning (see Forster, 1964: 219ff). In all three communities, resident outsiders are the primary models for assumption of urban values whether because of their presence as realistic examples of tourist values (Mykonos), their attendant social and economic services (Bodrum), or their infiltration and assumption of control in service organizations (Leavenworth)." (241

Urban values are available to the host community not only through outsiders but also through the media which increase with the advent of tourism. Increased access, through the development of transportation and roads, increases the exposure to urban values. Tourists are important sources of imitation mainly for the young, and a stimulus to local curiosity. Each community distinguishes between different types of tourists. These distinguishing descriptions provide for the local community behavioral counterparts which "express the degree and type of communication between urban society and the local community". (242) The "hippie", for example, is treated differently in a discotheque and on the beach. Tourists serve as initial means of information distribution which resident foreigners, mass media and means of transportation build on. "Identification of tourist types and tourist-resident contact are therefore important indicators of initial sources and patterns of social change upon which later non-touristic change can build." (243)

The question of outside control of development resources is also important. Since it is "their" resources that initially attracted tourists, the locals believe control should remain local. Unfortunately, at a certain point

in tourism development local resources (skills, finance, coordinating) are insufficient and the over-flow of effects (which affects more than the particular tourist locale) demand national attention and coordination. It is possible, opines Parker, that if tourism had not increased as rapidly as it did in any other three regions, outside regulation might have been avoided. But this is a moot question, particularly since the development of tourism often lies in the hands of developers (airlines, tour agents) beyond local control.

The dependence on outside resources makes the tourist area subject to events outside the area: the loss of the SST contract reduced the number of tourists in Leavenworth for more than a year; student riots and political instability in Turkey in 1971 slowed the flow of tourists to Bodrum. Equally capricious, and beyond local control, is the advertising trade which announces "in" places for the year.

How should one evaluate the social and economic benefits of tourism as a means of development? Packer suggests that "the best measure is the residents themselves, the hosts of the touristic influx". (245-246) In both Leavenworth and Bodrum tourism has provided an increased self-image, brought occupational diversity, and increased access. In Mykonos, which is more dependent on tourism than the first two, there have been both negative and positive influences. On the whole, however, it cannot be denied that the residents believe that social development has occurred. "Mykonians embrace tourism as a preferred means of developing their community." (246) Mykonians believe that the advantages of tourism outweigh the disadvantages.

Packer believes that there are three preconditions to the effective use of tourism as a tool of social and economic development:

- ( i ) Since it is the resident who is primarily the product being "sold", the residents "should be aware of both the benefits and disadvantages of touristic development". (247)
- ( ii ) Appropriate planning is necessary -- "it is presumed that the planning would be some type of participatory effort". (247)
- (iii) One type of resource is essential: the "ability to accept differences between host and tourist". (248)

Packer's work is supplemented by case histories in Mykonos and Bodrum. The work has been dealt with in some detail because it is one of the few attempts<sup>1/</sup> to study the development of tourism on a comparative basis with the goal of arriving at generalizations about the stages of development and the structural changes that accompany tourism growth. The scope of Packer's work is also broader than Reiter's -- although Packer states that there is a similarity of cultural background in Greece and Turkey, yet there are also significant differences. Reiter, on the other hand, studied two culturally similar communities.

---

<sup>1/</sup> See R.R. Reiter. The Politics of Tourism in Two Southern French Communes. 1973. For another example. (Summarized at pp. 47-49)



PI-SUNYER, O. 1974. Tourist images: A separate reality. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

Pi-Sunyer did fieldwork in Cap Lloc, a village in Catalonia, a few miles from the French border. The village was dominated by the French in the Napoleonic wars. The villages have had contacts with western Europeans for over 200 years. Pi-Sunyer's analysis mainly deals with the development of perceptions.

Tourism, says Pi-Sunyer, is often studied like industrialization. As with industrialization, it is the impact, not the phenomenon of industrialization, that is analyzed. Tourism too is seen, often, as a force beyond local control. This view is especially true of mass tourism.

"Mass tourism" is a modern phenomenon which is "characterized not only by mass...but by distinct organizational features": standardization, the "packaged" tour, routinization even though the unique is emphasized in order to attract tourists. "Mass tourism, by its very nature, radically alters the manifest cultural content of local communities, even though local people are only peripherally involved." (2) This is due to the fact that the mass tourist must have culture "on demand", giving rise to "phoney-folk" culture and events, a sort of "cultural Gresham's law" seems to develop.

Unlike industrialization, the villager cannot escape the tourist. The latter arouses curiosity, comment, and different perceptions come into being.

In Cap Lloc, the villagers stereotyped different nationals of Western Europe (with whom they had much longer contact); they were, however, less clear about more recent tourists (the Scandinavians, Japanese, and "Ladinos"). The stereotypes were ranked hierarchically, with Catalans as "the best". The stereotypic images were amalgams of the best and most undesirable traits. If, however, an outsider stays for a sufficient length of time, as the author did, the stereotypic image is replaced with a profile of the personal characteristics of the individual.

Since it is rare that any tourist stays long enough, or returns often enough for the host population to cast off the stereotype, Pi-Sunyer discusses the effect of mass tourism on national stereotyping. He says that mass tourism strips the tourist of individuality, makes him faceless and substitutable. "National character images are reinforced and the gulf between natives and outsiders is accentuated. From my observations, it is especially the negative attributes in stereotypes that are most commonly applied". There is the apparent paradox that "contact between villagers and outsiders has never been greater, but real understanding has never been less" (14). Although tourists are the mainstay of the village economy, as a group they are disliked. But, as the author points out, it is difficult to have positive feelings about a transient group.

Tourism continues and this, the author concludes, is because of perceptual differences between hosts and tourists: the tourist and villager inhabit two separate realities co-existing in the same physical space.



REITER, R.R. 1974. The politics of tourism in a French Alpine village.  
Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological  
Association, November 24, 1974.

This paper is a summary of one part of the author's dissertation -- the effects of tourism on the commune of La Roche.

The paper traces the transition of the commune from a relatively self-sufficient community, to increasing dependence on forces outside the village, forces over which the villagers have no control.

Before 1950 power basically rested with three families. The church was the focus of assistance, society, and control. The mayor's post was largely honorific. Principles of communal aid combined with self-reliance. Property was impartible. This impartibility resulted in the gradual loss of manpower, a loss that the Second World War accelerated. Over the last few decades, the commune has been increasingly absorbed into the national and common market frameworks. Education is controlled and run by the State; agricultural mechanization spread, but not in this commune, thereby lowering demand for agricultural products from the commune which could no longer compete with more efficient methods of production and lower prices.

Hernot, the entrepreneur-mayor, steps into the breach. He is convinced that tourism will prevent the manpower drain, and also provide finances for the commune. He is a Gaullist, a cantonal representative, who can bypass the regional governmental framework. He is obviously successful in attracting tourists. But his methods, which have enlarged the local debt, have caused rumblings of discontent particularly among marginal farmers. These farmers find that they do not have enough lands. Nor can they purchase any because of skyrocketing land prices. They believe that Hernot and a few outsiders dominate the commune and that most villagers have menial roles in tourism. But the "opposition" is neither organized, nor does it have Hernot's contacts.

There have been other changes too. The social and religious ties, expressed through secular and religious ritual, have been weakened. Formerly, mutual aid was intra-hamlet (there are 12 hamlets in the commune), it was voluntary; now the commune is the basis of common action and work is paid for, it is no longer voluntary. Impartibility of property has been challenged since land is far more valuable today. Because of these challenges it is becoming increasingly difficult to find heirs willing to take over farm management and risk the possibility of litigation. The role of the church has diminished. Power is politicized.

It is notable that Hernot uses traditional idioms to induce participation by the villagers in his profit-making and modernization goals. He asks the villagers to join in making tourism a success for the sake of the children, for their families; so that the life of the commune may be revived.

Tourism has cast the villagers into inferior roles in the tourist-host relationship -- they are made to feel their rusticity. "Their local culture has been turned



into folklore for outside consumption" (10). Their peak work season, the summer, conflicts with the tourist schedule and brings noise and increased traffic into the area.

Comment: It is not possible to leave this paper without comment, since the general impression is that tourism has been responsible for all the changes. The author appears to have gradually adopted this view. And it is a view that does not appear to be supportable. In support of this inference, reference may be made to the dissertation (1973) which has been summarized earlier, where the general conclusion is that tourism has been one of the factors responsible for change.

Reference could also be made to an earlier article: Modernization in the South of France: The village and beyond (Anthropological Quarterly, 1972, 45, 35-53). This article dealt with "modernization" in Colpied (the other commune studied by the author). Modernization is defined in that article as the selective loss of control. But, the author points out that local structures had not collapsed but had been replaced/transformed on another level of integration; there was a changed hierarchy of control. Translated this means that power and mutual aid had been transferred to a wider group. All the changes traced above are referred to as aspects of modernization due to increased mechanization, the greater depth of activities of the national government, and wider employment opportunities. The changes were not attributed to tourism. The author concludes, "The possibilities for economic development (or, rather, redevelopment) in agriculture seem scant. Is it possible that the village (and indeed, the entire rural region) will develop only in terms of tourism". (51)

SMITH, V.L. 1974. Eskimo perceptions of tourists in four Alaskan communities. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This paper analyzes the impact of tourism on, and the perceptions of tourists by the residents of, four communities in Alaska: Kotzebue, Nome, Point Hope, and Gambell. The analysis is set against a historical/geographical background.

#### Before 1920

Trading has been part of the Eskimo way of life for centuries. The appearance, therefore, of strangers/newcomers caused no consternation. The visitor was viewed as a source of profit. Further, trade conferred economic benefit and considerable prestige on the hosts and the leaders who directed the trade.<sup>1/</sup>

Indigenous trade existed prior to the advent of whalers which stopped over at Kotzebue to refuel and replenish stocks. The major form of trade was barter. The Eskimo, particularly those in Kotzebue and Nome, were introduced to the cash economy with the advent of the gold rush. But money was viewed merely as an additional income, providing greater security, and earned through traditional channels. The money was used to "modernize": purchase guns, construct log houses, buy food and clothing. The whalers and gold panners also introduced whiskey. The whiskey, guns, and money caused stresses which form the basis for the present problems of adaptation.

---

<sup>1/</sup> See also Loeb (1974).

The Eskimo who had hitherto jealously guarded their right to trade and manage their own affairs, could not cope with the problems introduced particularly by whiskey. All four communities petitioned for missionaries.

The impact of the missionaries on Eskimo life varied according to the church denomination dominant in each community. Generally, the church grew as the social focal point, the communal mens' hall (karigi) was replaced by the church hall, more jobs were available to Eskimo men with the advent of the day school. The evangelical group in Nome and the Fundamentalist Quakers in Kotzebue suppressed dancing (the latter denomination substituting a July 4 games festival); the Episcopal church encouraged Eskimo traditions and dancing at Point Hope; in Gambell, dancing continued because the Presbyterians were passive about it.

#### 1920-1950

Although "bush flying" in the area was introduced by Wien Airlines in 1927, outside influences diminished with the collapse of the gold rush and whaling. The Second World War, which brought many servicemen to Alaska, revived the interest of mainland America in the potential of Alaska.

#### 1950 on

Organized tourism dates from 1950. Around that year two events revived external influences in the area: (1) the discovery of petroleum reserves; and (2) the construction of airport facilities, and the introduction of a Kotzebue-based barge system to serve the entire Alaskan coast. These events influenced, in descending order of magnitude, Kotzebue, Nome, Point Hope and Gambell.

Kotzebue became "a white man's town with a dominant Eskimo population" (5). The population grew from 340 in 1940 to 2,000 in 1965. This population increase was mainly due to in-migration, particularly from Point Hope. The in-migrants settled in enclaves. The result was factionalism, and the absence of overall leadership. The reasons why Eskimo came were: wage employment, the "psychological security" of proximity to hospitals and welfare services, coffee houses, theatres, laundromats, and stores.

Nome, paved and refurbished, developed a dominant white population. The Eskimo, relocated from King Island, were located 3 miles outside the town. They were largely "invisible" within the town, except as labor force, and as customers at trading posts and bars.

The economies of Point Hope and Gambell remained essentially maritime subsistence economies. For, though runways were constructed for both, there were few visitors/settlers. One of the reasons being the unpredictable weather at Point Hope.



### Tourism over twenty years

In 1950 Kotzebue had no "hotels". The Eskimo viewed visitors as a novelty and welcomed them into their homes. The dances they organized were spontaneous, their handicrafts well-made and cheap. In Nome visitors only had contacts with white settlers eager for news of the outside world.

In the late 1950s a roadhouse was built in Kotzebue, the employment of Point Hopers commenced, and the "tour" was better organized and structured. There are two points of departure for tourists today: from Fairbanks, and Anchorage. On the former, no photography of the Eskimo in Kotzebue is allowed without permission, because the Eskimo felt insulted both with the tourists' reactions to their diet (walrus guts, among others), and repeated questions. Handicrafts are poor, and interpersonal contact is limited to the bare minimum. The guides are usually persons with no Arctic experience. The other tour, commencing from Anchorage goes through Kotzebue, Nome, and King Island. King Island has a much better supply of raw materials and the crafts are much better -- some Eskimo receive a substantial year-round income from the sale of handicrafts. Here, although contact is still minimal, the economic impact is greater since more money is spent on handicrafts.

At Point Hope and Gambell, the uncertain climatic conditions led to the discontinuance of "off beat tours" organized by the air services. Tourists were few and the minimal "facilities" at Point Hope were un-utilized. There was little in terms of organization. In Gambell both the quantity and quality of handicrafts is poor.

### Eskimo perceptions of tourists

Generally, a distinction is drawn between the earlier traders who dealt with Eskimo on a footing of equality and the modern tourist who steps out prepared into a hotel with more amenities than are available in any Eskimo home. "The Eskimo finds little with which to personally identify, nor is their role in relation to the new short-term visitor easily or uniformly defined." (9) There are, however, more geographically-related distinctions in perceptions.

Kotzebue has the largest Eskimo population and the longest contact. Attitudes towards the visitors have changed from welcome to resentment against loss of privacy. Tourist repugnance over Eskimo practices and diet, stemming from a lack of understanding, was seen by the Eskimo as ridiculing them and their customs. The Eskimo have now erected barriers screening their homes from the outsider. The employment of migrants from Point Hope has only increased factionalism. The Eskimo mainly provide services, and the cash flow to them is very small. The dance is a mere shadow of the earlier performances; the dancers are kept away by the presence of drunks and unruly characters. "Only one or two youngsters of Point Hope parents take part and then reluctantly." (10) It must be remembered that the Eskimo of the Kotzebue Sound was primarily a trader, not a craftsman; he was the middleman, not the producer. This role has now been denied to him and he is quite rightly "disappointed" with tourism. The tourists have little contact with the local population and are unaware of the prevalent factionalism. Tourism, a summer phenomenon, has little impact.

In Nome, on the other hand, tourism has a positive social and economic influence. There are several reasons for this. First, the "target" population -- the Eskimo -- are physically away from the town, residing in a unit. Second, the tourist stays for a very short while (2 hours during the summer months) and in this time he is involved in dances which, encouraged by the Catholic church, all the locals attend. This is an extension of the aboriginal life-style for the tourist who participates for a small fee. After the dance, craft sales are made in the dance hall itself. The brief, but close, contact prevents many parties from noticing "defects" and differences too closely. Craft sales are brisk. The local community remains cohesive.

The Point Hopers want tourism, though little comes their way. Based on their contacts with relatives working in Kotzebue their expectations are maintained; they do not believe tourism will disrupt their way of life. This belief is reinforced by a "local model", the whaling festival held in June. At this festival both relatives and tourists are present. The tourists stay at most for a day, they are a minority demanding few services. The festival has the air of a fair, at which all are fed, and fun abounds. The Point Hope Eskimo, however, does not draw a distinction between the transient tourist, and other Eskimo who stay on. To him he has only "hosted and fed, a large crowd and enjoyed doing so" (12). He therefore believes that he will continue to enjoy hosting the tourist, in larger numbers.

Gambell, with hardly any tourists, also hopes for tourism. Their remarkable attempt at planning an Alaskan Centennial Year pageant in 1966 was a failure in terms of tourist visitors, but it certainly strengthened social bonds and kept alive the belief that tourism was a good thing. The time, effort, and imagination that went into the pageant was an indication of their capabilities. Unfortunately, climatic conditions made it unlikely that tourism will ever develop in Gambell.

### Conclusions

Tourism has grown tremendously over the past 10 years: the number of tourists in 1973 was 215,300 compared with 59,000 ten years earlier. Gross earnings for the same period had gone up nearly 400 percent (\$18.2 million to \$72 million). But, (1) the Eskimo receive a small slice of the pie; (2) those who receive some benefits from tourism constitute an insignificant minority of Eskimo; (3) tourism in Alaska is a one-shot deal, with few repeaters. Tourism has little economic or cultural impact.

Can tourism provide monetary benefits in the future, particularly jobs for the Eskimo now passing out of school? Undoubtedly, the Eskimo should be allowed to participate in tourism to a greater degree. Further, his role should not be confined to menial services. But "many younger Eskimo share with other native Americans a negative self-image concerning their traditional culture and are reluctant to be identified with it". (14)



In Kotzebue participation should be broadened. With decreasing church control today, Eskimo dances can be revived before they are lost forever. The revived dances would reaffirm positive values of group identity and social cohesion.

The entire handi-craft industry needs reorganization. It lacks widespread distribution, quality control, and continuity of support.

#### Anthropology and tourism

For an anthropologist analyzing tourism, the Eskimo data suggests four methodological guidelines:

1. What are the motives and tourist profile of the visitors? Many visitors to Alaska do go with a genuine desire to learn how other peoples live. "If this assumption is valid, then anthropologists working with concerned tourist organizations....should direct attention toward conceiving and implementing projects that meet the desire to 'learn something' without provoking ridicule and rejection. ." (15). Possibly, "model" villages could be constructed. The desire to see how people live appeared to be paramount among the tourists to Alaska -- dominantly middle-class and middle-age, infrequently accompanied by children.

2. A comparison between tourism at Kotzebue and Nome shows that "the foci of tourist activity (including the location of hotels) is of substantive importance" (16). The further removed the tourist remains (with his creature comforts catered for), the less the negative impact. His "forays into native patterns" should be "structured in time and place".

3. In Kotzebue and Nome tourism participants are members of an out-group. "Does tourism involve the entire culture or a small minority who stand to profit economically or who, for various reasons, are not fully functioning members in the native society? I suspect that, almost as an unstated law of culture, that some sort of minority controls or seeks to be identified with tourism, if so, individuals with whom tourists come into contact may not be the best representatives of their own society." (16)

4. A study of tourism needs a solid baseline of data derived from continuity of fieldwork and of ethnohistoric sources, rather than a single season's fieldwork. "Senior scholars would have much to offer on this aspect by reviewing their original data and contributing insights based on significant time lapses. Native reaction to tourism is not just a happening; it is built up through generations of attitudinal values to outsiders and their role." (16)

SWAIN, M. 1974. Cuna women and ethnic tourism. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This is an "initial report" on the possible effects of tourism on the way of life, and particularly the role of women, of the San Blas Cuna Indians who inhabit a chain of islands along the Panamanian Atlantic coast.

The question Swain asks is whether increased tourism and the use of the mola (a blouse worn by the women) as a symbol to identify the unique nature of tourism among the San Blas Cuna will lead to changes in the role and status of women, and thereby, alter Cuna society. Her tentative conclusion and prognosis: "The impact of a given tourist industry as an agent of socioeconomic change is specifically tied to the nature of what is marketed to transient visitors, and the processes through which the marketing is controlled". She concludes that the "current situation indicates that the impact of this change will vary with marketing management (non-Cuna, pan-San Blas, or intra-community) as well as with the degree of socioeconomic insultation" (1).

Tourism in San Blas is "ethnic tourism" and the paper raises similar questions to those raised by McKean and Deitch.<sup>1/</sup>

### Cuna society

Through centuries of contact the Cuna have jealously guarded their ethnic identity and independence. Their language is totally retained, their myths preserved, their leaders revered, and the majority adhere to a system of cosmology and ritual with varying amounts of Christian syncretism. Strictly endogamous, their society is based on the democratic participation of all men in political and financial controls, coupled with the conservatism of women in dress, education, and occupations.

### Tourism in San Blas

Large-scale tourism in San Blas is a relatively recent phenomenon. Hotels were constructed in the 1960s. The number of tourists coming by air rose from 2,000 in 1972 to 6,000 in 1973. But the proposed construction of a large resort complex under the aegis of the Panamanian Tourist Institute is expected to bring in 25,000 tourists a year in these islands populated by 25,000 Cuna distributed among 35 communities. The proposal has raised questions in the communities about the control being weighed against the potential effects of tourism and other economic developments on the quality and autonomy of Cuna life.

### Change and identity-maintenance

It is not that the Cuna have been isolated or unchanged in the past. They shifted from patriarchy to their present egalitarian, bilateral, and matrilineal society with an accepted division of roles; they have utilized traditional modes of cooperation to form sociedades engaging in traditional activities (production and marketing of coconuts, fish, lobsters) and non-traditional pursuits (transport launches, stores, farm). Education and health, run by the national government, has taken root among them. More women are being educated -- although they constitute a much smaller percentage of students than the men. But hitherto, change and the

---

<sup>1/</sup>  
Cc. Cit., 1974.



direction of change has always been controlled by the Cuna themselves. Swain suggests that ethnic group cohesion must be an economically viable way of life, if it is to continue. In the case of the Cuna "this was obtained with isolation, segregated female and male occupations, and cooperative village maintenance. Communalism is central to the San Blas way of life". (5)

#### Problems today and possible solutions

The present situation and proposed changes are further complicated by the fact that the symbol of San Blas tourism is the mola. Increased sales of mola will assist female economic independence, possibly make them more mobile, and thereby challenge a fundamental basis of Cuna stability.

It may be possible to prevent disruption by providing local opportunities for employment. But tourism will result in a large influx of non-Cuna; the physical isolation which previously "buffered them from more rapid change" (6) will be disrupted. But, as Swain points out, "partial reconciliation of tourism-induced cultural problems with economic development may be within the distinctive character of ethnic tourism itself". She believes, with Graburn, that ethnic tourism can be an identity maintenance mechanism for groups if they themselves manipulate the symbols.

What are the prospects for employment: In the tourism business, most of the employment is menial; there has been a partial role change in that men are the cooks (in the traditional system, the women cook but they have not learned to do large-order cooking). This status does not bode well for tourism in San Blas, particularly since Cuna history indicates the "strong need for local control if the project is to have any real developmental effect" (7).

In the mola business, change is already noticeable. Formerly women were the manufacturers, men the sellers. Now there are both male and female societies selling mola. Further, these societies are recognized by the Congresso General (the general assembly of the cooperative societies involved). This recognition can lead to the political enfranchisement of women; itself a major change in their status.

The mola can, thus, be both a vehicle of change and an ethnic identity symbol. And there are indications that the mola is a symbol of ethnic pride and prestige to the Cuna themselves. It is good economics as well.

#### Conclusions

1. There is an immediate need for careful planning and compromise (both on the part of the government and the Cuna) to reap the benefits of tourism while at the same time fulfilling Cuna aspirations for control of the changes to maintain their identity. The government is aware of the disastrous consequences for "the culture if an unquantifiable 'carrying capacity' is surpassed" (11). The Cuna themselves, however, are divided.

2. Although the sociedades are not a useful vehicle for all tourism change, in the case of ethnic tourism they "would seem particularly appropriate" since it is a type of tourism "which needs assurance of continued group cohesion" (12).

3. Women cannot handle all the occupations even now open to them (in government, sociedades, tourism) since few of them are trained. With reference to their roles, a tourism gradient can be constructed evidencing increasing changes -- from the traditional (male control); through the semi-traditional (mixed sociedades); to external intervention which, combined with training, offers new opportunities and statuses for women.

Cuna have started trading off traditional for new forms of occupations to meet changing circumstances. It must be remembered, ultimately, that the "uses of tourism are directly tied to this small society cultural and economic survival, including the future position of women in maintaining a Cuna way of life". (12)

TALBOT, N. 1974. A note on tourism in the West Indies. Science and Society, 38, 347-349.

This is a comment on the Perez article summarized earlier.

Talbot points out the ambivalence in West Indian attitudes to tourism: repugnant to many, yet desired by most for its economic benefits. Its repugnance stems largely from the fact that tourism introduces and seems to perpetuate the old division, hated, between master and servant. And it is the face-to-face relationships that tourism involves that makes it impossible to disguise the element of inequality. He agrees with the implicit argument of Perez that it would be a desirable goal if tourists were the equals of members of the host country.

And yet "the relationship is. . . not wholly bad, not wholly unequal, in either social or economic terms" (348). First, the precise role of tourism in the Caribbean has yet to be evaluated through a social cost-benefit calculation. There must be an evaluation of the potential for communication that tourism provides. Second, what other alternatives are there for the vast majority of Caribbean islands. Is it easy, or profitable, to consider agricultural workers turning to urban occupations? Industrial development, one alternative, is only possible if the West Indies can meet competition from other industrial exporters successfully.

Few would dispute that tourism provides an "important immediate source of employment and government revenue" (348) particularly for some islands with small populations. Nor should it be forgotten that tourism is itself economic activity.

Perez is right when he points to the need for greater local ownership, and also the determination of government expenditure on the basis of national priorities, not tourism priorities. The need for differentiation, particularly in those islands with large populations, exists. But "tourism should probably be encouraged (subject to suitable controls) to remain and even flourish as a relatively easy way of earning a living in the small islands and in tourism enclaves in some of the larger islands". (349)



URBANOWICZ, C.F. 1974. Tongan tourism today: Troubled times? Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This paper sets out to answer the question "How much tourism is too much tourism?" It never answers it.

Tongan tourism began to develop around 1958 with cruise ship visits and air services. From about 1,715 cruise passengers in that year, the number of tourists grew to 31,502 in 1973. The average visitor by air spends 5.6 days, and T\$17.60 per day (T\$0.85 = US\$1.00 till 1974, thereafter T\$0.65 = US\$1.00); a cruise ship passenger stays for about 8 hours and spends an average of about T\$40.00 per day.

Tonga is primarily an exporter of agricultural commodities -- copra, bananas, and dessicated coconuts being the main exports. It also imports foodstuffs: meat, canned goods. In 1973, imported foodstuffs accounted for 28 percent of the total imports. Even more foodstuffs were imported for the months of July-August, 1974. Though there was a favorable trade balance in 1972-73 compared with 1971-72 this was mainly due to remittances by Tongans overseas (most of them are in New Zealand). The overseas employment scheme had begun in May 1971 as a result of a request by the governments of Fiji and Tonga to the New Zealand and Australian governments.

Though there was a favorable trade balance, the consumer price index continues to rise (from the base year of 1969, to 153 in September 1974). This is due to the fact that though Tongans are eating better, and more, foods, they are also in competition with the tourists. The tourists only "sample" a few Tongan foods (other than suckling pig, fruits, and Tongan bread). The tourists are satisfied with Tonga and point out, in addition, that they are not molested by demands to purchase goods. The Tongans, on the other hand, do not like to be treated as denizens of a cultural zoo.

But the government believes that tourism is one of the most important techniques of obtaining revenue for development. It has a widespread publicity program; and is planning increases in facilities with equitable income distribution (by building runways on major islands).

Tongans "are quite happy when the one-day cruise ships arrive...but...are even happier when (they) depart -- leaving the foreign capital behind". (20)

The author finally enumerates the "effects" of tourism and some possible solutions: rise in the cost of living, children begging from tourists, prostitution and homosexuality are on the increase (although homosexuals do not cater to the tourists alone, but also to crew members of the ships), drunkenness (drunks and ill-clad Tongans are barred from the International Dateline Hotel -- the showpiece hotel -- "to preserve the Tongan image"), theft (most Tongan houses have barred windows), rape (a WHO wife, and VSA girls). These "effects" are not weighed against the high rate of unemployment (one symptom of which is illegal entry into New Zealand), widespread malnutrition, and tremendous pressure on the land.

As for solutions, the author suggests that the Tongans must diversify their economy. Fortunately, there appears to be off-shore oil, and manganese. He also suggests strengthening the cottage industries, and oyster farming.

FRANCILLON, G. 1974/75. Bali: Tourism, culture, environment. Report No. SHC-75/WS/17. Bali, Indonesia & Paris: Universitas Udayana & UNESCO.

This is a critical evaluation and summary primarily of three works prepared by Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali,<sup>1/</sup> supplemented by the author's "direct enquiries and personal contacts made during one week of June and nearly four weeks of September 1974". (1)

Seemingly simple, the richness of Balinese culture and society, the beauty of the environment soon overwhelms the observer. It is exceedingly difficult to capture in a report, not merely because of the limitation of space but also because the language lacks words to convey the texture of the place and its people. Further, as soon as one probes beneath the surface, there is a complexity, ambiguity, and resilience that further constrain adequate description. Francillon's report, like the earlier reports he summarizes, reflects this ambivalence.

The Introduction touches upon the likely impact of mass tourism on Balinese culture and society. "The gale" is increasing, but is likely to have little effect on Balinese society, no so much because of the resilience (and adaptability) of the Balinese but because it will hardly touch their lives: the tourist will stay too short a while, and will be shown what he expects to see (according to expectations roused by the "image" of Bali put out by the advertising trade). Thus "cultural tourism" has been killed in the last 25 years.

Who are the tourists? They come from different nations, are of different ages, and come to Bali for a variety of reasons: the cultural and "pleasure" motivations being the strongest. The Udayana reports did not sample the "cultural tourists" (visitors who stay more than the alleged average four days, do not spend as much as the "mass tourist", and mingle more intimately with the local population). These, forming a minority of present and future visitors to the island, will undoubtedly have a greater impact. And, yet, one is tempted to ask whether (as in other places) mass tourism will not have a subtler and more permanent impact if the Balinese do not know tourism plans and have no voice in these?

One also questions the "popular image" of the tourist, which Francillon seems to support (see pp. 17-18): The white-skinned, red haired man, above mean Balinese size, clean, neatly dressed and, above all, rich. Should one categorize local images of tourists by questioning villagers only? Certainly, the Balinese generally believe that even the poorest looking "hippie" is rich -- and, comparatively, he is. But they also distinguish quite clearly between nationalities of tourists, especially Balinese who are in regular contact with tourists.

---

<sup>1/</sup> Report on the influence of mass tourism on the way of life in the Balinese society. Denpasar: Udayana University, March 1973. Report on the development of tourism in Bali. Denpasar: Udayana University, May 1973. The impact of tourism on the socio-economic development of Bali. Denpasar: Udayana University, August 1974.



The ambivalence of the Balinese is seen in the contrast between the welcome the tourists get and the fact that "the unfriendly attitude is always near the surface" (19). The grimace is just behind the smile, we are told. Doesn't Bali have many worlds? This ambivalence, Francillon says, characterizes the Udayana reports: tourists and tourism are a necessity, and yet the decline of moral values (which the authors believe is becoming pervasive) is attributed to tourism. But who sees the films, advertised by lurid posters, in Depansar? How many Balinese are influenced by (or likely to imitate) nudists (a sprinkling of them on Kuta Beach) or drug takers?

Francillon critically examines the economic aspects of tourism in Bali, as set out in the Udayana reports. First, he rightly points out that the sample of 100 persons is not a random sample, and contains only representative of the budget hotel tourists. Second, he shows that the use of the example of "endek" (a tie-dye woven cloth) as an indicator of economic benefit is not entirely correct because the increased production and employment of "endek" producers could be attributed to increased private investment, not higher sales. Third, he suggests household budget studies should be undertaken. Fourth, the employment and income figures in different occupations are suspect. Fifth, tourism plays a minor role among agriculturists who form the major component of Balinese society. Finally, the processes of redistribution of income among villagers which has, for example, been earned by a village dance association has not been studied. It is, therefore, incorrect to suggest that the villager will ipso facto benefit from tourism.

Francillon next assesses the role of tourism in Balinese Society under three heads: land, culture and people.

The land question is the most vexed. Not only has customary law been engrafted with statute law, but "eminent domain" is now being used by the Government to acquire lands to promote tourism (the most notable, if garish, example is the Bali Beach Hotel, sited on former burial ground). The result is a sense of confusion -- a confusion which the authors of the Udayana Reports reflect: how does one square the principles of customary law, with political power? What is a res nullius?

Francillon points out, quite rightly, that modern buildings and the use of an altar as a lamp post (lit with neon tubes at that!) affect the tourist's sensibilities much more than those of the Balinese: "They do not see the neon tubes. Similarly they may not even see the concrete bunker standing across the beach at Sanur for the beach has no positive value and its scenic value is largely imported". (56-57) The Balinese have been adaptive, but they certainly object to the use of religious symbols for commercial purposes. Could, however, these be the objections of only the educated minority, or of those who want to "preserve" a "purity" that the Balinese villager -- a far more practical individual -- does not voice, feel, or see? Tourists are interested in Balinese ritual (especially in the "ceremonies" that are open to their view). Have the Balinese accepted the presence of tourists at these ceremonies, and, in fact, adapted some of them to cater to the short attention span and large purses (comparatively, again) of the tourist? And, in the plastic arts, does the influence of a new style, the unwillingness of a temple to hang the paintings of an internationally known Balinese artist mean that he is less "Balinese". Mass production certainly means inferior quality. Is this inferior art? The Udayana authors seem to feel that though increased sales broaden employment, the returns are so low as to degrade the individual. Is the price worth paying?



With regard to society, the changes have already been summarized in the 1974 Report.<sup>1/</sup> The question, merely repeated here, is whether the negative effects (since these are main complaints) can be attributed to tourism alone. The Udayana authors admit that it is difficult to pinpoint and assess the separate influences of tourism and other developmental changes that are taking place (for instance, the urbanization of Denpasar) in the broad pattern of "effects" listed.

What is the role of tourism in the future? As Francillon points out, the authors of the reports make recommendations, most of which are "point by point measures. None is a general measure, a scheme encompassing the whole problem". (75) The measures may be divided into two categories: possible and impossible. In the former, most betray a preservationist spirit (which reflects for Francillon the spirit of the Dutch and early scholars who labored in Bali): The preservation, and registration of all archaeological and historical treasures. But there must be an inventory made, otherwise all attempts at legislation and work by the Department of Antiquities and the Customs will be futile. The same preservationist spirit informs the recommendation about the Balinese language and literature, for instance, that it should form a greater component of the school syllabus. As Francillon rightly points out, "judging from short term experience in and about the University of Denpasar, it is doubtful whether there are more scholars competent to read and understand any given palm-leaf manuscript in Bali, than there are in the rest of the world". This is regrettable. But a fact. A similar spirit pervades the recommendation regarding the preservation and revival of the Hindu religion. Francillon sees favorable trends here, but to others such trends would be moot. At any rate, it is the basic underpinning even today of Balinese life and shows remarkable resilience.

Francillon next refers to criticism and suspicion about the motivations of Government which the authors of Udayana appear to betray: about land, for a start. Secondly, the conflict between nationalism and regionalism. It would appear that it is no longer necessary for the Central government to stress that Indonesia is a unity amidst a plurality of cultural regions. Now the authors say (and Francillon appears to applaud this sentiment) it is time also to stress local traditional values lest the gap between the elders and the youth widens. More so because less and less Balinese children are learning what their elders once learned informally. Political goals are vague and the ability to define traditional sectors of life is difficult. Measures to improve handicrafts and the training of guides are important and necessary. But will all the guides who pass courses obtain employment? Are there any plans to control or regulate the number of guides?

The most "emotional chapters" reports Francillon are reserved for the long-haired, low spending tourist who seems to bring out only the negative aspects of tourism. This "is certainly so to some greater extent (sic) than the relatively small number of such tourists might lead one to believe. There is such an un-Balinese way of life that they stand out dramatically against the background of the

---

<sup>1/</sup>  
See pages                    for summary.



multitude of inoffensive 'package tourists', and still more offensively compared with the high spending patrons of international hotel chains". Yes, Francillon, but how accurate is this? Whose emotions are affected? -- those of the authors (upward-climbing, achievement-oriented academicians) or government officials (who may resent the threat to western emulation which the long-haired pose?). And, are the "patrons" of international hotels, really "high-spending"? Current surveys cast doubt on this. What is more, how much of the dollar that high-spending patrons "lavish" in Bali remains in the country? Or is that entirely unimportant?

Of course, the "high-spending patrons," to be consistent with the earlier thesis are unnoticed. Therefore, the Government was right to obtain a loan from IBRD to develop Nusa Dua. Even here, Francillon agrees with the authors of the Udayana Report: far too many tourists will come in after the IBRD-aided development in Nusa Dua -- 8,000 rooms and 3,000 visitors a day!! Unless this growth is controlled bungalows will spread, and so too urbanism -- into the vitally needed paddy fields.

One might suppose that objectivity has been dropped since Francillon takes it upon himself to suggest that "Kuta, Sanur, Denpasar are plagued with visitors of an undesirable sort". (83) Since scientists have to obtain a permit to stay more than 48 hours, it "seems all the more justifiable, in the face of the difficulties on record, to require the same from individuals who insist on staying more than say one week 'with the people' and yet comb the beaches of Sanur". (84) But this means that people who stay at Nusa Dua can stay for an indefinite length of time -- which is discriminatory because it introduces the differentium of money. The rest of Francillon's comments on Nusa Dua (for instance, that it is going to be open to all classes of people: to campers, and all styles of tourism) are not quite accurate; nor is the idea that the tourists will be prohibited from leaving Nusa Dua except under guided tours (much in manner of prisoners being taken out for their morning constitutional). Again, this is not a "choice that has been made". Nor was the former "Head of the Provincial Department of Tourism, "appointed a Director of the project". (86, fn6)

A brief concluding chapter sums up the reports and Francillon's reactions. Tourism is, and will continue to be marginal to the Balinese -- both in monetary terms and in terms of its impact on Balinese culture. Averages are misleading. What is necessary is a study on a micro-level of processes and principles of redistribution of the earnings from tourism. A general rise in the "standard" of living is meaningless unless there is also an estimate of how the increased income is used. Standards have risen, though it is difficult to agree with Francillon's statement that "It is obvious that development proceeds at a faster pace in areas affected by tourism than elsewhere in the Republic" (of Indonesia). (88) What elements does one choose for this purpose? Is it not worthwhile (as Francillon says) to have a comparative study of different regions? Again, one cannot quite agree with his statement that "Fast, massive and disruptive modernization is the lot of the more attractive living cultures". (89) On the whole, since both development and the type of tourist will affect Bali little, given the resilience of Balinese culture, it has more than a chance of survival.



COWAN, G. n.d. Cultural impact of tourism with particular reference to the Cook Islands. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 79-85.

The Cook Islands with a population of 21,000 sprawled over 751,000 miles have been subjected to the influences of cultural change for more than a century-and-a-half. Despite distance and cultural variety, administration created a sense of unity, the sense of "being a Cook Islander".

The islanders are being increasingly exposed to modernizing influences and urbanization. One of these influences is the development of tourism. Cultural influences are given an important place in the tourism development plan.

One of the first moves to increase tourism was the construction of an airport. This construction appears to have influenced Cook islanders more than induced foreign tourists to visit: there were more Cook islanders travelling to and from New Zealand than foreign tourist arrivals. Most of the travellers have been young.

Cowan sees tourism as having a tremendous impact on the culture of the islanders: the emigrants will be affected by New Zealand industrialization, the demographic balance will be disrupted, and the villages will be populated only by the very young and the very old. Cowan believes that tourism will greatly accelerate the process of urbanization.

Since tourism is still in its infancy Cowan suggests planning measures with regard to foreign visitors: First, there must be efforts to curb the arrogance of the foreigner. Second, at the same time there must be measures taken to prevent local ethnocentrism. Finally, planning must distribute the benefits of tourism equally through the islands.

FINNEY, B.R. 1975. A vulnerable proletariat: Tahitians in the 1970's. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 181-192.

It was in the mid 1960's, with the major investments in the construction of a jet airport and tourist facilities, and in the building of a port, transport and military facilities, that wage labor superseded subsistence and cash crop production as the main method by which Tahitians earned their livelihood.

This rapid process of proletarianization has numerous human implications: (i) It has resulted in a concentration of population in urban centers (nearly two-thirds of the population of French Polynesia, for instance, live in and around Papeete). The concentration has largely been the result of migration to these centers in search of wage labor employment. (ii) Instant slums have developed. (iii) Agriculture, including cash crop production, has declined. Imports of food, automobiles, cement, lumber, household appliances and other



consumer goods have increased -- as the local critics say, it has become a "society of consumption". The new needs are supported primarily by tourist investments and revenues, and civil and military expenditures of the French government. (iv) There has been a decline in patterns of cooperation among kinsmen and fellow villagers, and an erosion of the extended family unit. Economic individualism, reinforced by the need to work at a time-consuming job, has replaced earlier cooperative patterns.

But Finney points out that the increase in wage labor and the decline in cooperation cannot be explained purely in economic terms -- although the possibility of higher earnings from wage labor is certainly a factor. Finney shows that "values" have changed: Tahitians distinguish between farming work and money work. The former is considered to be "dull, dirty, and old-fashioned, while wage labor is the exciting, clean, and modern way to earn one's living". (188) They also say that wage labor brings "fast money", so important to buy the consumer goods now regarded as necessities. In this, the Tahitian is contrasted with New Guineans who will migrate temporarily to urban areas, and do not value wage labor highly. The difference might be partially explained by the fact that wages are higher in French Polynesia; that urban centers in Tahiti are not thought of as "alien"; and that New Guineans are more inclined to entrepreneurship.

Tahitians believe that entrepreneurship is alien to them. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy that further reinforces the search for wage labor. "To become a businessman, or a professional, is to become a different kind of person. . . ." (189)

It is, however, this very process of reinforced proletarianization that makes the Tahitian so vulnerable according to Finney. The Tahitians are even more dependent on economic forces outside their society as wage laborers than they were earlier as producers of copra, mother-of-pearl shell, and vanilla. The reasons Finney offers are: (i) The attitudes and loss of agricultural skills make it even more difficult for Tahitians to adjust to crises that reduce job opportunities. (ii) Much of the activity in which the labor exists -- be it tourism or defence -- is directly controlled by interests outside French Polynesia. "Tahitian workers are truly part of an international economy, but one in which they have little or no voice." (191) (iii) Finally, because of their attitudes, their comparative lack of education, and competition from other groups the "bulk of Tahitians. . . are socio-economically subordinate to European and Chinese administrators, businessmen, and professionals, and could be further subordinated if current trends continue". (191)

FINNEY, B.R. and WATSON, K.A., (Eds.) n.d. A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-west Center.

This aptly titled volume brings together most of the papers read at the Workshop jointly sponsored by the Culture Learning Institute and the Technology and Development Institute of the East-West Center in May 1974.



The title is a phrase used by the Rev. Abraham Akaka when blessing the Kulima Hotel on the island of Oahu. Tourism was compared with sugar, then a declining mainstay of the islands -- an industry which would bring the benefits of employment and income to the islands' residents.

The questions posed in the Workshop are an examination, with reference to the islands of the Pacific, of whether tourism is an undisguised blessing. Some of the problems referred to in the Editors' preface are: Should one industry be allowed to dominate the economy of a country? What would be the effects of this dominance? What are the alternatives to dominance by foreigners of the industry or turning self-sufficient farmers into servants? Why should the islands turn to foreign consultants who are themselves based in industrialized countries that control international tourism? Can these consultants guide the island governments?

The basic premise of the Workshop was that "there must be a local capability for planning tourism development if island governments are to be able to channel the growth of tourism so that it provides minimum net economic, social and cultural benefits for the island populations" (vi)

The papers are divided into eight sections (including an "overview" and "towards alternatives and solutions") each introduced by editorial comment. A few of the papers have been summarized in this volume.

The Editors state that the proceedings and recommendations of the Workshop are being published separately and their publication is awaited as an adjunct to this useful volume.

FINNEY, B.R. and WATSON, K.A. n.d. Hawaii. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 145-146.

Although this article is in the nature of an introduction to the papers on Hawaii, the principles it enunciates are sufficiently important to deserve a separate summary.

Tourism is the major industry in Hawaii -- in 1974, for instance, there were nearly 3,000,000 tourists (about 3 per resident). It is the third largest employer in the State. The success of Hawaiian tourism has provided a model for other Pacific nations.

The editors, however, point out that the model should be imitated with caution: (i) "Hawaiian tourism was built on a much stronger economic base than now exists in most other Pacific Islands." (145) It already had a developed economy before tourism grew: sugar, pineapples, the military and government, a well-educated and skilled population. The basic infrastructure was already there. (ii) Hawaii is close to its main market -- the U.S.A. There are no language and customs barriers; the airfares are the cheapest. (iii) Tourism development in Hawaii has not been without its problems. It has been accused of causing agricultural decline, increasing crime,



polluting beaches, destroying the environment, inflating prices, and surrendering to foreign business. As Jack Simpson said, "Tourism is now blamed for all the ills formerly attributed to sugar". But these criticisms are not limited to cranks or special groups. Concern over too rapid a development of tourism and its effects is growing. It is, in many ways, the result of early unplanned development and the failure to consider social, moral, and environmental factors as well as purely economic ones in tourism planning.

FORCE, R.W. 1975. Pacific urban centers in perspective. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 345-362.

This article is in the nature of a summation of the other papers read, and discussions held, at the Second Inter-Congress. The comments relating to tourism cover just under three pages.

Paraphrasing Dasmann et al<sup>1/</sup>, Force commences this comment with the statement that "quality is its own worst enemy". (358) The islands of the Pacific have become fertile grounds for tourism because they are beautiful, unspoilt, and exotic. The very influx of tourists can lead to the destruction of those characteristics that bring them to the islands.

Island ecosystems are fragile and it is surprising that externally imposed influences have not resulted in greater disturbance and disruption. The islanders themselves are often encouraging tourism as a means of obtaining scarce foreign exchange for development. It should, however, be realized that "tourism is at most a mixed blessing -- unless its growth and development can be controlled by the indigenous population itself". (359)

One of the recurrent fears of island leaders is the possibility that tourism will replace economic dependence for political dependence. Further since tourism is subject to factors beyond the islanders' control and outside the island, tourism cycles can mean unemployment of many who have been attracted to urban areas by tourism. They would then find themselves living in tropical slums, frustrated and unable to return to a "substandard" life style. "Such individuals and their family members are prime candidates for malnutrition, psychological and neurological disorders, and temptations and "retaliative" behavior. . . ." (360)

---

<sup>1/</sup>  
R. F. Dasmann, J.P. Milton, and P.H. Freeman. Ecological Principles for Economic Development. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 1973.

FORCE, R.W. and FORCE, M. 1975. Kith, kin, and fellow urbanites. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 193-223.

This article deals with tourism incidentally. Its main theme is that there is a growing body of evidence that the movement to the cities and urban centers does not sever relations and ties with rural kin.

There are many reasons, the authors point out, for migration to cities: scarcity of land, loss of land, better opportunities for children, the greater regularity and purchasing power of wage incomes, and the opportunity of new occupational employment.

In most cases, these urban migrants are capable of obtaining only unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. This is exemplified in the tourism industry where most of the higher-level employment is limited to expatriates. The limitation is only partly capable of explanation by reference to expatriate ownership and decision-making.

There are few studies on the impact of tourism in the Pacific. Its "long-term effects remain largely obscure". (212) Although there is greater local participation in decision-making in tourism "clearly more persons are affected by (it) than affect it". (212)

Tourism resorts establish a wage labor force that does not affect family life and villages within commuting distance as much as those where villagers have to commute. In the latter, the village can be dramatically affected by out-migration. Further, studies on tourism in Hawaii indicate that tourism can affect family relations dramatically (increased divorce, higher status for the women). Competition for jobs (particularly between migrants and locals) can also cause severe family disabilities. Nor are the effects of tourism limited to urban centers -- "recreation tourism" ("weekendismo") can also affect the hinterland.

There is a clear message to be found in all the limited studies of the impact of tourism so far available: "uncontrolled tourism without adequate educational opportunities for local people brings social problems of great magnitude". (215)

FOX, M. n.d. The social impact of tourism -- a challenge to researchers and planners. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 27-47.

The author defines the social impact as a description of "the ways in which the people believe tourism is changing such things as their value systems, individual behavior, collective life styles, family relationships, creative expression,



traditional ceremonies, community organization and the quality of life in general". (27)

The definition is implicitly limited to the behavioral impact of tourism, and peoples' perceptions of this impact. This limitation is justified by the author, an anthropologist-consultant, on the grounds that very little is known about measuring social impact, and the causal relationship between tourism and social changes. What we have, he rightly points out, are mainly observations (descriptions?) and assumptions.

He groups these observations under different heads, elucidating both the negative and positive impressions of the observers: their support for tourism; concern over the impact of tourism on traditional patterns of life; the tourists' view of travel; the observations of the entrepreneur.

He points out the problem of controlling tourism growth: The first concern of the airline, or of the builder (and owner) of a hotel is to keep them full -- the conflict between the profit motive and directed growth.

Tourism, Fox says, is only one change factor and there is an immense need for research and planning. With regard to research, for instance, he suggests that there has been no research at all to evaluate the effects of tourism education programs of host population (for example, those conducted in Fiji and the Solomon Islands).

On planning, Fox believes that the best planning is that formulated in partnership with the people. But there are several preconditions for this: It depends on (i) sufficient information to make intelligent choices; (ii) participation in arriving at goals (objectives) of tourism; (iii) the opportunity to help formulate the criteria for measuring progress towards the goals; and (iv) sufficient involvement in the planning and decision-making process to insure compliance with the criteria.

Planning and research must, therefore, be coordinated, since they are interdependent.

KENT, N. n.d. A new kind of sugar. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 169-198.

This seemingly journalistic piece is a critical assessment of tourism in Hawaii -- warts and all.

#### The profitable image

The success of Hawaii lies in the marketing of an "image" -- the lost Eden of innocence. So successful has the promotion been that the number of tourists jumped from 15,000 in 1946 to 3,000,000 in 1974. But the very success of the image is leading to questions about the role and effects of tourism.



Waikiki, the hub and model of tourism is a concrete jungle with its "new pyramids" (194). Waikiki "organizes much of the functioning of the island around it". (171) Kent shares the view of a student that tourism is a virus that saps resistance to artificiality and superficial aloha. The seamier results of tourism are prostitution, drugs, the "syndicate", and gambling. And these problems are spreading to the other islands.

No one can deny that hotels in Hawaii make a profit: their occupancy and profit ratios are the highest in the United States (in 1969 they had an occupancy level of 75.6% and profit ratios, after taxes, of 27.5%; in 1970 profits per room amounted to \$3,014).

### Toward the Brave New World

The success has spurred the magnates to plan for even greater tourist numbers. The Big Six, who control the best areas, have their own "vision of the future". The Big Six are Castle and Cooke, Ltd., C. Brewer and Co., Theo. H. Davies and Co., American Factors Co., Ltd., Alexander and Baldwin, and the Dillingham Corporation. Add to this Rockefeller -- a more recent entrant. Dillingham speaks for the seven when he suggests that "..these islands may together build such a combined visitor recreation facility as the world has never seen. . .". (174)

The need for massive construction in the future is supported by visitor projections: Barnett estimates 7,178,021 visitors in 1986; Crampton suggests that the numbers of visitors will reach 10 million by 1980.

This means that the type of tourism will be even further removed from that in the early days. Even as recently as the 1950's, most tourists came by boat, spent a month or so on the island, and met people. The worker was less "organized" -- he worked fewer hours, and had greater freedom to come and go. Still, as Kent points out, "the old tourism should not be romanticized too much. It was still, after all, tourism; the tourists almost never came into real contact with the dominant plantation milieu; they did not meet the local non-white families, or begin to comprehend the depth of anguish that lay just behind the smiles of many Hawaiians...or see the urban slums. Yet, there was probably an element of genuine aloha for the tourist, the experience was leisurely enough to afford some time for reflection and at least an appreciation of the cultural diversity and stunning natural beauty of Hawaii.

Today's tourist experience is vastly different. Much more impersonal, more frantic, totally removed from authentic contact with island people and far more manipulated. What modern tourism seems to avoid at all costs is the genuine interaction between tourist and resident on the basis of mutual respect and sharing". (175) Modern tourism is a charade, and the encounter between tourist and "host" (often only a room maid) is formal, inhuman, and devoid of warmth. What is more, we are now getting to the concept of total tourism, which hotel owners encourage: the hotels (and their airline links) own chains of buses and taxis; the tourist is shuttled directly off and, finally, on to the plane and around "conducted" tours in these chains. The tourist and, most importantly, his pocket-book, are never out of the hotel owner's control.

### An Open Public Treasury

In this section of the paper Kent discusses the numerous ways in which the



State of Hawaii aids the industry (not necessarily its "servants" and the taxpayer).

The most basic way is through rezoning. The landowners are among the most powerful influences in the State. Waikiki, for instance, is presently zoned for 50,000 rooms, although it now has only 22,000.

The second method is through the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (HVB) -- one of the major regulators of the industry. Despite criticism, HVB has an immense budget, and a Board of Directors "that reads like a Who's Who in Hawaii Business and Labor". (179) The State bends over backwards to support the industry: "When Matson Navigation Company executives were discussing the possibilities of constructing a resort development at Kihei, on the island of Maui. Apparently, this talk was enough to stimulate the legislature into authorizing an appropriation for a water system in the near vicinity of the Matson property. Later, problems arose and Matson abandoned the proposed project, leaving the unused water pipes still laying around Kihei for years afterwards". (179)

State subsidies for tourism take a variety of forms -- the demarcation of "visitor destination areas", massive capital improvements are some. For example, \$100 million was appropriated by the State for "face-lifting" Waikiki.

But is tourism invaluable as a source of state tax revenue? In 1970 the State-commissioned Baumol Report on tourism found that government had to spend one dollar to produce \$2.50 - \$5.00 of tourist revenue. The Report said that this ratio would decline to one dollar for every \$1.50 brought in by the tourist in the 1980's. Therefore, the authors of the report concluded that this would make the continued financial support by the State of resort corporations a definite liability. In addition the Report also pointed out the need to evaluate social costs (pollution, traffic jams, overcrowding are instances) in assessing the total impact of tourism. William Johnson, a former government economist, concurs with the Baumol Report. Johnson also suggests that the influx of immigrants to staff hotels will increase the State's financial burden and obligation to provide schools, hospitals, and social services, which the tourist tax will not cover. He estimates that the State will have to spend three times as much for these services as the workers contribute in taxes.

Another form of State aid is baling out the industry in times of economic crisis. For example, in 1970 the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii leased out 60% of the total capacity of the Royal Prince Hotel over the objections of the students and despite its unsuitability as student accommodation. The lease was renewed in 1971. In the same year the Regents agreed to lease four floors of the "financially troubled" Coco Palms Hotel for 1972.

### The New Servant Class

The profits are for the expatriate owners and expatriate top management.



"For the working people of Hawaii, the widely-acclaimed 'age of abundance' has never materialized; tourism has only brought the same kinds of low-paying, menial, dead end jobs that have always been the lot of local workers. The setting of a luxury hotel may be a world away from the sugar plantation, but in terms of the degradation and oppression of human labor, it is probably a good deal worse". (182)

In terms of cost of living in the U.S.A., Hawaii ranks second to Alaska. In 1970, the average weekly earnings of island hotel workers was \$73.54. In 1974, it was \$94.21 per week. This rise in wages should be compared with the inflationary spiral of prices: the U.S. Department of Labor estimated \$217 per week as an adequate budget for an urban worker with a family of four in 1966. In 1974, with inflation, the adequate budget for the same family would be \$315.95. It is not surprising, therefore, that the hotel worker is compelled to look for a second job. Further, by comparison with other industries, tourism pays the lowest wage scales: \$94.21 per week, as against \$284.33 in contract construction; \$228.00 in communications and utilities; \$172.14 in manufacturing; and \$126.55 in finance.

What is the future of the estimated 40,000 new hotel employees in 1975? According to a local activist (Rene Kajikawa) these unskilled persons will become a service class "whose livelihood is increasingly dependent upon the primarily Haole-owned and run tourist industry". (185)

It is suggested that tourism will provide useful employment for the many unskilled entrants into the labor force. But is tourism a meaningful alternative? Is the salary really worth it? Who will baby-sit for the poor? "Actually, giving someone 'a chance to get off welfare' implies some meaningful alternative to public assistance. And most welfare clients do not consider tourist employment to provide any real improvement over their situation now" (186) -- having particular regard to the low comparative wages. As Lena Reverio, a leader in Honolulu's welfare rights struggle says, "The myth of the lazy welfare recipient is designed to hide what common sense tells us -- that other people are like ourselves, that they want to work, but they don't want to be exploited and that there is no dignity in raising enough money to starve upon". (186)

True, there are institutions that train individuals for careers in tourism: the Travel Industry Management School (TIM) and, the lower level, Kapiolani Community College. But these offer a rosy future where this is none. They tend, according to Kent, to perpetuate "the same working class from generation to generation" (187) with the illusion of promotion, and the cutting-off of chances of change and advancement at an early age. Kent continues: "To study tourism is to realize that this is an industry which clearly does not want human beings, either as workers or customers, who are thinking, critical and independent". (188)

Is this not another form of plantation industry?

Hawaii has always had a sharply differentiated class structure. Tourism is exacerbating the conflict between these different classes and adding another dimension of conflict as well: The immigrants come in and take over unskilled jobs because they have to survive. In 1969, a survey by HVB found that 45% of all workers were born outside Hawaii.



A Tale of Two Tourisms

What kind of tourism does HVB want: people with incomes of \$10,000 and more after taxes so as to produce the highest financial return on the lowest numbers and to get the traveller who can pay. Yet, this is totally unrealistic and does not square with facts: the most that travellers spend, according to surveys, is between \$800 - \$1,200 per couple. Will the wealthy traveller come to Hawaii, or move elsewhere? More likely the latter. The hotels cannot afford to be choosy. Airplanes have to be filled. When the 1970-72 recession hit Hawaii many hotels had occupancy rates of only 35%. This cannot be allowed to recur. What will really keep the tourists away, however, "is the compelling hatred with which local people are beginning to regard tourism". (192)

The violent future is ahead. Locals are increasingly militant about the fact that they are not reaping the benefits of tourism. It is likely to become another Caribbean. "Still...the rulers of Hawaii remain indifferent to the drama unfolding before them." (197)

McGREVY, N.L. The Polynesian Cultural Center: A Model for Cultural Conservation.  
Paper read at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco.

A discussion of a very successful, financially, center in Laie.

McGrevy discusses the continuing attempts of the Center to portray the culture of the Polynesians.

The Center was started to "preserve" Polynesian culture; to finance the education of Polynesians by providing them with work at the Center; and to "showcase the Mormon Church and its missionary endeavours". (3)

The statement that the Center is to "preserve" Polynesian culture has been dropped in more recent times. First, because it was never intended to be an authentic pre-Christian portrayal (particularly since some customs were against the tenets of the Mormon Church); second, because the term "preserve" smacks of something that does not exist and is culturally dead or "pernicious" (4).

Part of the paper is devoted to a reproduction of encomiums, and the continuing attempt to gain legitimacy, particularly in the eyes of scholars. (11) This continuing attempt has included the part-time employment of an anthropologist -- who failed to maintain liason with the Cultural Committee; and the employment, in 1974, of a researcher/staff anthropologist, after the Cultural Committee was disbanded.

In validating the necessity for dropping the goal of "preservation", the author claims that the role of the Center is to portray the culture of the Polynesians as "it might be". That is, linked to the past, adapted to the present, and built on the likely future. This is "authenticity". Therefore, what he says

the role of the Center is, is "conservation". This role is greatly assisted by tourism -- the visitors come to witness the dances, get a feel for the cultures of places they may never visit, and to purchase art. In the last category, it is mainly "airport art" that is purchased -- "probably because of uneducated tastes". (23)

The Center, so the author claims shows how the benefits of tourism can be used to conserve cultures and prepare the people for the future.

RITCHIE, J.E. n.d. The honest broker in the cultural market-place. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 49 - 58.

The main theme of this paper, which was delivered in modified form at the Second Inter-Congress of the Pacific Science Association, 1973, is: Forms and expressions of culture may change, the underlying basis does not; adaptations are suited to, and linked with, this underlying (deep) social structure. Beneath the external surface there is cultural continuity.

The theme is skillfully brought out by examples interwoven into the argument: the author's personal experience, descriptions of changed forms and their underlying meaning, and biographical references to a few "cultural brokers". The paper does not, therefore, deal with social impacts directly. Nor does the author deal with the possibility that meanings themselves might change.

For the islander, the author says, the Pacific has now become his cultural arena. But though there has been synthesis and borrowing of external forms, there is still distinctiveness: Maori is Maori. "because they can, when they choose, act in ways that other Maori recognize as Maori...being a Maori is an available role that is validated in its recognition by others". (52) Despite all that the Maori have "suffered", the remarkable thing is that the modern has been transplanted into a particularly Maori idiom. Tourism has hardly affected their way of life: "Apart from a few tour guides and one or two carvers this continuity has provided an economic base for living to practically no one. Concert parties may perform for tourists but early only trifling sums this way, and if they do not wish to do so, to the fury of tour directors, they won't. The persistence of Maori culture has been private rather than public. . . ."<sup>1/</sup>

Words cannot capture the entirety of culture, nor describe it. In fact, to define it is to stultify. Apirana Ngata must have recognized this when he defined "being a Maori" to silence critics and questioners. He listed a few components and, at the same time, said that the concept was incapable of verbal expression. And in the process, Apirana encouraged modern schools, the study of Maori traditions, the development of museums, and strummed country-western ballads on a guitar.

---

<sup>1/</sup>

Is this reminiscent of Bali?



So too, a "single creative person attached to the Secondary Teachers' Training College in Goroka" (New Guinea) "set off a burst of cultural construction that the outside world has yet to discover" -- just through teaching the use of modern media for traditional motifs.

Culture thrives amidst an infinity of expressions -- but it is as related to preceding ideas as the form may be different: the Hawaiians took to guitars, not flutes, even though nose flutes were known.

To circumscribe, to close doors, to believe that because external expression has changed there is neither cultural continuity, nor the identical social structure is a mistake. Such a belief is erroneous because the meaning does not change, just as being different is a matter of an internal mental map.

Robineau, C. n.d. The Tahitian economy and tourism. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.) A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 61-76.

This excellent article examines the main trends in French Polynesian tourism with special reference to Moorea (an island in the group).

There are three main stages of development: (a) Before 1959, Tahiti could only be reached by plane from Fiji, and by seaplane from Apia and Aitutaki. This was a period of sporadic flows of tourists -- mainly passengers brought by luxury liners. The hotels, reflecting the socio-economic strata, were few and owned by Europeans or Demis (part Europeans); (b) Between 1959 to 1961, a French company ran an airline (now integrated into UTA) from Saigon, with stops in Indonesia, Australia, and Fiji. Tahiti's Chinese became interested in the hotel trade at this stage. (c) Real growth in tourism dates after 1961 when the international airport was opened in Tahiti and linked French Polynesia to the major Pacific countries. At this stage, in addition to the Club Mediteranee (which had started operations in Stage 2) the second generation of hotels put in an appearance. These were mainly in Tahiti, with a few in Moorea and the Leeward Islands.

Why was there this expansion in stage 3? The reasons Robineau offers are:

- (a) The linking of Tahiti with the major tourist sources, reducing risk;
- (b) Devaluation of the franc, resulting in lower prices for Americans.
- (c) MGM's "Mutiny on the Bounty" resulted in the employment of 10,000 people and this constituted a temporary economic boom which encouraged local entrepreneurs to invest;
- (d) The construction of the French nuclear testing site and base created "a truly artificial economy" (62) through -- (i) the creation of direct and indirect employment; (ii) stimulation of the economy through construction, giving rise to land speculation; (iii) the payment of

artificially high salaries encouraged the abandonment of agriculture, a consequent rise in prices of local products, and further spiralling demands of services. "The salary increase was a causal factor in inflation, not because the increase in salaries directly pushed up costs and hence prices but because they allowed larger profit margins to operate"; (62-63) (iv) Demand was greater than production, local workers could buy more consumption goods that had to be imported, the commercial and semi-industrial capacity of Papeete increased and the Chinese rose to an almost dominant place in the economy; (v) By 1968, with diminishing hopes in the continued presence of the French military, nickel mining in New Caledonia became a "safety valve for the state of employment in French Polynesia"; (63) (vi) The revenues from the military base were used to create a social security system, and to subsidize local public operations through expansion of public services. (vii) The Tourist Trade Development Office was created in 1965, and thereafter tourism was increasingly viewed as the future mainstay of the economy -- wishful thinking since tourism still plays a "ridiculously small role" in the GDP and in the balance of foreign trade.

Tourism in French Polynesia has been a plant of slow growth partly due to "certain disadvantages in comparison with other Pacific islands or archipelagos" (63), viz., high cost of living, inadequate equipment, low quality of services. In order to speed up development of tourism, Tahiti started encouraging hotel development by international chains, particularly after 1968-69. Two of these, with airline interests, were constructed in 1969, another in 1972-1973. This construction "affected the 1960's generation of bungalow hotels: most of them are in economic doldrums, and the most important of them had to close its doors. Economically, these two ventures meant the substitution of an international capitalism... for local or semi-local capital funds: a further slight step ahead in Tahiti's dependence on the outside world". Along with the first two hotels came the travel bureaus, internal transport systems, local airline network. To "develop tourist trade, it is only necessary to repeat the same steps over and over again". (66)

These steps are: (i) creating "further hotel installations, or, more exactly, hotel complexes;" (ii) "increase the frequency of international connections and the lines of communication in the network formed by these connections;" and (iii) "multiply the superstructure of tours and ways to spend one's time". (66)

What place will Tahitians occupy in this evolving pattern of tourism?

At present tourism accounts for about 6% of total employment and 4.66% of the GDP. But this distribution of income is not equal. Like tourism, Tahitian society is stratified: At the top are the foreigners, non-Tahitians. Tahitian society proper has four strata: those at the top -- a very small minority of Europeans born in Tahiti ("creoles"); followed by a Chinese minority (10%) that considers itself Tahitian; then Polynesians (80%); and, the Demis (10%) intermediate between Polynesian and Western culture. The Polynesians occupy the lowest rungs of society. In tourism, being unqualified, they also fill the most menial and least skilled occupations. Further, occupying these lowest positions they also receive the lowest salaries.



The old semi-family style hotels of Polynesia are not compatible with "mass international tourism". The present policy of encouraging mass tourism adds spatial segregation to the present inequality of incomes -- through the building up of "geographic blocks or aggregates composed of large-scale tourist units which operate as closed systems; and the "movement of tourists outside the block within a social space cut-off from that of the majority of the population. Pushed to the limit, this model leads to turning the tourist zone into an annex of the countries providing the tourists." (67)

### Moorea

Moorea, an island about 15 miles from Papeete, had a mainly agricultural economy till the 1960's: subsistence plus cash crops (copra, vanilla, coffee). The turning point came in 1960 with the failure of vanilla (through disease and price declines). Plantations were abandoned, wage economy gradually replaced these. Copra continued till about 1968, but wages were already earned by 44% of the economically active. Most of these wage earners (87%) worked on the island -- in Government (13%), in hotels (16%), indirectly in the tourist trade (construction, transport, retail business: 12%).

Therefore, even at the start, tourism was important. In the early stages, tourist accommodation was mainly limited to family hotels. In the late 1950's travel bureaus developed Moorean tourism. A new hotel followed, tourists came to be shown around the island, dances were arranged, typical villages shown, and feasts scheduled. A second hotel was started by a Tahitian (soon taken over by an American group). And the wave started: spreading throughout the north coast, and soon into the other sides of the triangle that make up the island. By 1968, Moorea was within easy reach of Papeete with the opening of the airport. Shops multiplied, the demand for commercial agriculture increased, a college was opened.

But tourism cut a marked line between the north (more developed) and the south of the island. Despite the economic benefits, and the possibility of southern villagers working in Moorea rather than go to Papeete for work, there is environmental pollution and destruction of the physical environment in the north. "The landscape was thrown into a state of havoc. In the five years separating 1969 from 1974, the contrast is eloquent." (74) The third generation of hotels has now appeared -- even further removed from the Polynesian style family hotel, and more sophisticated. Because it is more sophisticated, there is even less employment possible for the unskilled Polynesian.

The conclusion that Robineau draws is that "there is a contradiction in Tahitian tourism between, on the one hand, the dynamic force of international tourism aiming at re-creating...in the tourist areas the comfort that a clientele with a high standard of living is familiar with (or at least dreams of) and, on the other hand, that which a beautiful but poor country, where the tourist trade must be a key element in the economy, can offer. A unique Polynesian formula is called for to reconcile these two conditions. Such a formula would make it possible for the whole population to participate, and would also be acceptable to the clientele who would adapt to it. In this way tourism could become more of a means of diversion, of making acquaintances, and of leisure for people than a financial business dominated by money." (74)



DEVAL, W. 1976. A place in the sun: An ethnography of some Pacific coast free beaches. Paper presented to the American Sociological Convention, New York.

This paper is the outcome of five years' (1970-1975) observation of "free beaches" on the Pacific Coast (mainly Northern California and Vancouver, B.C.).

Nudism on "free beaches" is to be distinguished from institutionalized nudism introduced to Americans by European immigrants (mainly of German extraction). The latter were formal sub-systems, with norms permitting deviance. The nudists on free beaches, however, come because of the "waves", "scenery", and "good vibes".

The average age of the "participants" was under thirty-five; there are far more men than women (sometimes as much as ten times more). Occupational breakdowns are difficult to obtain -- nudism, in a sense, imposes its own kind of anonymity.

All the beaches were public property. The occupants carefully distinguished between "oldtimers" and newcomers (the latter increasingly remarkably after 1970, partly as a result of publicity). Here too, there is a "territorial imperative": areas of beach that were regularly occupied by some. The "outsider" is not merely the casual visitor, but also those "dressed" visitors who the regulars usually classified as voyeurs.

Nudism, of course, brings its own problems -- especially if it is on public property. In this regard San Diego was the first to approve of a "dress optional" code. With an increasing number of participants, the oldtimers have tended to move away to more secluded areas.

Devall looks upon nude beaches as areas of "play", removed from space and time. The nudist is then the free spirit, the wanderer; moving away from, if not rebelling against, organization. But even here the last outpost has been stormed: In a poignant postscript Devall, who bases many of his conclusions on the get-away-from-organization approach, notes that "an ad hoc committee to monitor free beaches was organized on a nationwide basis...free beaches...may become an 'organized' social movement during the next few years". (17) Did not the wanderer, the "hippie", go the same way?!

EVANS, N. 1976. Tourism and cross cultural communication. Annals of Tourism Research, 3, 189-198.

With a few changes, this interesting article is substantially the paper Evans presented at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in San Francisco, 1975.

The basic theme of this article is that contacts which tourism brings can stimulate change and also result in the revitalization of "ethnic identity". This is a theme which McKean (duly acknowledged) has touched upon earlier.



But this is not the only theme of the article.

Evans traces the development of tourism in Puerto Vallarta. Before that she refers to Cohen's typology of tourists (should this be adhered to in view of his later, 1974, article?): the mass tourist, the explorer, the drifter, the resident (whom the native inhabitants continue to treat as a stranger). She also refers to the "culture broker" -- that interpreter who bridges two cultures. Further, in the light of the types of tourists, tourist-host interaction can be analyzed in relation to the following variables:

- (a) temporal: the length of stay can influence national stereotypes of the tourist;
- (b) spatial (physical and social): the tourist may be segregated in terms both of contact an space, or he may crowd in on, and impinge upon, the "space" of the native inhabitant;
- (c) communication: often a means to misunderstanding where there is a lack of ability to communicate; and
- (d) cultural elements; how many ideals, values, do host and tourist have in common.

The interaction, the author says, between "the host culture and the mass tourist is slight because it is generally brief and limited spatially, but could be intensified by means of empathy and language ability". (193)

In tracing the development of tourism in Puerto Vallarta some characteristics appear to be important enough to be noted: First, out-migration (the result of limited economic opportunities on Puerto Vallarta) resulted in many of the natives returning with "varying amounts of capital, fluency in English and useful trades". (194) Second, like many other areas of current tourism, the visitor numbers increased slowly commencing with explorer and drifter types who commented favorably on the physical environment and the friendliness of the local people. It was not until the 1950's that Americans came in numbers large enough to be noticed -- they became residents of "Gringo Gulch" (not by any particular desire to huddle together but because of the climate and location). Third, these American residents contributed liberally to the development of public schools, a library, a museum, an hospital, and gave lessons in English. Further, they made a "conscious effort to learn Spanish, and some cross-cultural marriages took place". (194)

The 1960's usher in a new stage for Puerto Vallarta: International publicity with an American movie and a Mexican airlines. Several large hotels are built, providing employment, with little outside competition. Local skills in leather work and embroidery produce unique styles of clothing and sandals. Local restaurant owners provide entertainment with mariachi bands. Farmers become vegetable vendors, fishermen becomes guides.



By 1970, we have the third stage: Tourism has become so important that the Federal Government and the State Government step in: electricity is provided, a highway built, a modern airport constructed. Modernization brings skilled urban workers and international hotel chains. "But local social and familial networks still controlled much employment opportunity". (195) Vallarta has now become a "single-industry" town where tertiary employment keeps 40,000 persons busy.

From 1955 to about 1970, social space was shared, and some bilingual ability developed. Today, there are adaptations mainly in the economic sphere: in the winter (the tourist season) "brokers" work as much as 15 hours a day. Generally, however, the six-day work week with the two-hour siesta prevail. A new concept of "formal vacations" has been introduced into Mexico. The interaction between upper class Mexicans and locals can be extremely formal. Physical space is increasingly shared by tourist and locals. The Americans have adapted to local mores, the locals have introduced American-influenced innovations. There is therefore, a "community of shared attitudes and experiences. Local empathy toward visitors has built through time, but seldom is extended to mass tourists". (196)

While tourism has promoted government-supported modernization along the Vallartan coast, it has also raised their sense of and pride in their Mexican identity: local crafts, architecture have increased, and are now sold nationally. The festivities on the occasion of the feast of the patron saint, through commercialized, has been extended from two to twelve days. "Ethnic identity is a conscious state in Vallarta." (196)

International tourism is increasing in Puerto Vallarta. But this increase will be mainly limited to the mass tourist who will interact with the local host primarily on the economic plane. The ability to mediate between two cultures at an early stage, and the slow growth of tourism were in large measure responsible for the ability of Puerto Vallarta to withstand the strains and tensions of modernization. Summer tourism, which is now being encouraged, would serve to provide a dependable source of year round income. Finally, "national and international recognition has helped to preserve and revitalize cultural identity". (197)

GREENWOOD, D.J. 1976. Tourism as an agent of change. A Spanish Basque case. Annals of Tourism Research, 3, 128-142.

This is a reprint of an earlier article with a postscript added. <sup>1/</sup>

---

<sup>1/</sup> See D. J. Greenwood, 1972 (summarized at pp. 33-36 above).



The postscript updates changes that have taken place in Fuenterrabia, changes that appear to confirm the author's view regarding the impact of tourism: Agriculture is losing out. Farms are being abandoned, zoning laws have reclassified "over half the municipality, including the richest farmland" into urban land furthering the demise of agriculture. High-rise apartments are to be found on the beach, constructed illegally but with the backing of powerful business interests. "Only the local people have learned about the 'costs' of tourism" (140). The tourists are still coming to Fuenterrabia, in even greater numbers. But it is the non-resident who reaps the increasing profits -- for the resident, the town has "local color", the residents are dressed as "extras" for a film.

The postscript emphasizes quite clearly the loss of local initiative and control over tourism: the area and its people has become a "resource".

SMITH, V.L. 1976. Tourism and Culture change. Annals of Tourism Research, 3, 122-126.

The article summarizes the papers read at the symposium organized by Smith at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, 1975.

The papers read cover a variety of themes: a description of travellers -- patterns of travel and the "wanderer"; the effects of the "encounter" between tourists and hosts (in Puerto Vallarta and Mykonos); the possibility of tourism without tourists -- "indirect tourism" -- where economic benefits can accrue, for instance, through the sale of crafts, without tourists and hosts ever coming into contact with each other (a sort of modern variant of indirect barter!); and a description of the Mormon showpiece in Hawaii -- the Polynesian Cultural Center.

Of particular interest, for purposes of comparison of the impact of tourism over a period of years, is the paper of P.J. Loukissas, "Tourism and Environment in conflict: The case of the Greek island of Mykonos". The island has now been overwhelmed by "mass tourism"; the residents complain that the present tourists, unlike their predecessors, do not spend enough money; they are "wanderers" who have driven away the more affluent tourists. The Mykonians want the numbers of wanderers to be regulated. The residents also find that they have little control of or input into the local planning process, and that employment in tourism is gradually going to non-residents. The paper supports the findings of another article<sup>1/</sup> and should be compared with the earlier dissertation by Packer.<sup>2/</sup>

This is the second symposium organized by Ms. Smith who is to be congratulated for her continuing efforts to get the academic community to recognize that tourism is a subject worthy of serious investigation.

---

<sup>1/</sup> J. Hoagland, Plastic cushions, higher prices by the sea. The Washington Post, September 1, 1976.

<sup>2/</sup> L. Packer. Tourism in the small community: A cross-cultural analysis of developmental change. Unpublished Dissertation, the University of Oregon, 1974, (see pages 71-98 for summary).

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY (partial): NON-SOCIOLOGISTS  
ON THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF TOURISM

I. ECONOMISTS

ADAMS, J., 1972. Why the American tourist abroad is cheated: a price-theoretical analysis, Journal of Political Economy, 80, 203-207.

A humorous analysis of "exchange-rate trauma," the "kissing cousin of culture shock." Knowledge of the market and the official rate of exchange is of little utility for an American tourist in a strange land, with unfamiliar cultural patterns (particularly the practice of haggling), and suffering from the after-effects of long distance travel. Lack of knowledge of cultural patterns usually results in the American tourist obtaining the most unfavorable rate of exchange.

ALEXANDRAKIS, N.E., 1973. Tourism as a leading sector in economic development: a case study of Greece. Unpublished PhD dissertation. University of Kentucky (University Microfilms No. 74-1401).

The purpose of this study is "to test the hypothesis that tourism, under certain conditions, can be used as a leading sector in economic development." The testing ground for the hypothesis is Greece.

Those who are interested in the analysis of the revival of the flagging Greek economy through tourism can skip Part I of the dissertation ("Theoretical") and start with Part II. The period covered in this part is from 1953-1970. Alexandrakis examines the effects of the growth of tourism on the economy: the increase in employment, foreign exchange earnings, the revival of crafts and interest in ancient Greek culture.

Particularly relevant are some of the conclusions that Alexandrakis reaches regarding tourism in Greece (pp. 199ff), conclusions that could be of value in tourism planning in other areas. These conclusions are:

1. Tourism in Greece is spread over all the islands, therefore there is no tendency to create a dual economy and there is regional distribution of benefits;
2. The tourist sector consists of small firms most of which are owned by Greek nationals; and
3. At present the tourist sector has not created any social or economic enclave.



CALVO, D., 1974. Caribbean regional study. Vol. 6: Tourism.  
Washington, D.C.: IBRD

This study of the Caricom islands of the Caribbean is part of a wider study by the IBRD. While the entire study contains items of utility for the sociologist, the most important parts of this study are Chapters I, VII-VIII, and Appendix II.

The author emphasizes the importance of the changing image of the Caribbean -- a place no longer reserved for the luxury tourist, troubled by violence -- as a factor in the reduction of tourism demand. Second, a feature possibly peculiar to the entire area, is the connection between service in hotels and a revival of the hated plantation system. This analogy is verbalized "almost exclusively by the intelligentsia, who do not normally depend for their living on working as a waiter" (p. 5, fn2). But many islanders are offended by the behavior patterns of tourists, especially those on vacation. Third, the author confirms that tourists have a tendency to stereotype host populations -- making no distinction between the host populations of different countries. Fourth, the effect of the institutionalized tourism is an increase in impersonality which affects the attitudes of the host population in the tourism industry. Fifth, although applications for hotel employment are largely confined to poorly qualified locals, there is a general practice of keeping locals out of the higher echelons of hotel management. Sixth, wage levels in the tourism sector compare favorably with those in other unskilled occupations, but the impact of tourism wages is minimal because the pool of unemployed or underemployed is so large.

In Chapter VII ("The cost and benefits of tourism") the author assesses the alternatives of stopping the development of tourism in the islands, and, on the other hand, an approach involving the recognition that for most islands tourism is the most important method of economic growth together with the development of public policies designed to direct local resources towards satisfying tourist demand. She also points out that although it is estimated that the economic and social costs of tourism are high, similar analyses have not been carried out in regard to the development of other sectors -- for example, manufacture or mining.

Table 16 attempts to estimate, among other things, the social impact of different types of accommodation. Accommodations are divided into four categories: (1) luxury; (2) first class; (3) guest house; and (4) self-contained. The first has almost no impact on the locals because of low visibility, but is anathema to radical intellectuals. The second type, has a "high visibility because of absolute numbers and groups." The third, has a "limited" impact; while the last has a variable impact. "but adverse, where self-catering entails use of facilities used also by locals." One wishes there was a more detailed explanation of how these conclusions were arrived at.



The author enumerates some of the "non-economic" negative aspects of tourism: alienation from local cultures, corruption of moral values (particularly drug abuse and venereal disease, both of which are attributed partly to tourism), non-use of hotel facilities except by the most sophisticated or alienated locals, outbursts of crime and violence partly reflecting social problems related to tourism development. Calvo arrives at an important conclusion: "The sector will probably always remain a controversial one, but the greater the linkages to other sectors, the greater the compatibility of the type of tourism induced and the local culture, and the more equitable the distribution of benefits from tourism, the more acceptable and effective tourism will become as a development tool in the Caribbean" (63-4).

Lest it be thought that the last conclusion left matters very much in the air, the following chapter ("Conclusions and Recommendations") fleshes out the conclusion. Basically, these are recommendations for greater involvement in the planning, control, and development of the tourism sector in order to achieve: more harmonious growth of the sector in relation to local culture, integration with other sectors, protection of physical resources, review of incentives and taxation system, re-distribution to provide for distribution of gains, training, and research.

One of the research proposals relates to the "effect of tourism on local populations" (Appendix II). In a "tentative outline" the author deems the following aspects worthy of further investigation: first, the effects of type of tourists, size, and visibility, on the local population; second, an inquiry which will link negative reactions to tourism with economic, cultural, social, or human factors.

DIAMOND, J. 1974. International tourism and the developing countries: A case study in failure. Economia Internazionale, 27, 601-615.

This article evaluates the argument that tourism is a "fail-safe" technique of development for less developed countries. The country in question is Turkey.

Like many other countries, Turkey adopted the argument. Tourism was accepted as one of the strategies of development in both the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Investment was provided for supporting expenditures and infrastructure; incentives were offered (special credits at low interest rates, tax rebates, reduction of customs duties, allocation of import quotas); and a special tourism rate of exchange was introduced (between 1968 to 1970).

The results of this effort to promote tourism and earn foreign exchange have been disappointing. The overnight accommodation of approved standards tripled during the two Plan periods (1963-1972) but the returns were low -- a net annual profit of between 7-12% for hotels, and, for some public investments, profitability at a much lower rate. Tourist earnings in 1970 constituted



only 4.3% of total exports (as compared with 10% for Yugoslavia and 13% for Greece). In terms of employment -- the total employment fell short of direct employment targets. Part of the reason for the lower than expected foreign exchange earnings were due to the fact that Turkey's projections were based on increasing per capita tourist expenditure while the type of tourist attracted by Turkey was the charter tourist, the student, "hippies," and other young people -- all spending far less than the old-style, leisured traveller. But since this is only a partial explanation, Diamond examines the difficulties encountered both in the demand and supply conditions the industry faces.

On the demand side, the results appear to show a favorable picture. But these results are based on an aggregative estimate which neglects characteristics such as (i) the seasonal pattern of tourism; (ii) the extreme sensitivity of tourism to exogenous events. The aggregate also overstates "the degree of homogeneity of the product." (609) The motivations for tourism are diverse. Diamond concentrates on one type of tourism -- "pleasure travel" -- and, following Gray, divides this into two types: "sunlust" (user-oriented destinations) and "wanderlust" (resource-based sites) tourism. The former category requires ready accessibility and special climatic attributes, among other characteristics; the latter, outstanding physical resources, and culture. It is the second type, which has grown slowly, to which Turkey caters more than the first. The first type puts Turkey at a comparative disadvantage with other competing destinations for Turkey's major market -- Europe.

On the supply side, the Turkish experience has shown that tourism is not as labor-intensive as portrayed; it also has had a high capital intensity due to "heavy requirements of infrastructure and transportation investments, and the intensive fixed capital investments (of long maturity) in accommodation" (610-611). Further, the skills required for labor are underestimated: in a country where "50% of the adult population is illiterate, the possession of a foreign language can be viewed as a skill." (611) Investment in training schools -- both for lower and supervisory level workers has increased investment costs. Again, the recurrent exchange costs, and a high import content in the food bill increase the foreign exchange payments and reduce earnings. More than ever tourism which is represented by a high degree of dispersion, and comparatively small units demands a degree of coordination and managerial ability which is doubtful whether Turkey has. Finally, because of competition from other destinations, there has been a high cost, and a loss of foreign exchange, through marketing and the maintenance of information offices abroad. Tours have been over-booked, tourists have failed to come. The people are not cognizant of "correct tourism consciousness." "Not only has there been no tradition of providing personal service in Turkey, lowering the quality of labor input, but there has been general apathy in face of tourists and in some of the larger cities even antagonism." (613)

On the basis of the examination of the demand and supply aspects, and without going into details of the "non-economic costs" (the demonstration



effect, the development of enclaves, congestion), Diamond believes that the increasing skepticism about tourism as a method of economic development is justified. One of the reasons, he opines, for the continuing image of tourism as a useful technique lies in the fact that research in tourism has hitherto largely been conducted by "private consultancy firms on the one hand, and international agencies and public bodies on the other." Diamond accuses both these of a lack of scientific impartiality and a "crucial selection process at the publication stage" (unacceptable findings are buried). With regard to international bodies he says that "members of these organizations engaged in research are liable to find that their position in the institutional hierarchy, indeed the very justification for their existence, is a function of the importance of the tourism industry." (614)

DOCTOROFF, M. 1976. Social indicators and planning for tourism. In The Travel Research Association. The impact of tourism. Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Travel Research Association, 191-194.

There is increasing interest in the use of social indicators in planning. "Social indicators are quantifiable measures which relate to the quality of life or level of well being experienced by society" (191). Both OECD and the UN include tourism, recreation and leisure as components in the quality of life. The use of social indicators strengthens the planning process; it does not bypass planning.

According to Doctoroff there are three types of indicators which can be used in planning: (i) output indicators -- which measure the results of a program or policy; (ii) input indicators -- which measure the basis for the program or policy; and (iii) process indicators -- "which measure the ways in which social needs are taken into account in planning for the programs or policies" (192).

Reviewing the changes taking place in governmental planning and research for tourism the author concludes that there has been a shift in three areas: (i) a shift from an international emphasis to a more balanced international and domestic emphasis; (ii) increased sharing of responsibility between national and local organizations and authorities; and (iii) a movement away from "exclusive reliance on economic measures toward a more balanced view of the socio-economic benefits and socio-economic costs" (193).

The use of indicators is relatively recent and the methodology has not been extensively developed. The indicators which might be useful, according to the author, are the following: (i) input indicators -- (a) percentage of people with adequate access to touristic and recreational facilities; (b) percentage of people regularly participating in recreational and touristic activities; (c) percentage of people with varying amounts of leisure time; (d) vacation data such as paid and unpaid holidays; (e) personal consumption expenditures on recreation and tourism -- by income and age class; (f) investment in recreation, leisure and touristic facilities -- over time and by geographic region. (ii) Output indicators -- (a) physical and psychological



health; (b) environment; (c) living conditions; (d) social contacts; (e) recreation; (f) cultural standards; (g) economic-related considerations; (h) demographic considerations; and (i) employment considerations. (iii) Process indicators -- (a) involvement with other governmental agencies and departments; (b) involvement with other levels of government concerned with tourism, travel, recreation and leisure; (c) involvement with "super-national organizations" and associations; (d) involvement with tourism-related industries; and (e) involvement with the "public" (194). In most cases the above are "not indicators themselves, but areas in which social indicators could be developed" (194).

As to the methods that could be employed to collect data, Doctoroff suggests the following as being most fruitful: (i) the Delphi technique; (ii) survey research focussing on societal needs; (iii) proxy measures; and (iv) public opinion polling (in relation to exit surveys).

DOXEY, G. 1973. The Barbados experience. In PATA. The total travel experience. Fourth travel research seminar. San Francisco: Pacific Area Travel Association, 45-61.

How do we prepare for lasting tourism?

In large measure this depends on the satisfaction of the consumer (the tourist). A crucial factor in determining this satisfaction is the "tenor" of the interaction between tourist and local (the host). There is always some contact between tourist and host. When they come from diverse cultural backgrounds, the contact may determine whether the tourist will act as a catalyst for change or an irritant. Irritation cannot be wholly avoided, but it can be curbed if recognized and dealt with so as to derive the greatest economic benefit from tourism.

Doxey's experience in Barbados is used as a case to expound on this thesis. Barbados, like many other Caribbean islands, is increasingly dependent on tourism. If Barbados wanted to take advantage of tourism it had to shape tourism to its needs, not vice-versa. What most people felt, with hindsight, was that the first priority in tourism development was "to decide from the outset upon the type of industry which best suits an environment both from the human and physical point of view and to plan consistently as a result." (47)

It was generally believed, particularly at the University of the West Indies, that although tourism had economic value, the social trade-off was too high a price to pay -- the emasculation of the Barbadian, the continuance of the colonial mentality and system. The questions, then, that had to be faced were (i) restricting ownership of tourist facilities; (ii) curbing the possibility of expatriation of most of the profits. Further, while most of the workers in hotels like tourists (and vice-versa) there appeared to be a point at which density of tourist arrivals would begin to irritate locals (just as foreign ownership of hotels and their management by foreigners was a sore point).



Can this irritation index be measured or recognized. Doxey does not believe that one should try to measure it. But, certainly, it is possible to accept the fact that there is such a point, and "what one must do is to identify the particular factors which irritate people most." This is an ongoing process and a wide spectrum of variables is involved." (50) Some of the variables are: (i) fear of the locals that they are being treated as second to tourists; (ii) the belief among locals that their culture is being threatened; (iii) the exclusion of locals from physical amenities (beaches are the most prominent example); (iv) improper dress or alien behavior.

"If an irritation level is reached and passed the risk is that people will become increasingly disillusioned and begin to regard tourists as another breed of being, open to exploitation and abuse. The tourist becomes a target for fleecing and friendliness gives way to apathy or even antagonism. Service goes under, moral standards rapidly decline and major crime predominates." (50) It must be recognized that the human, ecological, and cultural environment are vitally interrelated and important. Tourists do not come only for the physical environment -- in Barbados they were interested in a different culture, different foods, meeting different people. Much can be achieved through education of both tourist and host, curbing the laissez faire tendencies of the industry, and creating backward linkages.

DOXEY, G.V. 1976. A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants; methodology and research inferences. In The Travel Research Association. The impact of tourism. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Travel Research Association, 195-198.

This brief, important article furthers the theoretical analysis of "reciprocating impacts" resulting from the encounter between tourist and host which Doxey propounded in an earlier paper. <sup>1/</sup> For comparative purposes Doxey uses data both from Barbados and Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario (the center of a summer theatrical festival).

Contacts between tourist and host lead to "irritations" which in the long run will be destructive of tourism unless recognized and controlled. The causes of these irritations are numerous: economic, social, cultural, psychological, and environmental. Further, they are interrelated.

There are two basic assumptions: (i) the reactions of both visitors and hosts will vary in different destinations; and (ii) at the root of local response is that "the outsider" (which can include a fellow-citizen) "represents a challenge to the life style of the destination." (195) It is the value system of the destination which must be investigated because "there is no "typical" tourist, nor homogenous destination" (195) and, therefore, it is a question of the "spill-over effects -- real or illusory -- of interpersonal relationships." (195)

---

<sup>1/</sup> See G. Doxey, 1973 (summarized at pp. 6-7 above).



Doxey constructs an irritation index -- "irridex," covering four levels of expressions of reactions: (i) "Stage one - Euphoria": Usually the initial phase of tourism when both visitors and investors are welcomed. Little planning or control. (ii) "Stage two -- Apathy": The transition to this stage varies in time. Gradual formalization of contacts, tourists taken for granted. Planning mainly concerned with marketing. (iii) "Stage three -- Annoyance": Doubts about tourism expressed; saturation point approaching. Planners (and policy makers) seek solutions through "increasing infrastructure rather than through setting limits to growth" (195) (iv) "Stage four -- Antagonism": Overt expression of irritation. All ills, social and personal, attributed to the outsider. "Planning will now have to be remedial, but is usually proceeded by the simple expedient of increasing promotion to offset the deteriorating reputation of the destination." (196)

The variables leading to increasing irritation are complex. But if planning is to be successful, the importance of each variable must be weighed and assessed.

The hypotheses were: (i) for Barbados tourism was detrimental because it tended to be an extension of the slave plantation syndrome; the question of economic gains was also questioned; (ii) for Niagara-on-the-Lake: the increasing congestion caused by summer visitors was raising irritation levels and threatening the industry.

The methodology for examining the validity of the hypotheses is divided into three phases:

1. Problem identification: "The area selected for interface research of this nature, is undergoing either structural change by newly entering tourist development or changing the nature of the existing industry; and/or dimensional change by simple expansion without a basic change in the nature of the industry." (196) These types are not mutually exclusive, and are also interrelated. Pilot field work is essential to identify existing and potential problems.

2. Research procedures -- (i) background research; (ii) observation; (iii) sample surveys; and (iv) choice of research personnel.

3. Data analysis and interpretation: Doxey believes that the combination of both interviews and collection of hard data ("dual measurement") were essential for reliability. They form independent means of verification of each other. He suggests that from this data it would be possible to group together combinations of irritants and weigh them relative to attributes of "the ideal tourist" or "the ideal type of industry" for any given destination, thereafter measuring the distance.

### Conclusions

"The basic problem facing the planner is, on the one hand, to carefully distinguish between structural and dimensional changes where structural changes are essentially more widespread and require more sophisticated planning

to deal with them, and dimensional changes which may direct concerns to such simple matters as tourist saturation." (197)

In the case of Ontario, every visitor (even though the vast majority were Canadians from nearby areas) was an "outsider" and it was a mere matter of dimensional change -- which could be dealt with by limiting the entry of cars. In Barbados, on the other hand, the visitor was seen as potentially a spoiler of "the charm" of the islands, and the permanent influx was changing the nature of that society permanently. Further unrestricted development would be extremely dangerous.

G.V. DOXEY & ASSOCIATES, n.d. The Tourist industry in Barbados.  
A socio-economic assessment. Kitchener,  
Ontario: Dusco Graphics, Limited.

This study has a rather uneven quality -- the Appendices, written by others, are probably the best part of the book.

Some points worthy of note:

(1) A successful tourism strategy "must be the conception of the Barbadians who are better equipped than any outsider to decide upon the goals they wish to pursue" (1).

(2) Tourism is not essential to the tourist, but may be to the host. Tourists have a wide range of choice of destinations. Tourism as a product is perishable and, therefore, likely to be oversold.

(3) There is a temptation to use the tourist as a scapegoat for "any and every problem in society." This may take on racial overtones in the West Indian context. Yet, "it is unlikely that, even if the West Indies could switch from white tourists to Black American tourists, the cultural differences that cause the strains would disappear. The American is an American whether he is black or white and his impact as an outsider will largely be the same" (5).

(4) Doxey suggests that the ability of a local population to resist the "demonstration effect" depends largely on the extent to which "the local people can retain their personality in the face of such pressures." It is difficult to determine what exactly this means.

(5) The appeal "of Barbados stems from its delightful climate, its physical attractions, the friendliness and charm of its people, and its general stability" (17).

A useful part of the book is Chapter X (Survey of Residents) where the attitudes of hotel employees and residents towards tourism are examined (the questionnaires used are annexed). The survey of residents showed that a significant percentage believed that tourism had adversely affected food



prices (46.1%), crime (35.8%), beaches (20%) and young people (17.5%). The largest percentages who believed that tourism had positive effects were with regard to: employment (82.7%), salaries (72.2%), shopping (75.8%), entertainment (66.1%). The majority believed that tourism brought more positive than adverse social and economic benefits. Among those surveyed "71.4 percent found no difference between the tourists. The remainder found a number of differences "though the majority were most critical of Americans whom they found aggressive and demanding, and thought they looked down on the Barbadians." The British were said to be reserved but 'more respectful of traditions' than Canadians or Americans. Canadians were found quiet and unassuming and willing to 'mix'. There was a dislike of cruise passengers who were considered demanding while some informants thought some tourists were 'cheap.' Generally speaking it seemed that, whatever the nationality, the individual tourist was liked if he was friendly, understanding and not too aggressive. These were reactions of Barbadians who stated that they had contact with tourists of every nationality.

The Economist, 1974. Don't give them napkins. The Economist, April 13, 1974, 251, 38.

This article is a brief report on the souring of the love-hate relationship between British tour operators and Spain.

Tourism is blamed for: environmental damage to miles of coastline, the diversion of public works expenditure from non-tourist regions to tourist areas, the rising price of food, land prices, housing shortages, the crime rate, the high drop-out rate from schools, the philistinism of the tourist, the deterioration in the quality of food served in hotels and restaurants. The main objects of Spanish ire and these complaints are the tour operators and the tourists who come on a package tour and pay their tour costs in pounds. They drive away the more particular French tourists.

As The Economist points out, the tour operators are convenient scapegoats who are not entirely to blame. Equally involved in the deterioration of standards, service, and other ills of the industry, are the hotels. The latter have profited through lengthened seasons, and loans from tour operators. They have overbuilt and are now in cut-throat competition. Their goal, over the past 15 years, has been quantity, not quality.

GEARING, C.E., W.W. SWART & T. VAR 1976. Planning for tourism development. Quantitative approaches. New York: Praeger Publishers.

The title of this book speaks for itself.

Three pages are devoted to a discussion of the "sociological impact of tourism." These pages repeat some of the well-known "negative" aspects

of tourism: the attribution to tourism of a rising rate of divorce; the possibility of native resentment over the life-styles of tourists; the equation between the tourist and the colonialist.

The authors suggest that "it is extremely important to give careful consideration to potential sociological consequences in studies directed towards tourism development in the developing countries..." (31) and that they have "explicitly" taken sociological factors into account in their analytical approaches.

It is difficult to reconcile the last statement with the following: "Sometimes, however, a tourist industry may appear to be the only available alternative for development..... In such a case the question of tourism's sociological impact on the area is essentially academic." (32) An examination of the book also confirms that there is no consideration (explicit or implied) of the social impact of tourism.

V. JOSHI & M. SHARPSTON, 1973. Tourism and development: a study of Antigua. A draft prepared for IBRD. Washington, D.C.: IBRD

This excellent study was read in draft, before the editors could get at it with blue pencil and scissors. It traces, in an integrated fashion, the rise of the tourism industry replacing the gradually dying sugar industry and falling cotton production. Tourism commenced in the 1950s and peaked in the 1960s. It started at a time when emigration was high and probably drained local talent. But with the channels of emigration closing fast, militant trade unions, rising unemployment, and a decline in the absolute numbers of tourists the initial promise of tourism has faded. The construction industry, most aided by tourism, is in a downturn. The future of tourism in Antigua is being questioned.

The aspects of the study of greatest interest to sociologists are two sections: the social impact of tourism (pp. 21-28) and tourism and dependence (pp. 123-8).

The examples of change cited are: decline in mutual cooperation, increased monetization of services, widening inequality of income distribution, the influence of American fashions, some use of drugs, a small Black Power movement, high wages, higher consumption standards, the presence of a casino linked with prostitution, some venereal disease, strains of influenza not traditional to Antigua, increased demand for vegetables, increase in entertainment, expansion of the construction industry, a small increase in handicrafts.

But the question is whether these changes can be attributed to tourism. The authors point out the difficulty of disentangling the effects of tourism from the effects of migration -- the remittances, the return of the migrants, and the combined effect of these on the life-styles of the



of the Antiguan. The authors conclude that "most of the social impact of tourism has been very similar indeed to that which (would) have been created by any other new leading sector, and the resultant general economic development .... The most important social effects of tourism on Antigua have probably had very little to do with the special characteristics of tourism" (23). In effect, given the conditions prevalent in Antigua, the changes would have taken place anyway with the development of any other sector.

The changes specifically attributable to tourism are: some increase in local cultivation of vegetables, increases in the amount of entertainment available, rising consumption standards and expectations, some strains of influenza, the minimal (presently) side effects of the casino, possibly some venereal disease, the increased influence of North America, some drug taking.

The influence of tourism on crime and racial tension has, at the most, been very small. The tourist may represent easy pickings, but the crime rate is low. The demonstration effect has been small because of the "reserve" of both Antiguan and tourists -- the latter being mainly elderly couples in the higher income brackets not prone to much mixing. Tourism has hardly any impact on race: the Antiguan have for some time practiced equality of opportunity, and the free use of all public facilities. Further, most of the tourism facilities (hotels, etc.) are locally owned.

Tourism accounts, directly and indirectly, for 40-50% of the GNP generated in Antigua. The inevitable question is, therefore, whether this dependence on tourism, which is fairly income elastic, is excessive. The authors point out that while diversification would certainly be better for the economy, first, the costs of investment are high (particularly for industrial or livestock development); second, although the development of agriculture could lead to a symbiotic relationship with tourism its development will take some time. It would appear, therefore, that in the near future there are no alternatives to tourism in Antigua. Even though tourism "has many of the characteristics of an enclave" -- contributing more to foreign (particularly American) producers of fruits and meat, and generating little local demand for these goods.

But the problems of tourism in Antigua are not so much the result of the advent of tourism "but the fact that it came unawares and that the response to it was unplanned." This does not, however, mean that if there is greater planning tourism should be allowed to grow indefinitely. Diversification of the economy is essential; there are also physical limits to growth -- the available land space. There should be careful environmental controls and tourism cannot be allowed to prevent public access to beaches, or permit the large-scale alienation of land. Finally, no one is certain that Antiguan will not object to serving tourists, if their numbers become too large and involve greater numbers of Antiguan. The cultural effects of such uncontrolled growth are neither easily predicted or controlled. The

crucial cultural argument against tourism is not so much against the likelihood of change, for change is inevitable, but "is really concerned with the speed of change" (128).

KANELLAKIS, V. 1975. International tourism: Its significance and potential as an instrument for the economic development of Greece. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Kansas State University. (University Microfilms No. 75- 25,041).

Greece is a fertile ground for dissertations on tourism. This study, based entirely on secondary sources, is another example.

In 1971 Greece had a population of almost 9 million. The growth rate was slow, partly as a result of emigration. In 1973 more than 3 million tourists visited Greece (this figure includes Greek citizens returning from abroad). The tourist season is mainly between the months of April and September; the average length of stay was 12 days in 1971 (up one day from 1967), made up of an average of 12.8 days during the season and between 8-9 days in the off season. This length of stay is higher than Italy, Turkey, and France which have average lengths of 5.51, between 4.8 - 5.1, and 9 days, respectively. The average expenditure per tourist in 1973 was US\$181.

Tourism, therefore, plays an important role in the Greek economy. Receipts of tourism vary between 15.33 to 20.28 percent of exports; and between 5.96 - 11.34% of imports.

Among the tourism "resources" of the nation which Kanellakis mentions are: the non-reproducible resources (physical resources), accommodation, adequate infrastructure. To this list he later adds, "hospitality" of the people. It was the National Tourism Organization that took the lead in encouraging infrastructure building, and constructed a chain of hotels (the Xenia organization) which, initially unprofitable, encouraged other private hotel construction (particularly outside Athens and other major centers).

There are a few items in this Dissertation worth noting, in addition to the last chapter:

(i) With regard to the poor response of Greeks to take advantage of training schools for junior personnel in hotels, the author, quoting a study conducted by the Center of Economic Research ("The Development of Tourism in Greece: 1954-1956"), attributes this to the "negative mentality... which assimilates the profession to that of a 'servant' profession which is not held in high esteem" (68-69).

(ii) He believes that it is not possible to answer whether tourism is actually labor-intensive (74).



(iii) The Greek government and local authorities have spent considerable amounts of money to provide access to archaeological sites and also to restore monuments. This is a plus for tourism.

Which brings us to the last, and most important, chapter. The question posed here is "can international tourism be manipulated so that it can be used as a part of the overall strategy for the economic development of Greece?"

The answer is in the negative. But let us see why.

He divides his analysis into two parts: an analysis of demand, and of supply, variables.

On the demand side, Kanellakis finds that the most important dependent variables are: (a) the income of the buyer; (b) the relative cost of a vacation in Greece; and (c) to a limited degree, the cost of airfares. Although the Greek government has no control over (a), it could be reasonably assumed that this shows an increasing trend. The most important fact, however, is that short-run fluctuations decrease the effectiveness of such an assumption. With regard to (b), two out of three components (the components being the consumer price index in Greece, the consumer price index in a foreign country, and the foreign exchange ratio) are capable of being controlled by the Greek government. The last dependent variable can only be controlled to a limited extent. To all this, Kanellakis adds another factor: the desire of the tourist to travel to Greece. This, for him, is a matter of sales promotion, image promotion, and information services. It is a factor over which the government can have little control.

On the supply side, tourism planning could be compared with regional income distribution planning involving both the identification of areas and a manipulation of the type and category of accommodations. But the basic problem still remains: seasonality.

Kanellakis therefore concludes that tourism is not the best method of promoting economic development because: (i) to adjust supply is not to control demand; (ii) there are tremendous short-run fluctuations (for instance, in 1974 tourism arrivals declined by 32% over the previous year); (iii) seasonality: the season is confined to the months of April - September (with July being the peak month); (iv) it fosters inflation; (v) tourism is a service industry which does not "instigate high level technological improvements" (126); and (vi) the impact of tourism requires an assessment of the non-economic effects -- on the environment, on values, and the Greek way of life. Tourism cannot continue to bring in indefinite numbers of people -- in 1972 the Center of Economic Research estimated that 2 million tourists during the peak month (July) was the optimum beyond which the Greek way of life would be threatened (118).

KJELLSTROM, S.B. 1974. The impact of tourism on economic development in Morocco (Vols. I & II). Unpublished PhD Dissertation, The University of Michigan. (University Microfilms No. 75 - 10,203).

This dissertation examines the impact of international tourism on the Moroccan economy.

Apart from a chapter on the "non-economic aspects of tourism", the work contains several interesting insights on the role of tourism in development.

The adoption of tourism as a method of obtaining scarce foreign exchange in Morocco dates from 1964-65 when a World Bank mission recommended that "stress be put on agriculture, tourism and professional training" (60). The Moroccan government followed these recommendations, "at least on paper" (60). In practice, however, while exhorting private investors to invest for mass tourism, the Government continued the Moroccan tradition of luxury tourism. Both Five-Year Plans contain "the same empty words about how mass tourism should be stressed" (61).

The factors in the host country that cater to tourists are "those related to conditions in the receiving countries and the image they radiate" (12). Although this would, for the discussion that follows, apparently relate only to climate, and the friendliness of the Moroccans, the author later refers both to political and social conditions.

An extremely important point that the author makes with regard to tourism in less developed countries is the administrative capacity of the country to coordinate all the various organizations involved in, and needed for tourism promotion and development, and the efficiency of these organizations. Administrative disarray is expensive -- both a duplication of effort and a lack of effort. "In these areas developing countries are notoriously weak, and to the extent that tourism requires more public sector efficiency and coordination than alternative activities, developing countries would, on this account, suffer a comparative disadvantage in the supply of tourist services" (29). In the case of Morocco there is not only a Ministry of Tourism but also a National Tourist Office. The division of duties and responsibilities, and the authority of each is not clear. The relationship is both ambiguous and inefficient and "despite a World Bank recommendation, dating back (to) 1965, to merge the two, nothing has been done to correct this anomalous situation" (29).

Another problem facing less developed countries is the ability to market their product. This is often lacking. In tourism, the existence of international tour operators alleviates this lack of skill. The service is not "costless." "But during the early stages of tourism development, it is doubtful whether a developing country could be introduced on the international tourist market by a more experienced and resourceful agent" (31).



The level of economic development of a country also affects the percentage of tourism earnings that stay in the country -- the poorer a country is in terms of resources, the less it is likely to retain.

Does tourism promote self-sustained growth? Kjellstrom's answer: It is true that "tourism is no basic industry supplying inputs to a variety of manufacturing industries. It is basically a service industry, a tertiary activity, which by itself creates few industrial jobs. The truthfulness of such an assertion is anyway quite irrelevant. Basic industries with limited local outlets are not likely to be viable. Both kinds of activities have their warranted place in a comprehensive and consistent development plan. The heterogeneity of tourist demand greatly reduces the risks of tourism becoming an enclave .... With a broad range of backward linkage effects, tourism provides convenient and continuous outlets for many types of local production.... it can... be most helpful in enlarging the local markets for several products, sometimes even beyond the critical threshold level, and in this way make a valuable contribution to the much cherished objective of self-sustained growth" (126).

Kjellstrom estimates the total direct employment due to tourism in 1971 to be 67,973. Indirect employment for the same year is estimated at 74,297. Wages in hotels are undoubtedly at the lower end of the scale but still much more attractive than those available in alternative employments in the traditional sector. It should be remembered that tourist "regions are not located in areas where a multitude of alternative lucrative occupations are available" (278). Further, the seasonal nature of tourism permits supplemental earnings during peak periods. In Morocco the hotel and restaurant business is preferred by unskilled employees: "Its earnings can here allegedly be as much as seven times higher than in agriculture and even twice as high as in construction work" (279). There are fringe benefits as well: housing, meals, tips. The hours of work, however, are much higher than in most other occupations -- an estimated 59 hours per week, and yet strikes in the hotel industry are much lower than the national average (an indication of comparative satisfaction of the worker in an industry where the unions are well-organized).

With regard to handicrafts, Kjellstrom suggests that it is "incorrect to talk about job creation due to tourism in this area; job retention would be a more appropriate term. The demand emanating from tourism could be most helpful in smoothing what might otherwise have been a brutal transitional process with much job dislocation in handicrafts due to increasing modernization of the Moroccan economy. The artisans are carrying on a long artistic tradition of producing delightful items for ornamental purposes as well as utilitarian goods for everyday life... With no tourism in Morocco, several branches of handicrafts would have languished into relative obscurity instead of experiencing the rather buoyant demand of today.... It is conservatively estimated that the average artisans earn DH150 more per person and year due to tourism... Much of this gain is concentrated among carpet weavers... With a total of 41,203 artisans concerned, the gain on this account would amount to DH6.18 million" (281-283). Kjellstrom estimates the total gain to unskilled labor as a result of tourism at DH21.37 million in 1971. This is equal to 2.9% of gross tourist spending.



### Non-economic aspects of tourism

Kjellstrom says that an assessment of the non-economic factors of tourism is essential because they are not only relevant "but they have in some instances actually been decisive and reversed a solid economic case for or against tourism. What from a limited economic point of view might appear as wasteful behavior, can emerge under a quite different light once political, social and other non-economic factors are brought into the picture" (376). He divides a discussion of these factors under two main heads: political, and social and related aspects.

#### A. Political

Morocco has an elaborate power "structure centered around a king surrounded by a segmented elite which is manipulated more by enticement than by coercion...." (377). Tourism serves as a means of keeping restive areas of the country in check: insurrection from the southern Trans-Atlas region, and the northern Riff areas have been common; petty chieftains abound. In the Riff and pre-Saharan areas there is little but tourism as a means of development. Public hotels have been in the forefront here. They are not very profitable. In Agadir, in the south, with its longer tourist season, private hotels have mushroomed. Tourist villages are also to be found there. While the private hotels are profitable, the tourist villages are not.

While a pure economic approach would suggest that the government divest itself of its uneconomic hotels, "important political dictates effectively block the road to such greater monetary public gains from tourism. Instead tourism in the Riff and pre-Saharan south makes a valuable contribution to political objectives in that it pays much of the price of preserving peace and tranquility there" (379).

Again, the traditional (and intellectual) capital of Morocco is Fez. The elite of Fez, the Fassi, still continues "to run the country under the close supervision of the king" (380). This elite is paliated by the construction, at government expense, of luxury hotels in Fez (70% of these were owned by the public sector). There is no economic risk the elite bears. The hotels are not profitable (though no more unprofitable than government-owned hotels elsewhere) and Kjellstrom views the somewhat predominant position of luxury tourism in Fez as "presumptive evidence that the best placed and connected segments of the local elite are able to steer the supply of luxury accommodation (and food) according to its own preferences, whether this is in the interest of tourism or not. The results from tourism for the public sector could naturally be impaired by "concessions" of this kind, concessions which might well be fully motivated politically in that they quench the appetite of the local elite for luxurious living" (382).

The third example that Kjellstrom offers concerns the grant of capital subsidies -- in this case, to the Rabat-Hilton. Since the government itself had a substantial stake in the hotel, it gave a capital grant 3.5 times larger than it would otherwise have, under the standards government has adopted.



B. Social and related aspects

Under this head, Kjellstrom enumerates many of the "social" aspects of tourism to be found in the literature:

(i) Theoretically tourism is a "passport to peace" and a basis for the exchange of ideas. But the extent to which this takes place is dependent on the encounter. Language, cultural, and economic barriers make this exchange difficult. The tourist is not compelled to accommodate himself to the host country.

(ii) Cultural differences can serve to increase conflicts: For example, differences in valuation of time can lead the tourist to categorize the local population as lazy. The belief, on the part of the host population, that all tourists are wealthy can lead to different sorts of conflicts: theft, the desire to exploit the tourist. In a survey of tourist reactions, Maroc-Developpement indicated that the most important complaint of tourists was harassment and begging. This was followed by slow and expensive transportation, and local driving habits.

(iii) Leaders of the hotel employee's union stated that no human problems of any great magnitude existed between hotel employees and tourists. Kjellstrom does not quite believe this -- particularly since the employee sees the way the tourist can spend the equivalent of a year's wages in one day. There is, however, no racial differences between Moroccans and tourists and this, therefore, does not constitute a ground for antagonism.

(iv) The Moroccan tourist belongs, most often, to the category of the luxury tourist who is not even representative of his own country. Does this have a demonstration effect on the Moroccan? While Kjellstrom feels that tourism does generate undesirable effects, he believes that television has a greater impact. Further, the wealthy tourist is usually middle-aged -- hardly "a model for malleable young Moroccans" (388). Young tourists live modestly. All the same, says Kjellstrom, "the demonstration effect of tourism might make it harder to levy consumption taxes on luxury goods and to mobilize local savings for the task of development. The local elite could be enticed into engaging in emulative conspicuous consumption instead of devoting its surplus means to investments"(389).

(v) With regard to pollution, Kjellstrom does not believe that tourism, with the exception of sewage effluents, is a great polluter. The "industries supplying intermediate inputs to the tourist business might be considerably more polluting than tourism proper" (389).

(vi) What about the diversion of resources to provide tourists with goods and services not available to, or beyond the purchasing power, of the local population? According to Kjellstrom this may be "true, but irrelevant". The "relevant criterion", he continues, "is instead if catering to tourism makes a satisfactory contribution to the attainment of the row of objectives society has set for itself".

Spartan monasteries in France see nothing reprehensible in earning huge profits on the sale of a very special liquor... There is no reason for countries to be any less rational or 'immoral'." (390)

(vii) Tourism does require a dampening of militancy and nationalistic outbursts -- otherwise tourists would not come. But it is doubtful whether tourism is dependent on a psychology of submissiveness. Nor, on the other hand, as the example of Greece shows, does the nature of the national government affect tourism greatly -- be it authoritarian or democratic.

(viii) At times tourism does tend to perpetuate in the eyes of foreigners a definite "image" about the country which the host population has to portray in confirmation. For instance, in Morocco, native feasts ("moussems") have been increasingly exploited for tourists. Those who want to preserve the "original character" of these feasts have protested. So too, it is said that the unrefined tourist demand for handicrafts has resulted in declining quality.

In conclusion, Kjellstrom points out that the balance sheet of the social consequences of tourism has still to be drawn. Tourism has both benefits and burdens the "final non-economic judgment will crucially hinge upon what kind of society it is that contemplates opting for tourism development. Tourism might be equally advantageous economically to two different societies, with the first deciding to go after tourism, when it have evaluated it on all pertinent non-economic grounds and arrived at an integrated judgment of its desirability, while the second country finds that given its special non-economic characteristics, the social and related effects of tourism are deemed sufficiently unfavorable on balance to warrant forfeiting the economic benefits tourism could have brought" (393).

Tourism has been replaced by phosphates as the major foreign exchange earner in Morocco. The demand for and price of phosphates will rise. Tourism, already a modest factor, will grow even smaller by comparison. It can never be equated, in the Moroccan scene with agriculture. Now, further growth can hardly be justified given Morocco's absorptive capacity.

KLOKE, C. n.d. South Pacific economies and tourism. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 3-26.

This paper is a careful assessment, by an economist, of the alternative methods of increasing income open to Pacific island governments faced with rising populations.

In most Pacific islands, subsistence agriculture is the most important source of income; their export markets are usually dominated by one crop (copra, sugar). The industrial development is mainly limited to processing



and some mining -- both of which are increasing, but not sufficiently to provide for steady economic growth. Government is a major employer. Only in Fiji has per capita income been rising unambiguously. In the face of growing needs, how does a government increase income, unless it wants to rely permanently on foreign aid and the sale of its natural resources (which might be viable only in New Guinea)?

The author examines the alternatives: Agriculture could be expanded. But there are two basic limitations to expansion: land and labor. Most arable land is already settled, only the poorer quality land is left. Labor is streaming into urban areas where it is underemployed/unemployed. In the rural areas, if agriculture is expanded it can only result in increased competition among fully employed agriculturists. Further, in what export crops can the expansion take place? Sugar? Copra? Both are subordinated to world market demands and, in the case of sugar, to agreements. There is not much scope here.

Mining: The expansion of this depends not on policy, but on the discovery of more resources which are irreplaceable. Further, in many areas where there is mining present practices are creating both environmental/ecological damage.

Fishing could certainly be developed. As presently practised it is minimally efficient. But, if fishing is to be developed there is a need for substantial capital investment. Also, the fishermen will have to compete with the entrenched Asian fishermen.

Manufacturing industries: There is limited scope for this development mainly because it would be difficult for industries to compete in the world market. Certainly, tariff barriers could protect an infant industry, but the likelihood of retaliation would lower the advantages that could be gained.

Metropolitan governments and military: In both French Polynesia and Guam, the military is the mainstay of the economy. But since the future is hardly assured, reliance on this source of funds is unreliable.

The author then examines tourism as a reliable source. "As with any other industry, establishing that the net economic effect of income generated by tourism and the net effect on the balance of payments will depend on (1) the extent and nature of resources it uses and draws away from other industries; (2) the extent of local ownership of the capital assets of the industries; (3) its import requirements; (4) the proportion of total receipts paid for labor costs; and (5) the share of local vs. imported labor in the industry" (17).

These five aspects are examined by the author who concludes: (i) that tourism resources are neither used by other industries nor earn a rate of return presently; (ii) though there is a large initial capital cost for infrastructure, the infrastructure is also used by the local population;



(iii) the infrastructure serves important social objectives independent of tourism (e.g., roads, water supply); (iv) most other industries are already dominated by foreigners; and (v) in the Pacific the import content of other industries is as high as that of the tourism industry.

It should, therefore, be obvious that the author believes that tourism is an economically viable means of development for Pacific islands.

LeFEVRE. T. n.d. Raratonga airport: A preliminary view of the possible balance sheet. In B.R. Finney and K. A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 87-97.

This article, the second on the Cook Islands, deals with the changes that will be necessary in the economy and other sectors of the Cook Islands if the islands intend to obtain the greatest benefits from tourism.

The Cook Islands have relied on recurrent aid from New Zealand to prop up their economy. For instance, the GDP was \$8.3 million in 1970 with a trade deficit of \$5.9 million, mainly financed by New Zealand. Approximately 70% of current demand is supplied by imported goods. The New Zealand government built the airport at a cost of \$16 million and there are estimates that 12,000 tourists will visit the island annually generating approximately \$3 million in purchasing power. Can the Cook Islands benefit from this without even greater leakages? What changes are necessary?

LeFevre attempts to answer these questions by examining the changes necessary. First, he examines the tourism-generated income against the demands created on the economy, the technical coefficients of gross spending, and the changes in output necessary. The coefficients are admitted to be both "guesstimates" and the most optimistic forecasts. On this basis he estimates that the total supply will only rise by 22.92%, leaving a residual increase of imports of 30.58 percent. If agriculture is to meet the challenge and link up with tourist demands, a complete overhauling of agriculture is necessary to move from subsistence to cash crops and to cater to Western diets. This will not only take time, but land is scarce. Tourist consumption coefficients are higher for wholesale/retail/hotels and restaurants; very low for electricity, gas, transport, storage and communications. Industry in the Cooks is mainly confined to a fruit juice canner and clothing manufacture. The manufacture of local handicrafts, recently started by two companies, appears to have better prospects.

There will also be a need for infrastructure building and consequent high investment. The construction industry is likely to create employment, but this will only be temporary employment. LeFevre "guesstimates" the total direct employment created by tourism expansion at 985. But the more important question he asks is whether the new employment opportunities will stem the flow of, mainly young and educated, men to New Zealand.



Will tourism employ the talents of these: and if tourism does, will this be at the expense of other sectors (government, for instance) or at the expense of poorer performance in tourism-related employment? The basic question, then, is the number of opportunities in tourism for persons who would otherwise have migrated.

The other important aspect is the problem of land speculation and the effects this could have on the traditional tenure systems. Land is communally owned and a recent amendment to the land bill permitted sale with the consent of as low as 25% of the owners (since many owners are not resident in the Cook Islands). This permits land speculation, which had commenced even before the construction of the airport. For instance, Cook Island's Holding Ltd. sold their rights in leased land (for which they were paying an annual rental of \$200) to Aroa White Sands Hotel Ltd. for \$75,000. There is "no evidence in the official records that the local landowner received any part of this premium" (93). This is indicative of future trends. LeFevre continues, "The present laws provide little protection against land speculation by foreign overseas companies which could completely upset the rather unsteady nature of current land tenure. Nor do the existing laws stipulate that rents be made a function of the trading profits or of the improved capital value" (93). Rents are low at present and there is a need for legislation to provide for more equitable distribution of the gains from tourism "for to assume an automatic mechanism yielding a socially desirable solution is to wear glasses of a very rosy hue!" (93).

The Cook Islands government has not yet considered taxation of tourists as a means of adding to revenue. LeFevre suggests that this could add between \$300,000 - 600,000 to revenue (based on a UNDP estimate that taxes bring about 15% of tourism expenditures to the Government of Fiji).

The airport could also stimulate another area of the Cook Island economy unrelated to tourism: fruit exports. Exports to New Zealand of tomatoes and citrus in particular, have been diminishing. The major reason is said to be poor transport. The use of air cargo space should directly benefit the economy and stimulate the export of other fruits as well: pineapples, avocados and mangoes.

The last part of the article is devoted to drawing a "balance sheet." The "pluses" are: (i) the provision of approximately 1,000 jobs and the "hope" that this will reduce migration; (ii) an increase in domestic income in the order of \$10.2 million; (iii) increased government revenue; and (iv) the opportunity for increased earning from fruit exports. On the negative side: (i) government expenditure on infrastructure development; (ii) \$7.7 million increase in the import bill; (iii) potential inflationary consequences of labor shortage; and (iv) short-term acceleration of migration and disruption of the land tenure system.



In the light of this, LeFevre suggests that although the airport affords an opportunity for greater financial and economic independence, this will not result automatically. There must be definite measures taken to ensure such benefits. These measures include more careful research and planning (since the "guesstimates" are optimistic) to determine actual benefits; the adoption of a definite policy toward land transactions; and the need to create training institutions for persons employable in tourism-related occupations so as to reduce the possibility of conflict between scarce labor sources and competing sector demands for their services.

LeFEVRE, T. n.d. Tourism: "Who gets what from the tourists?"  
In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific.  
Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 101-107.

The question posed in the title is answered with reference to Fiji.

One of the major causes of the tourist boom in the 1960s was the development of international air travel. Airfares are regulated by IATA and therefore with the growing "pressure to reduce fares and so improve payloads has squeezed airline profit levels and motivated them to look elsewhere to restore these profits. Hotel development in far away places is an obvious solution" (102). Less developed economies cannot afford airplanes, nor do they have the technical know-how, and the capital investment in hotels and the risks involved also place these beyond the financial ability of most South Pacific nations. These nations have to rely on foreign-owned airplane companies, the internationally-owned chains for tourists.

What, then, is there for the host country? The benefits, according to LeFevre, lie "in the potential to open up the economy and to remove the market restraint on future development. These benefits are external to the industry" (103). They are in the nature of "spin-offs." Undoubtedly, there may be constraints to such expansion: for example, inflation or the need for reorganization of agriculture along with the concomitant adverse effects. But two points must be borne in mind: first, the supply considerations of possible industries must be examined with a view to discovering their more efficient expansion in line with expected demand; and, second, this inventory must be planned.

These two considerations are examined with reference to Fiji. Fiji experienced a tourist boom, along with many other less developed countries, in the 1960s. In 1972, tourists spent approximately F\$ 37 million (about US\$ 44 million) there. A third of the expenditure was on imported goods, another third on hotels and restaurants. Only 3 percent of this expenditure was on agriculture and other food manufactures. This means that Fiji is not reaping the greatest benefits from tourism as yet.



This view is confirmed when one examines the contribution of tourism to GDP and employment. Of the estimated 7,000 jobs created by tourism, over 4,000 are in hotels, restaurants, the distribution and services sectors (all this amounts to only 5% of the labor force); these sectors provided for 73% of the total value added. With regard to the effects of capital investment, the picture is far more murky: Most investment is a one-shot deal, creating sudden employment and equally sudden unemployment (with the resultant social and economic dislocation). Further, there is also concurrent public expenditure on infrastructure and "in less developed countries undergoing rapid tourist development it is not unusual to detect some bias toward tourist-related facilities and away from the more general need" (105). Further, there is also the unanswered socio-political question which one asks with extensive foreign investment: Who controls what? The investment is not only financial, but also through the influx of skilled foreign managerial staff and know-how.

There are limits to government's ability to recoup itself through taxation: since the capital is international capital it will look for the most profitable haven. In practice, the attempt to lure foreign capital has often resulted in overgenerous incentives (tax holidays, ability to repatriate profits and capital, import quotas) which have been cut back (as, for instance, in Tunisia). Therefore, any incentives must be viewed not only in the light of the international market but also in relation to "the net domestic effects of the industry without the taxation revenue" (106).

For LeFevre, the important implications of this approach for planning is that "tourism planning has been concentrated in the wrong place. It has been concerned with the marketing, the selling, and the town planning considerations of "pretty" hotel developments" (106). Important though this is, it is not the most important information to guide planning and policy decisions. What is rather needed is "how to involve as much of the local economy in their construction and service. What we should be planning is the spin-offs, the externalities of how best to use our crumbs. This type of planning needs research in how best the growth of tourism fits in with the structure of the economy.... We need to be looking at industry projections, analysing the effects of bottlenecks. In Fiji, for instance, we should be looking at how the construction industry could expand without high price changes" (106).

Change is inevitable. There can be no social prosperity without social costs. "Historically all economic developments have produced socio-logical dysfunctions and in fact some have considered that they are necessarily complementary. In this respect there may be grounds for supposing that the ill effects of tourism development are certainly no greater than, say, the ill effects of industrial revolution in Western Europe or the "economic miracle" of the Soviet Union. This is not a matter to be settled 'a priori'. It can only be satisfactorily resolved after we have done the looking, but let us now begin to look in the right direction" (107).



LUNDBERG, D.E., 1972. The tourist business. Chicago: Institutions/  
Volume Management Feeding Magazine.

For the sociologist, the main item of interest is a chapter on "The Economic and Social Impacts of Tourism." There is, however, only one page (p. 145) in the chapter on the "sociological implications." And the first para. commences with the statement "The sociological impact has not been well documented, however, and a discussion will not be attempted here." This does not prevent the author from making statements such as "it is obvious to most visitors to the Bahamas, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and several other Caribbean islands that all is not right between visitor and residents. Travellers complain about indifference or even outright insolence on the part of waiters, taxicab drivers and others." An instance of the resentment aroused by tourists is borrowed from the New York Times in support of this statement.

Another item mentioned is the report of Dr. Cottingham (culled from the New York Times) that tourism has brought ulcers and divorce in Hawaii. The employment of women as maids and waitresses in hotels has permitted them to make up to \$1,000 per month. This has caused their husbands to become suspicious of the source of income. The "logic" is extended to speculate that suspicion leads to accusation. The result: increased ulcers for the women; and increased divorce -- 180 percent increase for the island of Hawaii during 1963-1970, compared with 52 percent for the entire state. It is unnecessary to comment on the chain of logical causation here!

MITCHELL, F.H. 1971. The economic value of tourism in Kenya. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. The University of California, Los Angeles. (University Microfilms No. 72-3184).

This dissertation was one of the first to examine the "value" of tourism under the cold light of benefit/cost analysis. The author is presently Economic Adviser, Tourism Projects Department, The World Bank.

Tourism has both economic and non-economic consequences. These non-economic consequences cannot be measured by economic concepts. Further, economics does not contain "hypotheses which could be used to predict (the) size" (18) of these consequences. Economics, on the other hand, usually takes as "assumed" hypotheses which other social disciplines (political science, sociology, anthropology are examples) seek to explain.

With regard to migration, Mitchell assumes that one-and-a-half workers migrate from the rural areas in search of each additional high-pay job which is created.

Like Kjellstrom (who appears to have used this dissertation extensively), Mitchell suggests that administrative capacity is a "resource whose



scarcity is equal or more important" than capital, "although documenting the fact is difficult.... To the extent that successful tourist development requires a higher degree of coordination among a more disparate set of public agencies" (as in Kenya) "than the expansion of many other activities, this factor will tend to reduce the relative attractiveness of tourism for poor countries" (221).

This brief set of references will show that although Mitchell is aware of, and considers essential, the non-economic aspects of tourism, he stays clear of their analysis. Among the aspects he does refer to are: cultural differences in the valuation of time (see, particularly, p. 15, fn1), "demonstration effects" of tourist behavior, the political implications of host contacts with wealthy visitors (particularly when the visitors are of the same "pigmentation" as the wealthy residents).

O'LOUGHLIN, C., 1970. Tourism in the Tropics: Lessons from the West Indies. Insight and Opinion, 5, 105-110.

This article attempts to translate West Indian experience in tourism for the nascent tourist industry in Ghana.

The author points out that the impact of tourism has been greatest in the small islands where one or two hotels may make all the difference to income. In some of these islands of the West Indies -- St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, are examples -- tourism has eclipsed agriculture as the most important economic activity.

The extent of the tourist income remaining in the country, however, depends on the local services and goods available. Where, as in Antigua, virtually "every article used by the tourist is imported" (106) only forty-seven cents out of each dollar of tourist receipts remained for local incomes. Further, in terms of service employment, "The tourist industry creates a lot of jobs in what may be called the 'lower-middle group'.": taxi drivers, hotel entertainers, hotel servants, craftsmen.

The economic benefits are partially offset by higher prices for food, servants, land.

With regard to the social effects "the results seem not to be so highly favorable to tourism and are certainly not so easy to measure" (107): some view tourism as a form of economic imperialism, more dangerous than political imperialism; others complain about the loss of old-fashioned values, and changes in dress.

In many senses, particularly in the smaller islands, "the tourist season is nothing less than an invasion .... a hurricane blowing through the house that cannot fail to ruffle very aspect of domestic life" (107).



Tourism certainly encourages the growth of arts and crafts. But this encouragement may mean the loss of the traditional meaning of the arts (music is the example the author chooses) in the process of adaptation to a new audience.

In other aspects of culture too, tourism results in changes of the social structure if it is a major industry: the changing behavior patterns of the young; the attempt, on the part of some hoteliers, to re-introduce racial segregation; the participation in tourist-related activities and hotels only by a limited section of the host population. It must be remembered, however, that tourism has provided finances for improvements in communications, education, and health. Thus "whilst the social problems brought by tourism cannot be ignored, it must also be remembered that anything that can reduce and even eliminate poverty in a developing country is contributing to the cure of one major social problem" (108).

A lesson from the smaller islands of the West Indies is the need for careful planning for tourism: preinvestment studies, inquiries into the need for training and personnel. When this has been done, the returns are far greater. An important technique is to allow experienced firms to manage tourism at the start. Later, as the industry grows, local businesses increasingly to provide information on the particular and unique attractions in the country concerned.

POPOVIC, V., 1972. Tourism in East Africa. Munich: Welforum Verlag.

This book is an update of the UNECA report of 1969. The approach of the author, a well-known tourism specialist for East Africa, to tourism represents what might be termed "the earlier school of tourism": Tourism constraints are viewed as problems of meeting or inducing demand; as primarily problems of the lack of physical facilities; and the population has to be geared to meeting the potential demand through training. There is nothing in the book about local reactions, attitudes towards tourism, the effect of the reservation of lands and the diversion of resources on the development of the local population.

RADKE, D., DONNER, H.J., HEYNIG, K., MULLER, R., OESTEN, N., & J WIEMAN. 1975. Contribution of the International Tourism to the economic and social development of Sri Lanka. Berlin: German Development Insitute.

This is an interesting study of the effects of international tourism in Sri Lanka. Tourism is one of the few sectors of the Sri Lankan economy left to private enterprise. Modern "mass" tourism, which commenced as recently as 1967, has been growing at a rate of nearly 24 percent per year. The aim of this study, conducted in Sri Lanka between November 1973 and January 1974, was to discover whether "international tourism leads to a diversification of economic production and to a reduction of existing regional disparities" (3). Unfortunately, the authors deliberately excluded consideration of the demonstration effects of tourism because they lacked the time, and the expertise to do so.



The report is divided into two parts. The first part summarizes the effects of tourism (which are set out in detail in the second part) against the background of Sri Lanka's developmental goals and problems.

Unlike other developing countries, the share of direct and indirect imports in Sri Lanka, attributable to tourism account for only 12.5 percent of foreign exchange receipts (compared with 45 percent and 22 percent for Hawaii and Kenya, respectively). One of the reasons for the low percentage is that material for infrastructure is imported rarely. This could lead, in the long run, to deterioration of these facilities and loss of revenue. The study also found that more than two-thirds of the total income and employment generated by tourism was generated outside the tourism sector. Despite, however, low imports, the actual share of Sri Lanka in the tourist dollar was 23 percent. This is largely the result of services directly provided by the countries of tourist origin. The authors do not believe that Sri Lanka can improve this percentage in the foreseeable future, for instance, by expanding Air Ceylon.

For a sociologist, the sections of the report with the greatest utility are those dealing with "effects on income and employment," "impact on the structure of economic production," and "impact on the villages directly affected by tourism." All these are detailed in Part II.

Total employment in tourism amounted to 16,410 persons, with 4,550 of these being directly employed in hotels and restaurants, travel agencies, and tourist shops. Hotels accounted for 72.7 percent of those directly employed, with the least value added amount. Tourist shops, with the lowest employment, accounted for the highest value added amount. Although the tourism sector's share of national income and employment is negligible (0.23% and 0.13%, respectively), it is the first non-traditional sector where Sri Lanka has achieved a breakthrough and foreign exchange receipts are growing faster than any other sector (except gem exports). The authors therefore feel that although foreign exchange expenditure on tourism imports does divert scarce resources from other sectors "in the present situation there are no signs which could justify a re-allocation of resources on expense of tourism sector" (60).

The study finds that backward linkages with other sectors of the Sri Lankan economy are very weak, and that none of these other sectors is "dependent on international tourism." For instance, although the construction sector earns 22.33 percent of total tourism expenditure, this accounts for only 0.98 percent of the total expenditure on construction. Tourism does not account for more than 4.98 percent of the earnings of any other sector. The authors therefore conclude that given the present share of tourism, "there is no necessity to search for changes in the national production structure," with the exception of the manufacture of some souvenirs (masks are an example) which a few villages manufacture exclusively for tourists.

In terms of regional effects, the authors find that tourism does tend to produce a more balanced overall economic structure. Since, however, the effect is very small in quantitative terms, this balance does not lead to major economic changes.



The authors then pursued their enquiries of the effects of international tourism at the village level. The question they asked was whether the demand impulses of tourism, emanating particularly through hotels, resulted in responses from the surrounding and supplying villages. They hypothesize that "The developmental effect is negative if impulses are processed in a form geared to the traditional structure, i.e., if the structure parameters of the system remain unchanged. In the case of unfavorable preconditions (inelastic supply) the demand of the tourism sector is covered at the cost of other village production or demand categories; if favorable conditions prevail (elastic supply) there are additional income and employment effects. A positive development effect occurs when tourism - via the linkage effects of the hotels - changes village structures in such a way that new production forms, increased labor productivity, more efficient forms of distribution, etc., are created." (80)

They selected the following indicators: number of employed persons, duration of employment, wage level, general working conditions, type and quantity of goods supplied, and price level and price formation. They sought information on the following issues through interviews: What role does the hotel wage play in total family income? What are the means by which hotel demand reaches the village, are there any intermediaries? Which village groups participate in tourism and what role do they play in their community? Does the hotel demand lead to increased capital formation, to changes in production techniques and to higher labor productivity? Can "tourism, either directly or indirectly, create new branches of production, i.e., bring about a diversification of the village production structure?" (82) The authors believed that enquiries at the micro level would provide answers to structural changes which could not possibly be discovered at the macro level (mainly because they are too insignificant, and are overlaid by other factors, at the macro level).

Four criteria were employed for selecting regions for intensive survey: "(a) Close spatial proximity of hotels and villages; (b) the most intensive economic interrelations possible between the two; (c) dominating role of tourism as a modern sector in the region; and (d) new hotels which were built in 1967 or later." (83) Originally, five regions were found to satisfy these criteria, but time constraints permitted study of only two: the Bentota-Beruwala region (about 40 miles south-west of Colombo), and the Talahena region, 20 miles north of Colombo.

The Bentota-Beruwala region has 5 hotels, three of which were constructed after 1967, and a population of 8,500 distributed among four villages. The main occupations are agriculture (75%), small manufacturing (16%), and fisheries (9%). Underemployment is high. The most important agricultural products are, in order of importance, coconuts, rice and vegetables. Manufacturing covers typical crafts such as carpentry, masonry, mat and basket weaving. Production units, whether in agriculture, manufacturing, or fishing, are extremely small: limited to family units. Surpluses are fortuitous, production techniques simple, and few own means of transport of products (bicycles, bullock carts). The major change over 1968 - 1972 was a population increase (averaging nearly 4% p.a.).



Fishing dominates the economic lives of the inhabitants of Talahena and the six neighboring villages, occupying 90 - 95 percent of the working population. Homegarden cultivation (on plots rarely more than half an acre), tobacco plantations, small coconut plantations, and domestic production of indigenous cigarettes (the beedi) occupy the rest of the working population. Here too production techniques are low. There is one hotel in the region. This hotel obtains part of its manpower and goods from the town and neighboring villages.

The four hotels employ 321 persons, 156 of whom (48.6%) come from the neighboring towns and villages (53.8% and 40.3% from Bentota-Beruwala and Talahena, respectively). These figures of local employment are subject to two qualifications: First, no information could be obtained on whether the employees had moved to the neighboring villages after obtaining hotel employment; second, in the case of the Talahena region, the figures include those who were employed temporarily in hotel extension. Although hotel employment accounts for only one percent of total employment, this percentage must be assessed against the background of high unemployment and underemployment, and rapid population growth. Further, in recent years, hardly any other new employment opportunities have been created.

Although the main levels of hotel employment comprise semi-skilled and unskilled occupations (for which no extensive prior training is required), they constitute a completely new type of employment for the villagers. Most of these skills were acquired through on-the-job training. Again, among those interviewed (47 persons), 17 percent had not been employed before, and 23.8 percent had been unemployed for long periods before obtaining hotel employment.

The average income per month (including perquisites) amounted to Rs. 256 (+ Rs. 22). Compared with average earnings in the urban and rural sectors, this income would place a hotel employee with a household of four persons in the lower 40 percent of urban income receivers, and in the lower 70 percent of rural earners. But the hypothesis of a four person household applied to only 11 interviewees (23%). Seven (15%) were more favorably placed, but in the case of 21 persons (46.7%) the family consisted of more than four persons. In the cases last mentioned, hotel wages constituted the sole source of income. The authors conclude that (a) hotel income does not suffice to provide the workers "the average standard of living attained by other households in rural areas outside the estates"; (95) and (b) that the income is "the very means of life for" the workers' families. One encouraging feature, however, was that the employment did not show major adaptations to seasonality of tourism and that most of the employees had held their jobs for more than a year. Because of the high unemployment the hotels had the upper hand in employment, could pay low wages, and get workers to give up some of their stated privileges (including the "service charge"). Most employees were completely submissive to management. The employees' situation was "aggravated by the fact that there are no specific labour laws for the hotel sector in Sri Lanka" (97).



In regard to goods, the main areas for cooperation between the villages and hotels are livestock, fish and other agricultural products. These account for 52 percent of all food purchases. There is, indeed, a large potential for cooperation except for the fact that hotel demand fluctuates greatly with occupancy rates (and seasonal tourism). This variation in occupancy is as much as 410 times lower in the off-season. Fish is the main item supplied to both hotels by the two regions; other items (eggs, fruit and poultry) play a marginal role. The fish supplied are lobsters, prawns, and crabs; the prices of these rose by 100 percent between 1968-72 (far above the general price trend). The actual returns to the producers are fragmented because of the existence of a network of middlemen and the number of producers. Often, these middlemen and producers have partners and employees who also receive a share of the income. The total number of participants (both direct and indirect) in Bentota-Beruwala was 106; in Talahena, 64. If the income were divided equally (a quite unreasonable assumption) this would produce an income of Rs. 472 and Rs. 625 per person in the respective regions. But there are differences between middlemen and among producers. In Talahena, most of the middlemen depend solely on hotels for their livelihood. In Bentota-Beruwala, the middlemen are not dependent. Further, only a small percentage of the working population in the villages benefits from sales to the hotels.

Have the contacts with the hotels resulted in increased village capacity, or new production techniques, or cultivation of new crops demanded by hotels, or other forms of capital formation? The answer to all these questions is in the negative. The answers seemingly contradict the enormous increases in fish catches. This is explained as a "negative response" to tourism demand. Because "the catches are solely oriented towards a short-term maximization of income and already after a few years of tourism there has been a frightening decimation of stocks" (104) -- particularly of lobsters, resulting in abandonment of this occupation on some parts of the coast.

An explanation for the failure to encourage a positive developmental response in the villages could only be superficially explained by reference to the weakness and seasonality of hotel demand. The real reasons are: (i) the small size of the production units; (ii) the atomization of the demand impulses; and (iii) the seasonality of tourism. Free enterprise, which permits the "concurrence of these three factors will hinder the positive developmental effect of international tourism." (105) The authors believe that there has been an "overdevelopment" of "parasitical" middlemen who take advantage of the villagers' need to earn every rupee they can. The competition between villagers, the low profits of the middlemen reduce the possibility of capital formation. Thus the chances of "positive" developmental effects are neutralized.

The supply of agricultural foodstuffs remained inelastic throughout the period reviewed. This was mainly due to the small size of production units, and the size of homegardens where surpluses were fortuitous. Thus, apart from employment opportunities, "the structure of village economy remains largely untouched by the influence of international tourism." (17) The authors believe that supplies to hotels could be organized. This would involve as a first step, the removal of the middlemen. Seasonality and its effects on demand could be reduced through price policies, intensification of tourism promotion. There is no "automatic link between growth rate of tourist arrivals and development on the village level.



The way in which hotels are embedded in their traditional surrounding is much more important as (than?) the absolute number of tourists." (19) Therefore, even though tourism has contributed significantly to the national exchequer, it has hardly touched the fringes of the village economy and has not given rise to structural changes in response.

## II. PLANNERS, GEOGRAPHERS, TOURISM SPECIALISTS AND OTHERS

ASHMAN, M. n.d. Micronesia tastes tourism. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 135-143.

This interesting article traces the development of tourism in Micronesia, the incompatibility of tourism with traditional customs, the attempts to resolve this incompatibility, the formulation of tourism plans, and the involvement of the local groups in planning

Tourism in Micronesia can be said to date from 1968. Before that date most travel to Micronesia was for business purposes. From 1968-1974 tourism has grown at an annual rate of 35%. In 1973 there were 60,000 visitors (equal to about half the total population of the islands). In 1974 there were 40 hotels, 34 of which were wholly owned by Micronesians. Thirty hotels have Micronesian managers.

The trust territory set up a full-time tourist office in 1971. It established a tourist commission in each of the six districts. The purposes of these commissions are: first, to entrust tourism in the hands of bodies of concerned citizens; second, because of the different cultural groups and attitudes, together with differences in levels of development in each district, the government felt that it was "important to avoid trying to set up a single headquarters-directed program for tourist development. Better long-term results would be attained if each district discussed the alternatives and decided what kind of tourism would best meet the district's economic and social needs" (136).

The setting of goals has been a slow process. One of the reasons is that since tourism as a commercial phenomenon has been recent, current cultural beliefs and values are often in conflict with it, and these beliefs and understanding of the commercial nature of tourism will change slowly. Ashman provides three examples as evidence: First, he points out that hospitality is culturally required. No payment is made except in terms of reciprocation. Therefore, how can tourists be charged? Second, the failure to produce food for tourists is not merely a matter of lack of proper planning by hotel and producer but also a problem of the type of food the Micronesian would like to serve the tourist. He does not want to serve papayas (which are used as pig food) or bananas (which the poor consume). The tourist, according to the local image, is rich and should not be insulted by being offered worthless food. A third example is in the field of hotel construction. Often constructed in secrecy, it is often a box-like structure with a bulb. The Micronesian cannot understand why a tourist would refuse to stay in this and would prefer a thatched hut without electricity. After all, "a Micronesian aspires to a functional concrete cottage with an electric light bulb hanging from the ceiling" (137).

There is a need for more general education on what the tourists want and who they are. But it is already clear that while seeking the benefits of tourism the Micronesian does not want to surrender his own tradition. Ashman cites numerous examples in support of this: the adjustments made to the Nett Municipal Cultural Center at Ponape (which is modelled after the Polynesian Cultural Center at Laie) is one. On the other hand, they are not against high-rise buildings. The educated young are against this. But Micronesian district leaders, looking at the Ala Moana Hotel in Hawaii "thought it would be good to have such a hotel because big hotels were impressive and would create much needed employment." (138) For the older generation this was "progress." Again, they object when a high-rise hotel displaces many small hotels. On the other hand when a woman objected to commercializing sacred dance for the tourists, an older woman who was also one of the island's leading dancers said "that dancing for money had several redeeming benefits. Among them, it would renew interest in learning the traditional dances.... Dancing for pay would give (the young) an incentive to learn, would give them spending money which parents cannot provide, and would keep them busy during otherwise idle hours when they might get into mischief." (139)

At an early stage it was wondered how far the clan structure would affect attitudes of service. Experience has shown that it has not. The poor service in tourist facilities is more the result of lack of training than any objection to service.

But the clan structure has affected one aspect of tourism development; the unwillingness to formulate and discuss tourism plans. There is a general attitude of "tell us what is best for us." Even this is changing and local involvement in decision-making is increasing.

Micronesia has retained its identity thus far. Will this remain with mass tourism? How much tourism is too much? How can Micronesia participate in tourism without turning its "living guests into commercial objects to be handled like the processing of air cargo?" (140)

Till the date of the paper only goals had been formulated for discussion. Thereafter, plans would be prepared. Ashman provides us with an example of the goals from Truk (which is very similar to the goals of the other Districts). These appear to be important enough to reproduce here:

1. Tourism development must be designed so that it will renew, strengthen, and preserve the culture of Truk.

Let us find ways to make sure our culture remains strong. Let us make sure that any changes to our culture are good changes which the people of Truk want to accept. Being proud and happy that we are Trukese, we want to accept changes that are good for us and will continue to let us be Trukese.

2. Tourism must share Truk's economic development with other forms such as agriculture and marine resources.

Let us make sure that we create new jobs, that not all of them will be in tourism, but that we will have new jobs in agriculture and fishing, too. We want all three kinds of economic development as well as others, if possible. When we grant new business licenses or economic development loans or permit foreign investment, let us approve businesses in all kinds of economic development. Let us train our young people for jobs in all three areas.



3. The development of tourism should be in gradual stages so that each level will offer complete, high-quality tourism before setting out on a higher level.

Let us temporarily hold to the present number of 143 hotel rooms for this district. Let us make sure we have enough rental cars, restaurants, boats and other tourism facilities to make Truk's 143 rooms a first-class tourist destination area. Holding to the present number of rooms will limit our visitors to a maximum of about 300 persons per day which is more than ten times the present number of tourists. We want to taste the fruits of tourism before we decide how much more we want.

4. Tourist accommodations and activities should be confined to designated areas.

While we want to concentrate visitor activities primarily to certain areas of our islands so that a minimum of foreign influence is exerted on residents, at the same time we want to encourage interaction between tourists and Trukese through mutual understanding and respect.

5. Recognizing that there are all kinds of tourists, Truk tourism development will concentrate on attracting specific types of visitors who are compatible with Truk culture.

Let us decide what kinds of people we want to visit Truk. Will it be divers, fishermen, honeymooners, and others? Once we have decided on the kinds of visitors we want, let us then develop attractions that will bring them here.

6. No visitor attractions shall be imported that will be in conflict with Trukese culture.

Let us look at each proposed tourist attraction to see whether it will weaken our culture. Let us study whether its benefits are greater than any harm it may bring. We are not opposed to changes, but want to try to make all changes good ones.

7. The district must inventory and protect its historic, cultural and scenic sites and must restrict commercial development of these sites.

We know Truk has many historic, cultural and scenic attractions that should remain free for residents and visitors to enjoy. Let us conduct a total inventory of our sites and decide which ones should be kept free from commercial development.

8. The business of tourism must be of maximum benefit to the people of Truk.

Let us create only enough businesses to meet our own employment needs and not create jobs that must be filled by outsiders. Let us emphasize training of Trukese to fill all present and future jobs.

9. The business of tourism must be spread among as many Trukese as possible.

When considering new business proposals, let us approve those which offer greatest opportunity and participation to Trukese. Where possible, large proposed businesses should be required to permit participation by small businessmen; for example, a hotel can be granted a business permit to operate rooms, restaurant, and laundry service, but can be required to contract out its needs for rental cars, boats, tours, gift shop, etc.

10. All commercial buildings must have an appearance in keeping with Trukese environment.

Let us establish a design review board that will make sure that all new commercial construction looks like it belongs in Truk and adds to the beauty of our islands.

11. The maximum height of all construction must be limited to no higher than forty feet.

Let us make sure that the islands of Truk always will look like garden islands of beautiful trees and beaches.

12. Commercial development must be limited to specific, zoned areas.

Let us adopt master plans for our district and make sure that living and recreational areas are saved for those uses.

13. The use of local materials and food must be encouraged for all possible construction and operation of tourism businesses.

Before we look for imports, let us make sure we have tried to use our own resources.

14. All activities must consider their environmental impact.

Let us make sure we do not destroy our natural surroundings.

15. The practice of tipping must be discouraged: services and goods must be fairly priced so that tipping is not necessary.

Let us make sure that employees are paid fair wages for their work. The people of Micronesia have always been friendly and generous



by nature, so, let us make sure that we do not start being friendly to strangers only for money.

16. Both visitors and residents must be well-educated regarding the business of tourism and respect for Trukese culture.

Let us conduct educational programs in school and on the radio to explain tourism to our people and let us prepare material to be given to visitors so that they will know and understand about Truk before they arrive at our islands.

BELT, COLLINS & ASSOCIATES, LIMITED et al. 1973. Tourism development programme for Fiji. Honolulu: Belt, Collins & Associates, Limited et al.

This is a report submitted to the Tourism Projects Department, IERD. It typifies the current approach to tourism planning: an integrated approach utilizing the combined insights of several disciplines -- planning, ecology, geography, economics, finance, and sociology. The result is a balanced document.

Although the authors did not have a sociologist on their team, the report contains an entire chapter entitled "Mitigating cultural impact on social conflicts." Remarks will be limited to this chapter. This commences with an enumeration of the difficulties in estimating the social and cultural impact: (1) absence of generally accepted and quantified measures; (2) variation of problems from one place to another because of the uniqueness of each social environment; (3) rapid, recent growth of mass tourism and the absence of sufficient accumulated data and experimentation with different techniques -- the team therefore recommends that such information should be systematically collected and analyzed; (4) generalization is difficult because the social impact varies according to the type and scale of tourism development; (5) opinions and policies differ -- there are two extremes: one suggests that the need for rapid economic development justifies the trade-off in "loss of cultural integrity"; the other, suggests that a society should be protected at any cost, even if this means no growth.

The authors then dispose of the question of optimum numbers of tourists. They opine, first, that this exercise would be justified only if tourism is the only economic base. Otherwise, the exercise is meaningless because so many factors are involved -- for instance, the socio-economic differences between residents and visitors, the seasonal and geographical distribution of visitors, the type and location of visitor accommodation, the degree to which local residents receive the benefits and control tourism investment and management. But the authors do agree that a useful exercise would be to estimate the number of visitors at any one time (not a total for the year) in relation to the local population.

The approach adopted by the authors is neither extreme of sacrificing cultural integrity for economic growth, or stagnation at any cost. They prefer constant monitoring and awareness of the problems likely to occur. They realize that change has occurred in Fiji, and will continue to occur, but they do not want change to occur too rapidly. Therefore, there must be planning, and moderate growth to permit identification of problems, control, and absorption.

The report sets out some of the likely areas of change:

- (1) alterations in the systems of values, particularly a likely change in the Fijian traditional system of cooperation, and non-economic ideals;
- (2) increased urbanization and its attendant problems (crime, alienation, the need for expanded public services and education);
- (3) changes in traditional values due to contact with tourists -- "because of the nature of tourism as an activity oriented to overseas visitors, it tends to have a greater cultural and social impact than many other forms of economic development" (210);
- (4) the necessity for developing work patterns suited to a monetized economy;
- (5) the possibility of loss of values and traditional patterns without substitution of values equally valid for the local environment.

To control the impact of tourism and provide for its careful development in Fiji, the team makes the following recommendations:

- (1) "guidance of tourism so that it is in balance and integrated with other sectors of the country's overall economic, social and physical development" (211);
- (2) distribution of the economic benefits of tourism, both direct and indirect, to the maximum number of people in all segments of society -- for instance, location of ancillary industries throughout the island, commencing tourism development in different locations;
- (3) encouragement of tourism as a means of cross cultural exchange as well as a technique of economic development -- the development of a cultural institute, museums, traditional dances, home visit programs, encouraging casual contacts;



- (4) use of tourism as an important means of environmental and cultural conservation, emphasizing its natural beauties, the friendliness of its people;
- (5) location and development programming of visitor accommodation and other facilities so that they can be efficiently served by infrastructure and do not unduly pre-empt lands which should be allocated to other uses (parks, agriculture, etc.);
- (6) architectural design of visitor accommodation to reflect the particular characteristics of Fiji's culture and physical environment; and
- (7) development of education and training programs in order to prepare local residents for all types and levels of positions, including managerial, in tourism activities.

Finally, the report turns its attention to the mitigation of social conflicts. These can arise due to:

- (1) the feeling that living costs have increased without commensurate economic benefits;
- (2) difference in levels of affluence between visitors and residents;
- (3) the dislike of serving visitors for historical reasons;
- (4) lack of sensitivity of tourists and failure to respect local cultural traditions.

For all these likely conflicts, the team suggests a program of education -- of the visitors, of residents (particularly pointing out the economic benefits of tourism -- provided these occur in actuality and are distributed throughout the island), in schools, for persons employed in the tourism industry (one of the methods suggested here is monthly workshops conducted by management consultants with all employees -- something done in Hawaii).

C.D. BIGELOW & ASSOCIATES, 1973. Integrated economic, social, environment development; alternatives for tourism in Rwanda. Contract No. AID/CM/afr-C-73-17. Washington, D.C.: Decision Systems.

This book is more in the nature of a preliminary evaluation of development alternatives in Rwanda. Minerals, the primary source of foreign

exchange for the country are near exhaustion and some other source must be found, soon. It is a subsistence economy and the paths to further development involve an integrated approach. The report evaluates, for instance, the alternatives between livestock development and the necessary conversion of the forest reserves for this purpose leading to the possible extinction of the gorilla. On the other hand, tourism development would necessitate the retention of these reserves.

In evaluating alternative investments the report suggests a decision format "screen." The different investment ideas are then "filtered" through the screen which specifies the following: requested by Rwanda, self-help, encourages private investment, social development, benefit distribution, multilateral, fits planning, urgency, economic feasibility. There is not much analysis of these tests, nor any weighting. The screen, however, does appear to be a useful device for testing the worth of alternative projects.

BIRD, R.A., 1971. An approach to tourism industry planning in developing nations. Paper presented to the Pacific Regional Science Conference, Tokyo, August 25, 1971.

The only suggestion of some relevance to the sociologist in this paper is that employment should be monitored, the rest of the paper deals with the technical aspects of planning.

BUTLER, R.W. The impact of off-road recreation vehicles on travel. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Travel Research Association, Idaho, August 12-15, 1973. 1/

This paper stresses the need for research into the likely impact of "off-road recreation vehicles" on the travel market. These vehicles are snowmobiles, mini-bikes, dune-buggies, all-terrain-vehicles, and hovercraft, which are growing increasingly popular.

While a car is "the invisible umbilical cord" which "appears to forbid the vast majority of passengers to travel further than one mile from the machine" (4), that is, more than one mile away from the road or park, recreation vehicles of the species described, bring a sense of freedom. This freedom of movement will present increasing demands on the physical, economic and social environment of the area in which the recreation takes place.

There is very little research, the author points out, on the ownership and use of these vehicles: who owns them, do owners normally own more than one type of vehicle, the differential geographical patterns of use.

---

1/ See also: G.A. Hill. Central New York snowmobilers and patterns of vehicle use. Journal of Leisure Research, 1974, 6, 280-292.



In the light of this inadequate research, the author's views take on the aspect of speculations. On the basis of limited data (mainly in Ontario) he believes first, that the recreation takes place mainly around urban areas; second, that there is relatively small use of commercial facilities (the Ontario snowmobilers spent only six percent of their nights away from home in commercial facilities). It would, therefore, appear that the impact on the travel market will be limited. This impact will be further limited by the fact that increased use of these vehicles will evoke legislation restricting their use. Finally, the use will be increasingly questioned as a wasteful expenditure of scarce resources.

Caribbean Ecumenical Consultation for Development, n.d., The role of tourism in Caribbean development. Bridgetown, Barbados: CADEC

This is a report of a conference. It is a careful and valuable analysis of the problems of tourism in the Caribbean and a series of "recommendations" for dealing with the problems. These are not put forward as panaceas, but in the light of the necessity for tourism without the loss of dignity; the possibility of human enrichment without servility; a search for the true meaning of the exchange of ideas and fellowship.

Some of the problems in Caribbean tourism are now too well-known; the confrontation of poverty by wealth, continuing in the role of the servant, are some of these. A repetition of some of the comments will evidence the worth of this book: tourism has helped to make the complex racial problem in the Caribbean more obvious and in certain cases, to aggravate it; the tourist "need not be pampered and engulfed in what he presumably wants, but can be welcomed in an atmosphere which incorporates him into a society rather than puts society at his disposal"; and "may be a first step" to improve tourism "is to make people aware that tourism is always what we make of it."

DASMANN, R.F., MILTON, J.P., & FREEMAN, P.H. 1973. Ecological principles for economic development. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Ltd.

Chapter 5 of this well-known book deals with the "development of tourism." While most of the chapter is concerned with the physical environment and man's careless capacity for destroying the ecological balance in the name of development, there are numerous "nuggets" of utility and interest to the sociologist.

The authors point out that the basis for attracting visitors is the quality of the environment and this must, therefore, be preserved. Conservation is interlinked with advancing regional development and as a result (i) careful planning is necessary; (ii) the plan must subordinate



profit maximization to the possibility of destruction of the ecosystem: (iii) "leakages" must be curtailed; and (iv) "the more local people benefit from tourism, the more they will benefit from a commitment to preserve the environmental features which attract tourism" (115). However, lest it be thought that the last "principle" encourages a "museum pieces" approach and connotes the idea of keeping underdeveloped groups at the state of underdevelopment in the interests of tourism, the authors make it quite clear in their later discussion of park areas (125-127) that there are ethical and social questions that must be answered, and that change is inevitable.

The authors believe that every area has a "carrying capacity" which varies with the fragility of the area and the nature of the tourist activity contemplated. Carrying capacity is defined as "a measure of the number of individuals of any species that a particular environment can support" (33). It has several levels: (a) a subsistence density (the absolute maximum); (b) a security density (the level at which numbers are normally held by natural selection); and (c) an optimum density. Carrying capacity "is not fixed. It fluctuates naturally with weather and climate, and the operation of other natural factors such as fire, floods, earthquakes and vulcanism. It is being modified continually by human action. In any one area it can be increased to some maximum level which is determined by the rate at which that environmental requirement which is in shortest supply can be provided. Such a requirement is known as a limiting factor." A limiting factor is that substance or quality in the environment the supply of which is least abundant in relation to the needs of the animal or plant concerned" (34-35) e.g., food, dependent on density of population.

Different types of tourism demand different types of facilities and an assessment, in each case, of the "carrying capacity." This is particularly the case in the development of tourism in coastal zones. For instance, in Greece an estimate was made of the carrying capacity of beaches. This estimate would be viewed as quite conservative compared to densities "on Copacabana beaches on a peak Sunday" (132). Again, while large hotels may be more economical in controlling effluents small hotels may provide more employment and preserve the natural beauty of the place more than large hotels. The principles relating to coastal zone development apply with equal force to islands. Island ecosystems are extremely fragile. Often, tourism demands not merely the preservation of the natural beauty of the island, but also the maintenance of the "exotic" culture. "But unfortunately, most aspects of tourism development are antithetical to cultural conservation and the protection of unique environments, since they imply modernization with resulting cultural changes, urbanization and resource exploitation. The problem is to reconcile the commonly conflicting aims of development and the conservation of natural attractions."(135)



ESH, T. and ROSENBLUM, I. 1975. Tourism in developing countries -- trick or treat? A report from The Gambia. Research Report No. 31. Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies.

This booklet reports on the results of a survey of the tourist industry in The Gambia. The survey was conducted over a period of four months in 1974 and involved the use of questionnaires, interviews, and secondary material. The questionnaires were administered to, and the interviews were conducted with, hotel employees and managerial staff in four "charter tourist" hotels.

The Gambia, narrow slivers of land on either side of the river of the same name in West Africa, was "discovered" for tourism by a Swede in the mid-1960s. He found the basic ingredient of its charm -- miles and miles of unspoilt beach with a beneficent sun and no rain when the rest of Europe was experiencing winter. The Swedes are still the dominant group among tourists. Further, they come mainly on charter (or "package") tours with most of the expenses paid in their country of origin. The Gambia views tourism as the most significant means to further economic development -- agriculture, the main source of livelihood, and groundnuts (the main export) do not appear capable of much expansion without the infusions of foreign exchange that tourism promises.

The authors divide the main report into three parts: (1) the tourist industry; (2) the labor survey; and (3) an attitude survey. This summary will follow the same basic division.

### 1. The tourist industry

The gradual increase in tourists commenced in 1966/67 with the Swedish tour operator, Vingressor/Club 33. Before that there were three hotels, all owned by local Lebanese (the main businessmen in The Gambia). In 1971/72 a Danish tour operator commenced business. This and the following year were remarkable for their dramatic rise in the number of tourists. Most of the tourists are Swedish, with an average age ranging between 30 - 49. The survey does not mention whether they are married or unmarried. However, it has been suggested that they are "typical.....middle-income couples..." <sup>1/</sup> These tourists spend an average of 300 dalasis (approximately US\$126) per trip (average 14 days) <sup>2/</sup>, or an average of US\$9.00 per day. Most of the money spent, which is possibly exaggerated, is on hotels (31.1%). Twenty-eight percent was spent on souvenirs.

---

<sup>1/</sup> IDA. The Gambia. Appraisal of an infrastructure and tourism project. Washington, D.C., The World Bank, Report No. 844-GM, December 12, 1975, para. 2.07, p. 2.

<sup>2/</sup> ibid, p. 2.

Of the 14 hotels in The Gambia, 9 are local (mainly Lebanese), and five are foreign enterprises. Four charter hotels are studied in this Report, in one of these the government of The Gambia has a one-third interest. Most of these hotels are constructed under a five-year Development Certificate which allows the hotels not merely tax exemptions, but also the free import of building materials and non-consumable goods. 1/

Most of the hotels are open for the season -- the end of April to the beginning of November. At the end of the tourist season, most of the employees are laid off. 2/ The authors estimate that the tourist hotels provide direct employment for 1,229 employees. No statistical data is available for indirect employment, though tourism has revived one form of traditional handicraft (batik) which was dormant. Again, the authors were not able to determine how many people were involved in the batik industry.

Tourism is marketed in The Gambia by specific factors: (i) pleasant climate during the European winter; (ii) the nearest climate in which 100% sunny climate can be guaranteed; (iii) sandy beaches; (iv) a stable government; and "a friendly, tourist-minded people"; (v) communication in English-- the official language; and (vi) interesting excursions -- "a touch of Africa." It does not really matter to the tourist in which country these factors exist -- it is the price and the factors, more than the country, that matter.

The dependence on the Swedes "causes a dependency on the political sphere" (22). Further, the hotels are vertically integrated, allowing them to manipulate demand and supply. Again, though there is a claim to present a "touch of Africa," there is a "Swedish ambience" (22); the decor and food are Swedish. The food is mainly imported. 3/ So too are the furniture, fixtures, and other paraphernalia of hotel living. This results in demonstration effects which "have been shown to increase the demand of the local population for foreign commodities" (23). Further, "the general effect of tourism tends to resemble an urbanization process where a concentration of people and their waste products become limited to a densely populated (tourist) area" (23). Pressures are put on existing services, transport needs and pollution increase, the beaches degenerate. "Hence, the original factors which attracted the tourists will be transformed into deterring factors for future tourism" (24). Decisions about Gambian tourism (for instance, hotel location, exploitation of water and other resources) lie in the continental market, not in The Gambia.

---

1/ IDA. The Gambia. Appraisal of an infrastructure and tourism project. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, Report No. 844-GM, December 12, 1975, p. 3, para. 2.11. The Bank mentions an "income tax holiday for up to seven years".

2/ *ibid.*, p. 3, para. 2.09: The Bank states that "the tourist season has gradually extended and now begins in October and ends in late April". See also p. 30, para. 9.03: "only 25% of hotel employees work year round."

3/ *ibid.*, "At present hotels in The Gambia import about 85% of their foodstuffs because the availability, quantity, and quality of local produce are too uncertain for hotel operation to purchase on the local market" (Annex IX, p. 1, para. 1.).



## 2. Labor survey

At the time of the survey (January, 1974) the four charter tourist hotels (CT hotels) employed 810 persons, of whom 748 were Gambians and 62 were expatriates. The labor survey was limited to Gambian employees of whom 221 were sampled (approximately 29.51%).

The information obtained was categorized under the heads of tribe, sex, age, civil status, and education.

Mandingo employees formed the single largest group (46%), followed by the Wollof (15%), Fulla (13%), Jola (11%), and others. The Fulla are slightly under-represented by comparison with their national numbers probably due to the fact that the Wollof are coastal peoples, the Fulla are not.

Only 19% of the employees sampled were females. This could partially be explained by the traditional role of women in a predominantly Muslim country since hotels had no basic policy with regard to the hiring of women (it was generally left to the arbitrary discretion of each department head).

Two age groups, 20-24 and 25-29, accounted for 69% of the employees -- the former with 43%, the latter, with 26%. It is significant, however, that the age group, 15-19 accounted for 11 percent. Female employees were represented most in the age groups 15-19, and 20-24. Most of the employees were married (55%).

Fifty-three percent of the employees had had a secondary school education -- 37% of whom had attended the middle secondary school, and 11% the upper secondary school, levels. Thirty-seven percent stated that they had had no formal education. The percentage of educated employees is quite high when it is realized that a national school system in The Gambia is of recent date (the mid-1950s). Of the employees interviewed, 11% had at one time or another attended the hotel training school started by the Gambian Government under UNDP/ILO auspices in 1972.

Only 7% of the employees were born outside The Gambia, 96 (approx, 43.4%) were born in the Komba St. Mary area (around the hotels), while 107 (approx. 48.4%) were born outside that area. Of the last category, 39 moved into the area before the hotels started; while of the 68 that came to the area after the hotels commenced business, the authors consider that genuine hotel/tourist-related migrations occurred only in the case of 34 persons -- which amounts to 17% of the 203 Gambian employees for whom this data is available. In the case of those who migrated, the majority (18) migrated alone.

Nearly 20% of the employees had some previous experience of hotel/bar and domestic work, before employment by the CT hotels. Fifty-eight



percent had some previous occupation -- the large majority of these came "from more established sectors of the economy" (29). On the basis of the foregoing data the authors conclude that "it is possible that the tourist industry attracts the young and relatively well educated people... who, from the outset, have a fair chance on the labor market when compared to older (25+ years of age), unemployed persons with little or no education" (29). The authors do, however, caution that this conclusion may not apply when tourism expands as planned, thereby generating pressures on the labor market. Most of the employees are laid off during the off season (June - October); 59% of them stated that they would like to return to work at the hotels. The data regarding off season employment was inadequate and did not permit of any conclusions.

During the tourist season the number of employees and the duration of their employment is determined by managerial estimations of demand for accommodation. Workers are employed and laid off in stages during the season. Ninety-seven percent of the employees stated that they had financial obligations to dependents (varying mainly between 1-3 dependents, 29%; 4-6 dependents, 30%; 7-9 dependents, 26%). The average salary per month for the workers was D 66.16 (approx. US\$ 28). This average should be related to the cost of a bag of rice which will support a family of 6 for a month: D30 (approx. US\$13) in February 1974 (and the prices rise higher during the tourist season). Provisions regarding sick, and overtime, pay vary. But there is little security of employment and no union.

Some questions and conclusions are raised by the data, apart from the obvious: First, is it really true that "the development of a service sector and particularly a tourist industry would be suitable for a so-called underdeveloped country where education is a scarce factor"? (35) The data here seems to belie such a statement. Undoubtedly, the Gambian employee has to be skilled in human relations particularly since "the behavior of the Scandinavian tourist differs quite distinctly from that of the British colonialists who were the previous Europeans to whom the Gambian people were exposed" (36). But this is not the complete answer when the data is examined.

Second, the data is incomplete both with regard to previous occupation and, more importantly, off-season employment. Most of the employees considered themselves part of the labor force (only about 0.6% of those interviewed stated that they would like to return to their traditional occupation; 12.7% stated that they would like to go abroad, mainly for studies).

Third, the answer to the question regarding the number of dependents does not convey the extent of social responsibility in Gambian society. "Economic obligations" exist "towards coinhabitants of the compound... to conjugal and extended family members living outside the compound. Economic aid was furthermore distributed to friends and as charity to poor people in a rather regular manner" (39). In The Gambia "people strive to satisfy many



variables involving obligations to kinship, family and friendship, ethnic affiliation, religious ties, caste/status preoccupation and the production of sufficient wealth to achieve desired social ends" (39). These obligations apply as much to the hotel employees. The authors found that in the dry season (the low agricultural period) there was a flow of rural residents to urban areas and a flow of money to the rural areas (from the hotel employees to their relatives mainly) during this period. The authors could not determine whether any form of reciprocity existed under which the hotel employees obtained assistance or employment in the rural areas during the off season.

### 3. Attitude survey

a. Employees: Both positive and negative attitudes were expressed regarding tourism. In the former category, the most common answer was that tourism provided more employment (30.3%); 12% stated that the tourist industry helped the country in various ways; some felt that tourism united people from different countries and led to an exchange of ideas. On the negative side the employees commented on the fact that tourism encouraged school children to play truant; that it spoiled the culture (the references were particularly related to the fact that women tourists were comparatively undressed, anathema in a Muslim country where most women were veiled); that the hotels closed down in the off-season; that foreigners were rude to tourists; and that most of the hotels were foreign owned which meant that the profits did not stay in the country. The authors found that most people had a positive attitude towards tourism and that "ideally the Gambians would like to exchange ideas with the tourists.... In reality, however, there is generally a very superficial interest on the side of the tourist since his contacts with the local population takes the form of curiosa....." (46).

Another widespread idea that the authors found among the employees was that "there was a possibility of going to Scandinavia with some tourist who would then provide education or a job in that country" (46). This hope existed in total disregard of facts and of cultural differences. It could possibly explain the presence of many youngsters, of school-going age, who hung around tourists offering to be guides and "friends" (see page 43).

b. The newsmedia tended to repeat the same positive and negative opinions as the employees, of course, more articulately. The economic and moral problems of tourism were highlighted; the "importance of providing more job opportunities and new means of income was generally recognized" (49). This was so particularly with regard to the revival of batik work by the women. The Press also pointed out that the tax and other concessions that the hotels had won from the Government were being used to expand into other types of commerce; that this was being carried out at the expense of the Gambian economy and Gambian businessmen. Again, they stated that during the tourist season the prices of meat rose and meat became scarce for the average Gambian consumer; transport fares increased; and employment was uncertain.



c. Expatriates: The opinions of 19 expatriates were obtained (14 Swedes, the rest other Europeans). (i) Not "one" of the expatriates "believed in any future for" the tourism industry (55). This was a conclusion arrived at on account, they said, of the "behavior and attitudes of the Gambians" (55). The Gambians lied, stole, were lazy, and were racially prejudiced. The expatriates felt "that the hotel business would not function without as many Europeans as possible in the supervisory positions. "One person even claimed that white people had to be present in order to influence the Gambians "with high moral thinking" (56); (ii) One of the ills of the industry, the expatriates felt, was the tendency of some officers in government to make a fast buck; it was only a few who benefitted economically through tourism; (iii) Most of the expatriates "had very vague ideas as to a foreign culture," they were generally "strongly biased towards the Western European ideals and these aspects of the Gambian society were either considered as non-existent, inferior or totally incompatible to European concepts" (57). They also generally viewed the negative aspects of tourism as being Gambia's problem, and not caused by external forces. Only a few criticized the behavior of tourists and expressed concern about the impact of tourism in the Gambian culture.

### Conclusions

The authors feel that though there are some positive benefits of tourism in The Gambia (particularly direct employment, estimated at about 1,229 during the peak tourist months; and the revival of batik work in general it is doubtful whether tourism will bring to The Gambia the benefits claimed. They doubt whether tourism "can play the role in economic development which the Government envisages.

This view is shared by the Swedish consul who was interviewed (he is also a Director of one of the hotels). The consul believed that Gambian tourism had reached its peak and that the planned projection of an increase of 500 new beds a year was totally unrealistic.

However, the authors seem to imply that realism is difficult when tourism is generally viewed as a means of "revenue for foreign exchange, particularly when an organization such as the World Bank is acting in their behalf" (9).

FAGES, J. and T.B. McGRATH. 1975. Tourism development in Guam and Tahiti: A comparison. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii. Pacific Science Association, 27-32.

This is a brief, factual article, assessing the role of tourism in the economic development of Tahiti and Guam. The former, located in French Polynesia, is as dependent on imports as Guam, a dependency of the



U.S. Both islands have plural societies with the indigenous population occupying the lowest economic strata.

In terms of images as tourist destinations, Tahiti is better known. It is only recently that Guam has begun to feel the tourist boom (most tourists coming from Japan). In Tahiti, the single largest bloc of visitors are from the U.S.A. Between 1960 to 1971 tourism grew in Tahiti by 400 percent; in Guam, visitors numbered 1,500 in 1962, and 108,340 in 1972.

The economies of both islands are mainly supported by the military establishment. It is quite likely that these establishments will be reduced. In that event, tourism is likely to play a greater role in the economies of both islands. If it is to do so, however, there must be careful investigations of the type of visitors, forward and backward linkages, and the effect on fragile cultural and ecological systems.

FALK, R.F. and D.Q. BRODIE. 1976. Citizen involvement in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Project. In the Travel Research Association. The impact of tourism. Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Travel Research Association, 81-85.

It has been suggested that one of the most important factors causing a negative reaction to tourism and tourists is the failure of planners (be they be a national government or regional authorities) to inform and involve the local population in the tourism planning process. This important paper, one of the very few on the subject, deals with the why and how of citizen involvement. The project was the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (GSMNP) Project.

There is a two-fold rationale for citizen involvement according to the authors: first, this is a legal requirement; and second, it reflects the democratic ideal. But, citizen consultation is usually a ritual undertaken long after the goals have been established and the plan formulated. In this case, however, it was decided that citizen involvement should take place at the earliest phase.

Planners usually consult elected officials, traditional interest groups (for instance The Sierra Club in the case of national parks), and influential people and groups in the community (Chambers of Commerce, for example). While all these are persons and individuals with a legitimate interest, they do not represent broad-based opinion. What is more, they are often not people who are directly affected by the plans. In addition, therefore, to these categories, the "general citizen" must be consulted. The authors divide this "John Q. Public" into two classes -- the "impacted citizen (one who is directly affected as, for instance, by a road being built through his property) and the "facilitated citizen" (one who will, to continue the example, use the road).

How was the process of contacting these individuals conducted? First, by identifying persons to be involved using random sampling techniques. Next, calling them to meetings where the problem was outlined and their views elicited. It is, as the authors point out, especially important to get the views of individuals who would not normally participate in the process. With regard to the "facilitated" group, the most important goal of the consultation process is to find out whether in fact the proposed plans do assist them. In order to ensure the widest possible response, letter-writing (or the petition procedure) is employed and the answers codified on the basis of whether they are for/against the plan, the degree of emotional content, and specific recommendations made.

Undoubtedly, the process outlined involves greater expenditure. On the other hand it has numerous benefits -- more unquantifiable, than quantifiable. First, it resolves conflicts; second, the plan becomes the peoples' plan with a commitment to its success; and, third, those involved form a continuing informal feedback system which provides "the opportunity to check the perceptions of both planners and behavioral scientists in terms of the intent and meaning of the issues and priorities established initially by the citizens" (84).

FUKUNAGA, L. n.d. A new sun in North Kohala: The socio-economic impact of tourism and resort development on a rural community in Hawaii. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 199-227.

The author was born in Waipio Valley, not far from the area on which he reports.

The basic theme of this article is the need for assessing alternatives before proceeding with tourism as a means of development.

North Kohala is an area in which changes are taking place: tourism is replacing sugar. Till December 1975, the main employer was the Kohala Sugar Company. This is being replaced.

In 1961 a lease was entered into by the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel for 99 years. In 1965 the Dillingham Corporation built the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel for the Rockefellers for \$12.5 million. There are other plans to develop 33,635 acres in South Kohala into leisure communities (Boise Cascade and Signal Oil).

Before the Mauna Kea hotel was built, a highway and a deepwater project were already scheduled. The Mahukona-Kawaihae highway was completed in 1966; the Harbor deepwater project was not justified any longer and construction ceased.



The Kohala Sugar Company has left its mark on the island: it had moved from authoritarianism (with the hated "lunas" -- the foremen -- responsible for control of workers and their employment) to benevolent paternalism (with medical benefits, housing, schools). Within the plantation, there was a division of labor according to sex: the men were the breadwinners, the gamblers; the women made the home. Social intercourse took place within the community boundary (a line drawn more by cultural differences than strict ethnic segregation). The time perspective was cyclical (which depends on little or no change in society) rather than linear. Cultural and geographic isolation reduced outside influence until hotel construction commenced.

The Mauna Kea Beach Hotel which opened in 1965 was flooded with applicants. The pursuit of hotel employment continued despite the fact that many workers felt that there were "second class" citizens (largely because of their inability to speak English fluently). More importantly, contact with the more affluent patrons probably induced desires for a higher life style and more material goods. Equally important was the impact of the employment of women on domestic life and marriage. It is difficult to trace a direct causal relationship between increasing divorces and hotel employment. But, certainly, it could be viewed as trigerring the final separation, given pre-existing domestic strife. Hotel employment also contributed to the erosion of family solidarity.

Many men continued to work on plantations while their wives worked a full forty-hour shift at the hotel. With shifts, husband and wife were less often together, women improved their styles of dress and, given the previous division of labor and the potential for rumor, husbands would not take too kindly to the changes in the women (Cottingham, 1969).

In a later study (1970), Smith focussed on newly-employed women in Mauna Kea Beach and found that the first six-month period of employment was one of tension for the women and the family. Thereafter, many of the women felt "proud that they had made it through the initial transition... for the new employment opportunities provided ... many women experienced an increased sense of self-identity and self-worth. They liked the material things that the new income would make possible, and the new voice they now had in the family decision-making process" (210). Although it would appear from this study that the benefits outweighed the costs, it must be remembered that Smith's conclusions are based on a very small sample -- only 18 replies from the 300 questionnaires distributed.

Although crime and juvenile delinquency have increased they have not increased as much in North Kohala -- probably due to the "stronger cultural roots and the more gradual acceptance of change" (211). The peak years in North Kohala are 1967-68 (and one wonders whether this might have been due to uncertainty about the future among the residents of North Kohala -- the sugar Company was gradually phasing out its activities about this time).



With regard to population: There have been changes, mainly in the "ethnic make-up of the area and a stabilization of out-migration of the young to Oahu" (211) -- a reduction particularly in the percentage of Japanese. A major role in population stabilization has been played by hotel- and hotel-related employment. There is, however, a problem of finding employment for the 510 employees of the sugar Company (who support approximately 2,040 persons).

### The Economy

The most significant changes occurring as a result of the hotel have been "the increased employment opportunities outside the area, and the flow of new investment capital into the area. Approximately 18 percent of the area's labor force now work at the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel... The families are now able to get credit in addition to their increased purchasing power. New shopping centers and loan companies have materialized in response to new present and anticipated demands for goods and services" (215). Travel has increased. But business has shifted away from local merchants and many concerns have folded.

The increase in consumption of luxury items is noteworthy. The median family income has risen from \$4,363 in 1959 to \$8,380 in 1970. North Kohala families have, to some degree, increased even their non-cash income (family gardens, livestock, fishing). The decision, in 1966, of the sugar Company to give each worker a piece of land and, later, to sell each worker his rented house resulted in an impressive 72% home ownership. Carpets, drapes, furniture are being purchased -- with concomitant wasteful expenditure and the bankruptcy of some. A college education is fast becoming a reality.

Should, however, there be a concentration on tourism? There has been a definite attempt on the part of the State Legislature to deal with the consequences of closure of the sugar Company, and to plan for the future. But it is necessary to see tourism in a balanced perspective: "A recent household survey revealed that the earning power of a worker in agriculture is greater than one in tourism. It requires 1.13 persons to earn a median income of \$6,560 in agriculture while it requires 1.41 persons to earn \$5,820 in tourism... The actual per unit of time earning power is lower in tourism; the average rate in May 1971 (Statewide) was \$2.59 per hour for tourism versus \$3.01 per hour for trades, \$4.31 per hour for communication, and \$5.94 per hour for construction.... while the rate for sugar was not available. This may mean the difference between having both or just one of the spouses work to make ends meet, leaving one free for domestic necessities. Obviously, this higher earning power per person also means that the sugar Industry requires more highly-skilled workers" (219).

The other problems with regard to tourism are: seasonality, elasticity of demand, and its instability.



Like many other hotels, the "Mauna Kea Beach hotel does not seem to be interested in uplifting the local people of Kohala, and the nearby communities": these are mainly unskilled, quite a contrast with the sugar company which encouraged the development of local skills.

"The return of general income to the State and the general public (sic) by tourism is substantially lower than that of agriculture. Thomas Hitch has estimated that indirect employment generated by primary tourist investment is 23% lower than that generated by agricultural investments. Income generated by tourism to the State in the form of taxes is approximately 19% less than that generated by agriculture. This income usually consists of tax flow, generated by retail and wholesale activities, industry operating expenditures for goods and services, and direct taxation on salaries or wages and industry earnings. The average mean expenditure paid to the State by tourism is 0.46 cents per dollar versus 0.59 cents per dollar by the Sugar Industry" (223).

Land prices in North Kohala are increasing: in Kaula (Kona), West Hawaii they were 70 cents per ft.<sup>2</sup>, in 1960; in 1969 they ranged from \$2.00 to \$6.00. Further, developers encourage speculation -- "second home" concepts, thereby pricing land out of the reach of local residents. Of course the negative advantage of such inflationary trends is that it reduces immigration.

Finally, the author suggests that it is far better to diversify the economic base than concentrate on tourism alone. Some specific suggestions (relating to agriculture) are the use of trickle irrigation (which will save 40% of the water) and produce more. He also recommends small farm and livestock projects rather than the massive corporate ventures that the State seeks to encourage.

GOLDSTEIN, V. n.d. The effects of tourism on historical sites and culture. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 161-163.

Goldstein commences her article with an enumeration of the efforts to register and preserve historical sites.

Far more difficult, however, is the preservation of the social and cultural aspects. Increasingly, one hears about the tensions that tourism generates: the factionalization of communities, the loss of beach areas, the instability of families, the reservation of top managerial posts for expatriates, and the transition from an agriculture-base to service-orientation.

Goldstein questions whether the transition resulting from tourism is from a rural to an urban situation. "This is," she says, "not necessarily



the case, because these pockets of resorts really have not taken on the trappings of an urban environment. To a large extent, they are surrounded by an agricultural base be it ranching or horticulture of some sort" (162).

Now that social impacts, which are not easily measurable, have been recognized, tourism is proceeding more cautiously -- "sort of like shifting down to first gear on a car going down a steep slope" (162). In Hawaii one of the things now called for regularly is an environmental impact statement. Developers must provide access to public beaches. More social impact and anthropological studies are being carried out (like the one for the Kupahua Resort Development in Kaimu-Kalapana).

Goldstein suggests that it may be that tourism generates resentment, much like that against the military, because "what they both have in common is that they depend upon the in-migration, in large numbers, of people who do not expect to stay here -- people who are in essence transients. The degree of stay, of course, varies. Still, these are people who have their basic emotional and social ties elsewhere. Though other industries cause in-migration, those that do come must in some fashion become involved with the community and the area.... The visitor... need not make these concessions" (163). The visitor does not have to learn social cues and, possibly, the cumulation of overstepped boundaries... adds to the tensions and conflicts, with social cues being misunderstood on both sides" (163). If this is true it could likely be remedied through the education of visitors about expected social behavior.

HORNE, D. 1976. Swimming in other people's pools. Newsweek, June 21, 1976, 10.

This brief and delightful essay has just two points to make with regard to organized tourism: First, "the importance of ritual to sight-seeing;" and, second, "Tourists go on tours to meet other tourists".

The place: Australia; the object of worship: the Ayers Rock. It was Horne's first trip on a package tour. For him, the journey took on the aspect of a ritual in that each step was carefully coordinated: the first sighting of the Rock with a stop for photographs, followed by similar well-planned stops for more photographs as the Rock loomed larger. Then, three main "ceremonies": at sunset, at sunrise, and, the most arduous of them all, the climb. Those who manage the climb are "laconic" when they return, as though they are among the few initiates who have been privileged to partake of a mystery. The journey back... the jokes and singing.

The behavior of the packaged tourist leads Horne to recommend that "developing a marketing strategy for organized tourism would seem to call for anthropologists' reports on the disciplines of ceremony and sociologists' advice on the formation of instant societies." For, Horne finds, "much of



the interest is in sociability for its own sake, and in the instant creation of a new society with its own distinct personalities and group words."

Ayers Rock is still undeveloped -- touristically, that is. In other more developed tourist areas, a tourist can shop, or (if he is bored with shopping) tour other people's hotels. For "many people tourism means spending a lot of money to swim in other people's swimming pools and to go shopping in other people's shops." There is already a lot of talk of "developing" Ayers Rock: a shopping mall, golf course, a swimming pool beside a "fauna park." Tongue in cheek Horne remarks that unlike other big tourist schemes which sometimes crowd out the original inhabitants, no such problem will be faced at Ayers Rock: "We've already achieved that result; the presence of aborigines is not encouraged in the area of the Rock. They are seen as unsympathetic to the environment."

HUDSON, E. & E. PELADAN, 1971. Tourism in the South Pacific islands: situation and prospects, ITA.

This short book only discusses the social aspects of tourism under the head of "drawbacks". The discussion rests with the statement that "it is imperative that tourist development should be so ordered that economic benefit is derived without upsetting social structures and without destroying the fundamental charm of the islands" (22). This is followed with a quotation from a speech of the Prime Minister of Western Samoa in 1970 in which he said, among other things, "wherever tourism has affected a country's society or way of living, the result has always been adverse." The choice, a dilemma, which the Prime Minister posed was a choice between "money and a way of life, and that decision is not an easy one."

Some may find of interest the factors determining selection of vacation destinations, printed as Table VI.

HUGILL, P.J. 1975. Social conduct on the Golden Mile. Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 65, 214-228.

For sociologists, particularly phenomenological sociologists, the physical area where tourism takes place has been often viewed as an area which obtains reality only by virtue of the "meanings" that human actors attach to it. We have the analogy of a stage that has no meaning except as an arena where human conduct occurs. In this article, Hugill shows how the physical environment, the style of the buildings, the setting, the amusements offered influence both the type of visitor and his behavior pattern.

The place is the "Golden Mile" in Southend-on-Sea, an English seaside resort town. 1/ Southend-on-Sea, formerly part of the parish of Prittlewell, came into gradual prominence in the 18th Century. It was distinguished from the far more successful, but also more notorious Brighton, by being a place where respectable families could visit. The more affluent purchased houses there.

It was the coming of the railway, in 1856, that "radically changed the character of Southend" (218). The elite tried to control the railway's use of the most economical route. This failed. And the working class, with their increasing wages, soon discovered how conveniently Southend was situated. This started a continuing battle between the elite (who still control most of the Council seats) and the visiting working class -- mainly from London's East End. The elite "retreated" to the western cliffs leaving the lower seafront to the visitors. They removed a statue of Queen Victoria from its imperious seafront position because they claimed that "she pointed to the toilets." The elite uses its position to define the social character of the place and to confine and control activities within the Golden Mile. They have replaced robust Georgian and Victorian architecture with bland 20th Century.

"The key elements in the design of the place lies in the characters of the actors themselves" (221). They are (i) visitors; (ii) the amusements offered; and (iii) the management of these amusements and the behavior of the visitors.

The visitors come from three areas: The East Enders who are weekend summer visitors, coming from London sometimes with their families, or friends from the neighborhood pub. Secondly, "young male farm workers from rural Essex, who escape from the tight social confines of the village to an anonymity and freedom on the Golden Mile where they may let off steam without drawing reproof" (221). Finally, local inhabitants, who may come for the entertainment or because they earn a livelihood from the activities on the Mile.

The setting encourages relaxed, uninhibited behavior. First, there are the amusements -- penny arcades, gambling, pubs, the encouragement of dancing. Next there is the food -- catering typically to East End tastes: jellied eels, cockles, mussels, winkles, shrimps. Everything is "out in the open." Numbers are important. And, as the visitors come out of the two railway stations that serve most of them, the view gradually opens on to the Golden Mile. There are the eating stands (emphasizing informality) and the amusement arcades.

---

1/ Not to be confused with many other "Golden Miles" -- for instance, the one in the environs of Jakarta, Indonesia.



Street vendors play a major role in coaxing the visitor to get into the spirit of the place, in managing appropriate conduct: the man selling postcards, candy, or cheap china; the vendor of comic hats (a "king" among street vendors), the careful juxtaposition of eating establishments with amusement arcades (the only group to change their symbols each year to keep up with the times). All combine to "cue" the visitor into the expected behavior. The comic "hat is the physical attribute that marks the official, approved, temporary identity of the day tripper" (226). The police are rarely in evidence -- having exchanged their normal blue helmets for white, and their Morris/Wolsely cars for Jaguars.

Over the day "short term changes" are brought about by the changing composition of the visitors -- by day, it is the families, that quietly disperse in the evening leaving the "place" to couples, and single people. These gradually gravitate to the pub -- sometimes entertained by local go-go girls, female impersonators, and bands. Here the men will try to "chat up a bird" or watch; similarly, the women will sometimes make advances or be spectators. The anonymity enhances uninhibited behavior. In terms of traffic patterns on the Mile -- by day everyone is thrust together. By night, the encounters are determined by the fact that adults take over -- only adult activities are catered for them. Then too, motorcyclists "cruise" the beach area, or try their luck at the arcades and pubs.

Thus it is that the activities available, and the management of these activities, influence both behavior and the type of visitors. "The physical and social attributes of the place therefore play a major part in managing appropriate conduct... Place... for all its long term instability, tends to be an agent of social inertia for short lived human beings. Just as writing down a language tends to fossilize it, building up a place helps provide a long term dictionary for social conduct" (228).

JOHANNES, R.E. 1975. Exploitation and degradation of shallow marine food resources in Oceania. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii. Pacific Science Association, 47-71.

This important article is one of the papers read at the Second Inter-Congress of the Pacific Science Association in 1973. It deals with the important role that marine food resources can play in providing protein resources for the Pacific island inhabitants and in reducing imports of animal protein provided: (i) island societies recognize ecological balances; (ii) control exploitation of environmental resources for temporary gains in tourism and recreation; and (iii) learn from traditional methods and organization for the exploitation of marine resources.



The author says that Westernization and urbanization have resulted in the degradation of marine environments and in the decline of fishing. This has resulted in increasing imports of animal protein for the inhabitants (for example, Fiji imported about a million dollars of canned fish in 1973) and an unnecessary expenditure of foreign exchange.

Urbanization, with increasing population densities, has resulted in sedimentation, the outflow of sewage and industrial pollutants, stresses on the environment due to the building of dykes and bridges, dynamiting of fish, and overexploitation. The development of a "nine-to-five" mentality, poor fishing equipment, and inadequate storage and processing facilities have furthered the decline of shallow water marine communities. The increase in tourism and recreation fishing has accelerated, rather than reduced, the decline.

How can anthropologists and sociologists come to the aid of the resource manager? Little is known about the fish species and their population dynamics. This makes most resource management schemes dependent on "intuition and good intentions" at present. Further, since these schemes are "Western" they are "often not welcome in Oceania... (because) they are Western. People are understandably unsympathetic to restrictions imposed from outside their culture upon their own resources" (59). And yet there is a "virtually untapped reservoir of conservation-related information" relating both to fish species and conservation measures among the island peoples of Oceania. The people have lived with these marine communities for generations; their conservation measures have by and large worked. It is this information that can be gathered, and put to practical application, by sociologists and anthropologists. These two disciplines, which have surprisingly concentrated on terrestrial biota, could relate the existence of marine flora and fauna to the knowledge and practices of the people who harvest it. Further, anthropologists and sociologists, could also focus their attention on the tenurial systems relating to the use of marine areas -- tenurial systems which have garnered resources and controlled the exploitation of these resources. For instance, should the system of individual ownership of marine areas (which appears to have been followed) be substituted by common ownership (which appears to lead to non-replacement of resources, and is maladaptive)?

The increased knowledge would be invaluable in development planning and in the control of recreation and tourism.

KRECK, L.A., 1969. International tourism. Roneoed notes for private circulation. University of Nevada, Las Vegas.

This "book" was evidently designed as a guide for students of Hotel Administration at the University -- a sort of cram book. Evaluated against the background of 1974 it does seem rather naive in some of its statements in Chapter 4 -- the "Social Significance of Tourism". According



to the argument in this chapter, tourism will bring economic benefit to the local population, this will then raise social standards, the increased social standards will include more education, this will increase understanding (for then tourists will talk to the host population), and then there can be no war, for friends never war with each other!

KRUSCHKE, E.R., 1974. Tourism and energy consumption. Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 24, 1974.

This article stresses the need for studies of the relationship between tourism and the use of energy, especially in view of the growing importance of tourism in the economies of developing countries.

The article traces the development of tourism rather summarily. It also refers to the problems of defining "tourism" and the numerous, conflicting definitions that abound. Most of the references are culled from "Destination USA", the study carried out by the National Tourism Resources Review Commission.

The last part of the article makes suggestions to fill in the gaps in our knowledge about tourism: (1) A comprehensive study is needed which should involve a definition of the recreation industry, a determination of "the amount and projected magnitude of each segment of the industry," a determination of "the characteristics of recreation travel," and the making of impact projections "for alternate scenarios" (7, quoting Hiatt). (2) The literature on tourism should be catalogued and readily available. (3) Nations involved in tourism should establish central agencies "to deal with the problems and prospects of tourism as they relate both domestically and internationally to their respective economic, social, and political well-being" (12). (4) A similar agency, possibly located in the UN, should be established for the same purposes to deal with international coordination and problems. (5) Studies should be carried out on the relation between tourism and energy use. (6) Continuing studies, with greater precision and accuracy of data collection, regarding the impact of tourism.

LOUKISSAS, P.J. 1975. Tourism and environment in conflict: The case of the Greek island of Mykonos. Paper read at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco.

In recent years Mykonos has been the subject of three studies -- all apparently conducted independently of each other. This is the second. <sup>1/</sup>

---

<sup>1/</sup> See L. Packer, 1974.

J. Hoagland. Plastic cushions, higher prices by the sea. The Washington Post, September 1, 1976.

This paper concentrates on the environmental impact of tourism on the island which had a total population of 3,863 in 1971. By "environment" the author, a student of city and regional planning, refers to the physical environment and the "human factor" (the attitudes of the people, their customs and history) -- both these factors being "resources" which potentially can attract tourists.

In the earlier part of his paper the author sets out the theoretical underpinnings which he, partly, examines later with reference to Mykonos. For him there are two basic assumptions present in every argument that suggests that tourism is a convenient means of development for less developed countries: (i) tourism can be developed because it relies on natural resources that are "free" and requires less capital than industrialization; and (ii) the impact of tourism in fostering employment and income assists in long-term development. He uses "development" to mean "a process of qualitative cultural transformation" in which the prime measure is the improvement of the quality of life, not so much the increase in material welfare, that is "a systematic transformation of attitudes and habits of individuals that leads to shifts in structural parameters" (32, fn 2). In terms of development theory, the author believes that tourism relies both on external and internal linkages.

Assuming exogenous factors held constant, the author believes that tourism impacts can be subsumed under four (presumably interdependent) components: (i) the "environment" (as defined earlier); (ii) the attitude of the local population, which is in turn dependent on the social structure and values of the community; (iii) the "stage of development of the region" -- organizational complexity and structural differentiation; and (iv) "the volume and characteristics of tourists in relation to the permanent residents, such as the socio-economic differential and the ratio of tourists to locals" (4).

The author's basic hypothesis is that where the environment itself constitutes the basic attraction of tourism and the local society is not adequately differentiated, measures tend to be taken by outsiders to preserve that environment. This externally dictated process of preservation is the result of the lack of local organizational complexity and differentiation. The "imposition" may cause local frustration "because of the uneven distribution of benefits and costs and the eventual loss of community control of the industry" (7). This hypothesis is tested with reference to Mykonos.

Some recognize the beginnings of tourism in the first trip organized by the Society of Mykonians in Athens to the island in 1930. As in the case of most other areas, tourism developed slowly in the initial stages -- two hotels (built on the island of Delos in 1922, and 1938); and Mykonians being encouraged to improve their houses and behave pleasantly to outsiders. The second stage commenced in the 1950s: Delos was famous: Mykonos nearby had a bracing climate, was clean, cheap, and its inhabitants indifferently polite. More than 5,000 tourists visited in the summer of 1952 -- most of



them staying in homes (with the owners renting out, or moving to the rural areas, or occupying parts of the houses). The 60s brought the flood -- the young, the less wealthy. Though numbers increased, the amounts spent per tourist decreased; because the Mykonian is largely non-interfering, nude beaches sprung up. It is estimated that during the summer of 1973 nearly 339,000 tourists came to Mykonos (by air, cruise ship, island boats, and yachts). Further changes that have taken place are that 75% of the hotels are now owned and managed by non-Mykonians; local production can only supply fish, poultry, and beef, the rest has to be imported (with a surtax of 15%); most shops are now owned by non-Mykonians.

There are other aspects of this infusion of "tourist gold" that the author notes: (i) Though wealth has increased, education has not -- the majority of Mykonians are still illiterate and it is only recently that the secondary schools was expanded from three to six years. (ii) Most Mykonians are employed -- particularly in the summer -- and many have two or more jobs. (iii) In summer the resident foreign population (to distinguish these from the tourists) is about 40% of the total population -- most of these have professional or white-collar jobs. (iv) Only 13 of the 200 persons employed in hotels are Mykonians. (v) Despite the ease of employment 44% of the junior high students in Mykonos wanted to leave the island (most want to go to Athens). (vi) Tourists contact mainly the lower class Mykonians -- the aristocrats and local elite are affected by tourism but do not come in contact with tourists. As far as possible the upper classes try to leave the island when the tourist invasion commences. A survey showed that 51% of the junior high school students interviewed had no contact whatsoever with tourists, and only 23% had some contact.

What has this influx meant for the Mykonian in terms of his ability to handle the situation? Loukissas refers to three areas -- the first two with short-term implications, the last, long term: (i) space; (ii) water; and (iii) architecture and building.

(i) Space: Tourists have invaded local space. They have occupied beaches (sometimes exclusively as, for instance, the nudist colonies); they are on the waterfront and in the cafes; they litter beaches, deface public monuments, and take photographs inside churches or from the tops of houses.

(ii) Water: The constant use of septic tanks polluted the underground water supply. The community could not find adequate new water supplies or pay for the development of a new sewage system. The State had to explore for water and found it in 1961. This was allocated to the new hotel and, even when the city desperately needed water, the "National Tourist Organization actually considered selling the excess water to passing yachts" (20).

(iii) Architecture and building: Part of the charm of Mykonos lies in the antiquity of its architectural style. Most builders are self-taught



and use an architect only to obtain a building permit. These builders try to imitate the styles they see in Athens (as being the most "modern"); buildings put up hurriedly to accommodate tourists do not conform to architectural styles. But the majority of Mykonian builders, not building for the nouveau riche who want to imitate Athens or the non-resident building in a hurry, are concerned with design and execution. The uncontrolled styles and their commercialism disturbed the islanders. Legislation was passed in the 1930s preserving cultural monuments (including buildings) and after 1969, when it became apparent that the growth of other commercial and residential buildings would have to be controlled, the State stopped all further construction licenses. This caused economic loss. Nor were the Mykonians consulted. Those with connections obtained permits anyway. Others waited. The State then came up with a regional development plan which would limit hotel construction (to a maximum of 7,000 beds), introduce zoning and other regulations (through the exercise of land acquisition and payment of compensation).

Mykonians were furious with the State plan. There were three basic reasons: (a) The Mykonian was not consulted in the formulation of the plan. The residents felt, with some justification, that they knew how to continue their own traditions and that "Mykonos is not in danger from locals but from outsiders who are unfamiliar with the atmosphere of the island" (25). Further, the State-constructed buildings (the School of Fine Arts, and the two hotels are instances) have not respected the architectural spirit of the island.

(b) The plan permitted development in non-Mykonian areas of the island while restricting it in the Mykonian owned city. The Mykonians thought that this was the result of influence, although Loukissas points out that it could be due to the greater business foresight of the foreigner.

(c) The plan provides highways for special interests while preaching conservation.

Mykonians do believe that the benefits of tourism outweigh its disadvantages (97%), although 49% voiced dissatisfaction with tourism to varying degrees. But they were far more negative about the charm of the island as a tourist attraction if the architectural style was going to be changed -- 71% believed that the island would cease to attract tourists; but only 47% were willing to accept a public building code.

Loukissas finally examines the implications of these examples for the future of tourism in the island. The islanders are conscious of their architectural heritage; they are also furious at not being consulted. Present tourism policy aims at increasing the number of tourists under the misguided impression that it will mean greater income for the island (through employment, and indirect effects). This is doubtful since further expansion will destroy the very environment that attracts the tourists. High class hotels cannot now be constructed -- private developers are unwilling to risk capital.



It might be far better to encourage expansion of homes. All this is going to be difficult: The Mykonians would prefer to see the types and numbers of tourists regulated (which is not possible); but would not like public building controls. Those most opposed to controls are owners (the majority of whom are non-residents) of hotels and resort areas. They can manipulate the majority which is uneducated and already irritated by the failure of the State to consult them. It is the majority who must preserve their homes and it is therefore in the interest of the State, the islanders, and tourists for the State to get the residents to participate in the decision-making process; give them guarantees that participation and plans that result will not put the residents to loss; and to discuss plans with the residents as equals. Though the process may reduce the number of tourists, it will do so only temporarily.

MAY, R.J. n.d. Tourism and the artifact industry in Papua, New Guinea. In B. R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 125-132.

A carefully written paper, one of the few to attempt to typology of art and the impact of tourism on the different types. The place: Papua New Guinea (PNG).

### Introduction

(i) The definition of art: The types of art (and artifacts) form a continuum which, for analytical purposes, range from "true traditional art" to "pseudo traditional art" to "wholly introduced art forms." "True traditional art" refers to objects, without regard to classification according to aesthetic quality, "made within a traditional society for use -- religious or secular -- within that society or for trade with traditional trading partners" (125). True traditional art can be subdivided into "pure" traditional and "contact-influenced" traditional art. The distinction between the two lies in that in the latter category non-traditional materials or tools or designs are used. "Pseudo-traditional art" includes, at its worst, "airport art," and consists "of stylized works, whose relation to anything within the traditional culture is at best tenuous, and mass produced often by people with little knowledge of the traditional culture or perhaps not even members of the society whose art they purport to portray" (125). Moving along the scale we find combinations of traditional with various degrees of creativity and adaptation (for instance, tapa handbags) and wholly introduced art forms for instance, in PNG, weaving and the work of individual creative artists.

(ii) The general impact of tourism on traditional cultures: Tourism is only one element and its impact has certainly been less "than that of

missions, colonial administrations and other agents of "civilization" (125). May suggests two reasons for this: First, because tourism has occurred only recently -- long after the other agents of change have already affected the traditional societies; second, because tourism is often based on the preservation of traditional patterns of behavior that make the society "tourist-worthy." In PNG tourism has had a small influence because of the geographic limitations on movement and the minimal interest of tourists in the country's art.

#### The Impact of Tourism on Art

With the above reservations in mind the author assesses the impact of tourism on PNG art. He believes that the truth lies somewhere between the extremes of tourists depriving the nation of its treasures and touristic revival of interest in art preservation. The biggest "violators" of the law relating to the export of art treasures have been the overseas collectors and other dealers; the tourist knows little about the value of art objects.

Even though the tourist has played a role in art preservation, he has also encouraged the development of pseudo traditional art -- particularly airport art. There are arguments, pro and con, about the value of such promotion. What May feels is "that the existence of a large and fairly indiscriminating market -- or the belief that such a market exists -- has led to the mass production of commercial items with an inevitable loss of quality of craftsmanship. This.... has been partly the result of breaking the link between the art and its traditional religious or secular function in the society, partly the result of producing large numbers quickly and partly a reflection of the fact that non-traditional craftsmen have been attracted into the industry".(126). This lowering of standards was also assisted by the fact that art dealers would buy in bulk, and by the policy of paying a fixed price for a certain type of artifact. The market has changed more recently because artists have become aware of the difference between a "tourist" and a "collector's" market.

A special category of pseudo-traditional art is "faking": In the Sepik area there has been both artificial aging and copying. But in both cases the price charged proves that there has been no desire on the part of the artist to cheat. In the highlands, however, there has been deliberate faking of stone artifacts and many a customer has been duped. May regards this as a form of taxation since the export of stone artifacts is prohibited.

A third effect of tourism has been "to stimulate a bastardization of traditional art" (127): the adaptation of traditional forms to meet foreign tastes or need -- for instance, the reduction of shields and houseboards to suitcase size.



Wholly introduced art has served both the local population and the tourist (the latter with substantial government assistance). But the "situation with respect to creative art, at least in the plastic arts, is bleak and tourism is unlikely to do anything to change that" (127).

Apart from this tourism has provided a source of income to many, especially in more backward areas of PNG.

#### The Structure of Artifacts Market

(i) Ultimate buyers: There are two overlapping categories here -- "collectors" (continuing buyers) and tourists (one-shot buyers, generally of souvenirs). For the former what matters is rarity, authenticity, or aesthetic appeal (or combinations of these); they buy "true" traditional art most often, sometimes "pseudo", and least often, "bastardized" art. They buy at auctions, through dealers, and, rarely, in the field. The second category buys either something that captures the spirit of the place, or is amusing. The general requirement is that the article be small and inexpensive.

(ii) Ultimate sellers: the villagers and urban migrants who sell most often to dealers, sometimes to collectors, and rarely to tourists.

(iii) Dealers fall into several classes: First, dealers who cater to both collector and tourist markets. They often have other business interests. In PNG they are, with one exception, expatriates. They work on a high mark-up and low turnover of collector's items, and a low mark-up and high turnover of tourist items. Second, several small dealers, also mostly expatriate, who deal only in tourist items, again often in conjunction with other businesses. Third, professionals who specialize mainly in collector's items purchased in the field. They sell directly to the ultimate buyer, to overseas dealers, and to large dealers in PNG. Increasingly, in order to make trips profitable, they are purchasing tourist items. This group also has other interests -- buying crocodile skins, conducting tours. Finally, the incidental dealers. The line between this and the third category is tenuous. It consists mainly of missionaries (the Catholic missions have been among the largest and most efficient art dealers), administration field officers, academic fieldworkers, and airline employees.

"In none of these groups do Papua New Guineans play much part at all" (128). Five local businesses have been established; two might be called successes. Several expatriates have also taken local business partners -- more as insurance against loss of trading rights. Local involvement has also been achieved through local government council artifact enterprises, notably in East Sepik District. These have been short-lived for two reasons: lack of understanding of market prices, and difficulties in meeting the demands of buyers.

The final type of art dealer (with whom May does not deal) is the foreign art dealer (mainly Australian) who comes on a field trip to purchase items. Their prices reflect the major component of their expenses: airfares, freight, and hotel expenses.

(iv) Price structure: Prices for collectors' items are high. But there is no fixed price; a lot depends on the "feel" of the seller. Probably the greatest offenders in this regard are the academics who, knowing the difference between good and bad work, have influenced prices downwards since they are not aware of the market. The gradual drying up of collector's items and more information have, however, tended to allow for a better margin for the villager. In the tourist market, there is greater standardization; the price usually reflects costs (close to minimum wages).

#### Tourism, Art and Government Policy

May finally makes recommendations regarding the improvement of the arts and their preservation: (i) Cultural property preservation -- legislation, recently amended to cover artifacts made before 1961, has existed for some time. It is difficult to enforce. There is a need to record all artifacts of value. It is here that vigilant villagers can assist. (ii) Policies for art -- there is equally a need to encourage traditional art. Tourism assists here. And even though one might suggest that this results in the encouragement of pseudo-art, or art without meaning and soul, it should be recognized that there is an international market for this art. Despite the establishment of the Creative Arts College in 1972, government has done little to encourage creativity in the plastic arts. (iii) The artifacts market -- there is need to organize the marketing of artifacts and the creation of an efficient marketing authority with sufficient international expertise. Further, dealers should be licensed. A marketing authority with expertise is necessary both to encourage artifact production and to obtain the best price since this would increase income to the producer.

McGRATH, W.A. 1975. Land use and foreign investment in a Pacific island situation. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 131-143.

The main theme of this paper is the need for control of land transactions and foreign investment in land in the Pacific islands. This recommendation stems from the author's view that land ownership and use are critical issues in the island.

He points out that while there has been a rural exodus, and a drive towards industrialization in recent years rather surprisingly more growth,



better quality goods and services in urban areas is combined with declining self-sufficiency and an increasing reliance on imported materials, services, and events. It is now realized that mere economic growth can be destructive of that very distinctive quality of life of the islands. This quality can only be maintained through the "proper and planned utilization of the land resources by Pacific islanders for the benefit of all Pacific islanders" (133).

One of the approaches which hinders a realistic appreciation of the crucial role of land is the dichotomous approach to "rural" and "urban" areas. This approach does not appear to be appropriate to island environments, particularly Pacific island environments. It is "arbitrary" to discuss land utilization or land planning in the context of these environments.

The author supports his argument that the dichotomy is unrealistic by reference to tourist development "which has a special effect on both rural and urban environments and which tends, in many ways ... to cause numerous linkages between the two" (134). Tourism planners favor a rural, or semi-rural, setting which is relatively close to established urban centers. In this lies a dilemma: tourist resorts require a wide variety of services, goods, infrastructure; they also require conveniently located labor pools. All this combine to pull people towards the tourism area "in which unplanned urbanization and urban sprawl develop directly out of the service linkages between the urban area and the tourist development setting" (134). Further, the services available to the tourists are often unavailable to the local population that is linked with the tourist area. This generates public health, social, and safety problems.

Tourism is only one example to prove the need for dealing with land ownership and control on an overall basis, not only with reference to urban areas. This regulation is necessary otherwise "that special attractiveness of the Pacific will be destroyed by the hordes of the 'new missionaries' from Western and Asian countries -- the land speculators and businessmen riding the wave of tourism that threatens to overwhelm many an island community" (132).

McGrath suggests that there are two ways in which Governments can prevent the decline of the quality of island life: (a) legislation and investment control; and (b) the creation of land control boards.

Under the first head he suggests three essential measures: (i) the enactment of a master resource development plan based entirely on the internal needs of the local population and aimed at maintaining and enhancing the traditional island life-style; (ii) re-direct foreign investment patterns from "project- and activity-oriented ventures to those providing professional and technical services only, such as entrepreneurship, management expertise, and technical knowledge" (138); and (iii) limit the ownership, control, and use of the land resource to Pacific islanders.

Land control boards should be the final authority in all land use cases. The goals of the board should ensure that (i) all land-use proposals are in conformity with the master resource development plan; (ii) individual land development proposals enhance the quality of life first, thereafter apparent economic benefit can be considered; (iii) the land rights of the original inhabitants are afforded maximum protection; (iv) "there is maximum direct participation by the original landowners by providing them with a proportionate share of the annual profits and a share of the stock of the venture undertaken on their land" (139); (v) maximum economic benefits accrue to the community as a whole from the land-use proposal; and (vi) the investment is secure, long-range, planned, and maximizes retention of "profits and capital gains within the host country" (139).

McGrath states that the proposals may seem unrealistic and yet, with a few differences, they are the same as were suggested in 1946 for the Trust Territory of the Pacific islands. In the discussion that followed the presentation of the paper it was pointed out that in Fiji native land was owned and controlled by a Native Board; while in British Columbia a five-member land commission was being set up to accomplish the very goals that McGrath had suggested.

NOLAN, S.D., Jr. 1975. Variations in travel behavior and the cultural impact. Paper presented at the 74th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco.

This brief paper aims at relating the frequency of travel and type of movement (termed "travel style") with the potential impact on the host population.

Nolan says that the "aggregation" of the characteristics of the tourist in the literature could be the result of the fact that the underlying motivation of tourism, and its commercial setting, shifts the orientation to one that recognizes only the "pervasive impact of mass tourism. At this point all tourists, in the eyes of the hosts, seem to blend into an amorphous mass" (1). And yet it is well-known that even similarly-situated individuals react differently.

It is because of this difference in individual reactions that we have market research in the travel industry. However, this research is limited: It is either "nomothetic" (concerned with the discovery of the "average" tourist); or "segmented" (searching for a special group to whom a tour can be sold). Further, the commercial motivation inherent in the travel industry research limits the inquiry into different motivations for travel, or the traveller who tours rarely. They are concerned with the greatest number of potential travellers, disregarding the extremes.



Nolan's study of 90 individuals broadens the search. On the basis of his inquiries (five-year histories of 40 informants, and 50 lifetime travel histories for the rest) which were conducted with no effort at randomization, he constructs a typology of frequency of travel, and one of travel styles which tends to overlap over the first typology. All the informants represented households and "information was collected about trips taken by two or more household members who journeyed more than 100 miles from home and remained away more than two nights" (2).

Based on frequency of travel, there are four types: (i) Limited Travelers. This comprised 20% of the total group. The trips were made only for necessary purposes, most to fulfill an obligation (kinsmen, business, pilgrimage). The trip was not regarded as a vacation trip, although it may have been made during a vacation. (ii) Occasional Travelers: Twenty-nine percent. More frequent than the first group, but not as likely to take vacation trips. In a sense, they are intermediate between the first group and "regular" travelers in that they often mix obligation with recreation. When they travelled for pleasure, the trip was considered the highlight of their lives. (iii) Regular Travelers: Here each family, totalling 34%, had taken a trip annual which they classified as a "vacation." This group "tended to travel repeatedly to the same or similar places" (3). If the vacation was divided into two time segments, one trip was to a routine destination, the other to a new place. Only 50% of the regular travelers had been outside the U.S.A. (iv) Extensive Travelers: Nearly 14 percent spent more than a month each year traveling, often combining business with pleasure. They generally genuinely enjoyed travel. Some turned it to profitable ends (lecturing on their tours), others used "research" to cloak their travel.

Travel styles, of which Nolan refers to five, were mainly the result of different orientations towards the trip with regard to destination, interest in the destination, adventurousness, and definiteness of purpose.

(i) Rapid Movement: Travel as quickly as possible to the destination was most common where the purpose of the travel was to fulfillment of an obligation. Some "regular" travelers also fell within this category.

(ii) Fast-paced touring: These may be either guided or self-structured tours with a closely planned itinerary. The journey was not as important as reaching the destination. Both occasional and regular travellers were found in this category.

(iii) Leisurely Movement: Here both the journey and the destination assume equal importance. The itinerary is loosely structured. This type was to be found in all except the limited travelers.

(iv) Exploratory Travel: This type of travel was generally limited



to extensive travelers. A general destination area is the object; there is little advance planning. There is the quest for new experiences.

(v) Multi-purpose, Multi-destination travel. This style is to be found only with extensive travelers. The trip is probably carefully planned. Research in advance distinguishes this travelling style from exploration.

Since different travel styles are to be found in all groups, "the style of travel prevalent under a given set of circumstances may be more important as a descriptor of travel behavior than frequency of travel" (4).

What are the implications of travel style for cultural impact? Since it is often said that a tourist is a different person (from his normal behavior) the study of travel styles becomes important. In the context of mass tourism, one notices that "two categories, the rapid movement and the fast-paced touring styles, most readily fit into the formal structure of commercial, mass tourism." Their movement is organized. From the point of view of the host population, the tourist is comprehended under a formal social role assigned to them by the hosts. Therefore, individual impacts on the host culture are limited. They are usually "submerged in the broader impact of mass tourism" (4). It is travellers who follow the last three styles -- (iii), (iv), and (v), who are more likely to serve as cultural mediators, since, because of the style of their travel they are more likely to have random contact with the host population. They may also more likely venture beyond the narrow confines of an organized tour. Even if he is "a boob," this traveller may still be the medium for promoting the beneficial aspects of tourism.

OUMA, J.P.B.M., 1970. Evolution of tourism in East Africa.  
Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

Ouma is a geographer and this book is intended to serve as an introductory text to an important sector of economic activity in East Africa -- according to Ouma "since 1968 tourism is now number one, two and six respectively, in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania as an earner of foreign exchange." The position must have changed with regard to Uganda.

Since the book is mainly an "introduction," it traces the history, legislation, and development of tourism rather briefly. The "conservation of cultural heritage" gets a little over a page in a chapter dealing with the resources and attractions available. The section is ambivalent -- it stresses the need for rooting out "obnoxious cultural traits" (like cattle raiding) and clothing naked tribals "more in keeping with modern Africa", but objects, for instance, to the mini-skirt since it "is truly foreign to Africa's noble standards and heritage on decent dressing and morality." But Ouma is certainly voicing public opinion when he states that "We must never allow any of our people to remain 'living museum pieces' for the foreigners to seek and sneer at."



At the end of the section, the conflict between economic gain and possible cultural loss returns: The hope is expressed that "millions of foreign tourists will visit East Africa annually", if "no unforeseen depressants emerge." He calls for planning so as to "ensure that foreign cultures and our zest for money will not so adulterate our heritage as to make us cultural mongrels. That would be a tragic consequence of mass tourism by foreigners" (74).

ROBINSON, G.W.S., 1972. The recreation geography of South Asia, The Geographical Review, 62, 561-572.

This article analyzes the recreational patterns of the residents of 16 cities in 12 South Asian countries. Robinson concludes that "With few reservations, it seems possible to regard the variation in recreational phenomena as falling into a broadly regional pattern that corresponds generally with the regional pattern of ethnic culture" (561).

The conclusion is arrived at by first looking for a correlation between the distance between city and resort and the length of the visit. He finds that there is some correlation (as might be expected, the greater the distance, the greater the length of stay). But when he asks whether the pattern of visits to resorts is related to the kind of recreation sought, to the kind of city that generates the movement, to the culture of the country, or to change or some other factor, he finds that there is no correlation whatsoever.

The focus of inquiry is then changed and the characteristics of resorts examined to find what characteristics seem to be correlated. It is this examination that leads to the conclusion that traditional values, assumptions, and habits (often influenced by contact with the West) have influenced recreational patterns.

The last part of the article is devoted to forecasting the future of recreation in South Asia -- will it develop into the tourism of the West? There are two major differences between Asian recreation patterns today and the early European: first, early European recreation was dominated by the family pattern; in Asia today "in spite of the importance of family ties in society, recreation is largely youth-dominated" (in India where visits to relatives are one of the major reasons for movement out of the cities, the visit is not classed as "recreational" but as a social obligation); second, the Asian development is taking place in a world that has already had the benefit of the development of the travel agency, tours and transport. The infrastructure is less elaborate than the West because of the scarcity of family demand. Although the benefits of cheaper travel have reached Asia, cheap or mass accommodation lacks far behind. "In fact, in poverty-stricken Asia almost the only shoestring travelers are European.



These developments -- or such of them as are suited to the climate -- await a more numerous clientele. Asia is not only poor, it is busy. Free time for recreation is limited, and this reduces the range of possible activities." When free time increases, and standards rise, there may be a development of travel covering an expansion of both the traditional forms (particularly temple visiting) and of new forms analogous to those of post-war Europe.

SAMY, J. n.d. Crumbs from the table? The workers' share in tourism. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 111-121.

This is a carefully documented study of employment patterns in a luxury hotel in Fiji. The article, reproduced from "Pacific Perspective," shows how patterns and levels of employment take on an ethnic basis, reflecting the economic power structure of the country and the image of Fijian tourism that hotels (and the travel industry) want to project. This has repercussions on the attitudes of the workers -- to their work and to each other. Samy studies both the ethnic distribution and the attitudes of workers.

Europeans, most of them expatriates, predominate in administration and reservations, and occupy almost all the executive and managerial positions. The lower staff are almost entirely Fijian or Indian. <sup>1/</sup> In this category too one deals with images -- occupations requiring face-to-face contacts with tourists (reception and tour desks, band, switchboards, bar, security) were staffed mainly by Fijians; the others, by Indians (particularly accounts, maintenance, gardens, kitchens).

Few Fijians had worked in agriculture before they joined the hotel (15%) compared with 45% of the Indians. There was a tendency on the part of the lower staff to view their job in terms of immediate economic needs. The upper echelons by comparison tended to see their employment as a means to further improvements -- a means of gaining experience for bigger and better jobs. Indian women had worked longer at the hotel because, in most cases, hotel employment was their first wage employment. Fijian women, by and large, had already worked in wage employment (more than half of them as nurses).

Fijians (36%) and 44% of the Indians had obtained their jobs through contacts in the hotel or applying directly. Only 2 of the 39 Fijians, and one of the 27 Indian respondents stated that they had been promoted.

Samy then inquired about job satisfaction, security, and job preference. The responses were divided into three categories: (i) instrumental -- attitude to the job; (ii) relational -- feelings about interpersonal

<sup>1/</sup> It would have been more in keeping with current terminology to refer to the Indian workers as Indo-Fijians (persons of Indian ancestry born in Fiji). However, terms die hard.



relationships; and (iii) expressive -- the depth of involvement in the work, its meaning to the worker.

Most workers expressed either "relational or instrumental dissatisfactions with their jobs" (115). There were ethnic differences: More Fijians (38%) than Indians complained about their jobs -- though most of the complaints of the former were about fatigue and overwork, the latter about low salaries. Both Indians and Fijians who expressed relational dislikes tended to compare themselves with Europeans or upper staff -- referred, particularly, to the privileges of the upper staff and their perquisites; the discrimination in favor of Europeans in terms of promotion, and their ability to go overseas for further training at management expense. The Europeans, on the other hand, thought that the Fijians were "unreliable" and "lazy."

With regard to job satisfactions, most Fijians derived their satisfactions from the relational aspects of their work (which is understandable, given the fact that they occupied positions which brought them into contact with tourists). Only 11 percent of the Indians expressed relational satisfaction with regard to their work. Most of those questioned expressed the view that they could keep their jobs for as long as they wanted. Many more Fijians reported that they had received promotions (70%) as compared with the Indians (52%) but for most this only meant an increase in pay. On the other hand, in the "others" category (upper staff) 67% stated that they had received promotions which included major shifts in their responsibilities. Most of the lower staff respondents wanted other jobs, but the Indians felt it was less likely for them to obtain these since they believed that they were "second choice" to the Fijians and that some jobs were recognized as specifically "Fijian."

The study has interesting insights into the job evaluation process: "The head of the hotel management confirmed that an 'ethnic approach was applied' in the allocation of jobs." This head believed that the European was more 'a public relations man.' the Fijian "an extrovert," and the Indian "more an introvert." (117) This categorization of ethnic groups was converted into specific jobs. The management, for instance, believed that Indians were better agriculturists and therefore should work as gardeners; that the mentality of the Fijian was low, and that tourists came to see Fijians. Thus, Fijians were appointed to lower staff levels that brought them in contact with tourists. In fact, as far as educational qualifications went, the Fijians ranked second to the upper staff. With regard to these jobs, Indians felt that they were "reserved" for Fijians; the Fijians stated that they were trusted by management and that tourists liked them for their charm.

With regard to jobs "reserved" for Indians, the Fijians felt that the Indians were hard-working and possessed the right qualifications; the Indians believed that they got the jobs because management felt that Indians



should work in them, some believed that the Fijians lacked those skills. The Europeans believed that Indians had a need to work hard, and were more responsible.

Jobs which were reserved for Europeans brought a variety of explanations: the Fijians were divided among whether Europeans deserved those jobs, the Europeans were better managers, and the Europeans had to preserve the European image. The Indians offered as many reasons: Europeans were the owners; they did not give others a chance, both Indians and Fijians were afraid of the Europeans. "The Europeans felt the jobs were occupied by Europeans; firstly, because if Indians and Fijians held responsible positions things "collapsed" since they "lacked experience and confidence." Secondly, the Europeans felt that the tourists expected such posts as General Manager and his assistants to be filled by Europeans" (118).

The last part of this article examines the relation between tourism and the host community.

Commencing with Cohen's (1972) statement that tourists want to experience novelty from a familiar base, Samy finds that this is confirmed by reference to the menu at the hotel (which merely translated dishes like "Prime New York Cut Sirloin" into the local language). He also quotes the culture-killing aspect of mass tourism which belies the cliché that travel broadens the mind: the deadly similarity of a succession "of the same little old ladies, with the same blue hair rinses, spending the same life insurance money and speaking in the same accents of the same things which have penetrated their similar perceptions.... These people travel the world like registered parcels, blindly unaware of the local populations, their aspirations, problems and tragedies. Instead of promoting mutual understanding they promote mutual contempt" (119). If places tend to look the same and where one is determined only by the day of the week, so too can the hosts' perceptions blur and then distance lends the only relief available!

Again, the tour promoter, the travel agent has to sell the place. He has to picture a favorable climate, an exotic culture, and a carefree child-like innocence in the native. The Fijian employee has to play out a role built for him thousands of miles away. The tourist is told he can "see the Fijian natives dressed in grass skirts and performing war dances, both of which they abandoned generations ago" (119). The Fijian is therefore made part of the "package." Fijian employees were told to fulfill the expectations of the tourists.

As tourism grows, the institutionalized discrimination reflected in job allocation can cause serious tensions -- not only between Fijians and Indians, but also by both these groups against Europeans (particularly the expatriates). Further, the impact of prestigious visitors on relatively unsophisticated employees can have serious psychological effects which deserve study. Samy believes that the study supports "evidence elsewhere, such as in the Caribbean, that the development of exclusive, self-contained,



luxurious, multi-million dollar international standard-type resorts in relatively unsophisticated social environments creates not only resentment but also confirms prejudices, particularly in a country with a colonial history such as" (111) Fiji's.

SANCHEZ, G.C. 1975. Planning and its aftermath on Guam. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 97-105.

This article assesses the results of lack of planning, and the consequence of the inability of a local population to plan its own future.

Guam is a Territory of the U.S.A. From 1898, when it was bought by the United States from the Spanish, till 1962 it was controlled by the military and by the U.S. Government. "Planning if it can be dignified by that name, was in the hands of the U.S. Navy till 1950. Thereafter, the Department of the Interior guided by the Organic Act controls Guam.

"The Organic Act of Guam superimposes federal laws and policies, and grants the island government only limited powers" (100). Guam cannot plan because it has neither sovereignty, nor control, over its affairs. Federal laws are, in many instances, applied to Guam without reference to "her unique characteristics, opportunities, or needs" (101).

Some instances: (i) Guam has the same tax structure as the mainland although there is an urgent need to reduce taxes for the low income earners; (ii) the Federal Government has right of eminent domain and may condemn any land at will for military or other purposes; (iii) The President of the U.S. can declare Guam a "closed port" at any time; and (iv) Guam's coastal zone is controlled by the Federal Government and permission must be sought before Guam can construct marinas, harbors, or piers.

In the absence of this ability to conduct its own affairs, Guam has developed without reference to an integrated master plan in which the resident population participated. The air terminal and commercial port facilities have been constructed without planning; traffic congestion has been unplanned; "we did not plan the rapid and heavy concentration of tourist facilities at Tumon Bay and the excessive strain on our new waste water facilities" (98). Unless Guamanians have the political, legal, and technical tools to conduct planned development economic wealth and political power will pass "into the hands of well-heeled interlopers. It could conceivably result in the polarization of wealth and the creation of a large majority of landless poor. It could result in the rapid and reckless destruction of the natural environment" (102).

SANCHEZ, P.C. 1975. The new Guam: A challenge to human values. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). The impact of urban centers in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii. Pacific Science Association, 83-97.

This is the second of several papers read at the Second Inter-Congress of the Pacific Science Association, 1973, where Guam was a "case study."

The main theme of this paper is the effects of the transition from traditional patterns of living to an urbanized society. Dr. Sanchez sees grave problems facing the local community and its value systems as a result of rapid change.

Population densities are increasing with the influx of outsiders; the construction trade is booming, particularly with the growth of skyscrapers and the development of an international airport.

Part of the population influx is seasonal: the tourists visiting Guam. Dr. Sanchez believes that tourism -- as in the case of Honolulu, the Virgin islands, and Miami -- will lead to "the eventual layering of the new and emerging Guamanian society" (85). The first layer consists of "the developers, entrepreneurs, financiers, money-makers, and government, civic and other community leaders -- those at the top who run the show. The developers, entrepreneurs, financiers, and money-makers are non-native for the most part. The second layer is formed by the consumers who are made up of residents and especially those who come to Guam for fun, for a vacation, and to get away from home for a while. The latter, of course, have no stake in the community.... the third layer, comprising those who follow directions, keep the generators running, unload the cargoes, carry the suitcases, drive the taxis, serve the tables, make the beds, and perform the innumerable chores that are necessary to keep the island going, the visitors happy, and the people in the top layers prosperous" (85). The third layer is mainly comprised of native Chamorro-Guamanians.

While the government proudly talks of increases in tourism annually, the most important question is how to prevent Guam from becoming another Hawaii. How can the indigenous inhabitants be prevented from becoming the "human residue" (86) for those who would reap the benefits of tourism without regard for them -- the non-native developers, hotel builders, financiers, and entrepreneurs?

The answer, according to Dr. Sanchez, lies in the restatement of the primacy of human values which can harness science and technology for human benefit.



SHANKLAND COX PARTNERSHIP, 1974. Tourism supply study: Caribbean region. Prepared for IBRD.  
Washington, D.C.: IBRD

This study, like that of the Belt, Collins group, evidences an integrated approach to the assessment of tourism supply in 15 countries in the Caribbean. The part dealing with the "social impact of tourism," the only part of the study referred to here, is to be found in pp. 102-105.

The authors deplore the fact that social impact studies have not been conducted earlier particularly since, sociologically, tourism involves: "(1) social relations between people who would not normally meet each other; (2) the confrontation of different cultures, ethnic groups, styles of life, (possibly) languages, level of prosperity " (102); (3) tourism is a release to a large extent from the constraints of everyday life and this induces temporary and different behavior patterns on the part of tourists; and (4) tourism involves behavior patterns on the part of the host population which has to reconcile economic gains with the cost of outsiders living in their midst.

In assessing the impact of tourism one has also to take into account perceptions: attitudes of hostility towards tourism on the one hand, to the view that it may be the only viable form of economic development, on the other. Rapid economic development that tourism appears to offer, is countered by the instability of tourism; tourism may be viewed as a cultural threat or as an educational experience. A survey has, therefore, to take account of attitudes and values.

One of the major problems in conducting social impact investigations is the absence of base-line data. The social impact investigation would require two different types of surveys: short-term, and long-term. Part of the development of a methodology, presently lacking, would be the identification of those aspects which can be assessed quickly, and those which require long-term analysis.

Some of the major areas of impact which should be studied are: (1) changes in the formal education system as a result of tourism, the impact of education on the value systems (particularly of the young), the development of formal and informal adult education systems; (2) the organization and development of voluntary associations as a means of ameliorating possible tourism problems, and as a means of promoting host population participation in tourism (particularly where the host population feels excluded from such participation); (3) the impact of tourism on, and its relation to race/color and political structures; (4) tourism and the altered needs for social services, and community development; (5) the social consequences of "package" tourism -- particularly in regard to the increased distance between tourist and host that appears to result from this type of tourism; (6) the impact of tourism on different social structures which have resulted from different cultural and historical experiences; (7) in-depth studies to isolate the effects of industrialization, urbanization, economic dependence

on foreign countries, and the effects of achievement of political independence from the impact of tourism; (8) studies differentiating the impact of tourism on small societies from its impact on large, heterogenous societies; (9) changing local aspirations and attitudes, towards tourism during the phase before a significant number of visitors actually arrive.

The authors recommend "in-depth sociological and social anthropological studies of one or more islands with a developing tourism industry -- over a period of years -- to investigate social impact of tourism" (112). They suggest that one area for study could be the Dominican Republic.

STANTON, M. n.d. The Polynesian Cultural Center. In B.R. Finney and K.A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center.

This is the second article on the Center summarized here. 1/ The justification for this lies in the importance of the Center in the Pacific and the fact that other Pacific nations are contemplating setting up similar centers.

The Center was originally set up under the auspices of the Church College of Hawaii (now the Hawaii campus of the Brigham Young University). It is in Laie, on the island of Oahu. More than 90 percent of the inhabitants of Laie are Mormons.

The goal of the Center is the presentation of "selected aspects of Polynesian culture and heritage in harmony with the doctrines and practices of the Latter Day Saints Church" (229) -- therein, for many, lies the rub!

Most of the Board of Trustees of the Center are "Haoles" (white residents of Hawaii). The Center employs 400-500 students, and 200 additional workers unconnected with the College. In this sense, it is supporting the education of many residents of Pacific nations who would not otherwise have had an opportunity of being educated.

TONG, D. n.d. Tourism on the Island of Hawaii: An overview. In B. R. Finney and K. A. Watson (Eds.). A new kind of sugar. Tourism in the Pacific. Honolulu, Hawaii: East-West Center, 157-160.

This is the first of three articles on "Planning for tourism on the Island of Hawaii." 2/

---

1/ See N. McGrevy's paper summarized at p.

2/ The other two are: V. Goldstein. The effects of tourism on historical sites and culture (see summary at p. ); and L. Roy. The effects of tourism on natural resources, natural beauty and recreation. Roy's article is not summarized here.



The author suggests that it should be possible to control an industry which produces \$81 million per year (more than sugar) when only 1.25% of the island of Hawaii is urban. However, since tourism is always predicated on the use of the most beautiful land areas available and seeks to use these areas to the exclusion of the general public, planning is necessary and rules have to be formulated.

Tourism development involves both foreign ownership and capital. These ingredients, as well as the costs of transport and marketing, are beyond the means of citizens of lesser developed countries. But the result is that local residents are deprived of the use of natural resources they regularly consider their right. For example, the Rockefeller Mauna Kea Beach Hotel preserves the natural environment but prevents local residents from using the land locked beach. This, according to Tong, is implicit in most high-priced hotels. One should also ask what the costs are: would the better-paying tourist consume more local produce?

One cannot leave a resolution of this, and other, questions to the good sense of the private entrepreneur. There is a need for controls and planning. In Hawaii this is expressed in the General Plan.

UDAYANA STATE UNIVERSITY. 1974. Report on the Impact of tourism on the socio-economic development of Bali. Bali, Indonesia: Udayana State University.

This monograph, sponsored by UNESCO, is the result of the joint efforts of the staff (and students) of Udayana University. In many respects, it repeats the findings of the authors' earlier work (1973) done at the behest of the Directorate General of Tourism, Jakarta.

The research for this work was done during the months of May and June 1974 -- both of which are considered "low to medium" months as far as tourist arrivals are concerned. The researchers submitted a questionnaire to 100 tourists (we are not told how this sample was chosen, or the procedures for administration) and followed up by interviews with 300 other persons (tourists, persons of prominence, art shop owners, and the like). These 300 persons, selected at random, were used as a cross-check for data on areas which tourists use "for a recreation" (2).

The monograph is divided into three sections: the economic impact, the social impact, and conclusions. Appendices follow the main report.

#### Economic impact

According to the questionnaire filled in by the tourists, the "average" tourist spends US\$ 44.58 per day (most of this amount being spent on hotel and restaurant charges: 59.91%). The tourist also spends 2.60% on entertainment, and 20.55% on souvenirs. The figure is checked by independent reference to hotels, art shops, transport workers, and dance organizations. It is found that the questionnaire response is fairly reliable: The authors find that the total daily expenditure would be about US\$ 38.43 per day.

In verifying the statements of the tourists, the authors come up with interesting insights: For example, in a Balinese artshop the "handicraftsman" (the actual producer) receives only 20% of the price, the investor obtains a return of 19%, the artshop owner gets 36%, and a commission paid to the guide/driver amounts to 25%.

The author projects the income from tourism at a minimum of US\$11.6 million based on an estimated 75,441 visitors for 1975. The number of visitors surpassed that figure by nearly 25,000 in that year.

Salaries for employees at International class hotels were the highest: approximately US\$46 per month; they were lowest for handicraft employees -- US\$12, approximately. But the handicraftsman is usually a part-time worker.

The authors estimate direct employment in tourism at 10,269 employees (only 0.68% of the "working population," that is, the population between the ages of 10-64) of which 90.20% are Balinese, 9.50 non-Balinese Indonesians, and 0.30% are foreigners. Part-time employment is estimated at 24,216 persons. However, the picture worsens in the future. The authors state that given the growth rate of the population, in 1974, tourism direct employment will absorb only 0.45% of the working population.

In terms of its "export" potential, tourism has grown to be the largest export commodity in Bali. Likewise, tourism has grown from 1.92% of the total value of the "gross regional product" in 1969 to 4.76% in 1973.

#### Social impact

The authors warn that the social impact section of the report is less quantitative. It is also more diffuse, and often, a collection of "opinions." The authors divide the analysis, for the purposes of assessing the social impact into three geographic areas: first, areas where the tourists "reside"; second, areas which the tourists visit for the purpose of sightseeing or entertainment; and, finally, areas where the tourists purchase handicrafts. The authors find the greatest impact in the first type. But this impact appears, in the first instance, to be beneficially developmental: the appearance of new organizations (dance, guides, painters), the strengthening of the old with the influx of the tourist dollar. In the other two areas, the impact of tourism has been much smaller, though, again, beneficial.

But the appearance of socially beneficial differentiation of organization and the resultant income is belied by a subsequent section which deals with "influences." Here we have a catalog of effects, mainly negative: Tourists do not respect the sanctity of temples, they encourage others to steal icons for them, they "take pictures" at the wrong time, they prevent the local resident from participating in ceremonies because tourists crowd



the area, there is a growing tendency to use sacred symbols for commercial purposes, there is a growing secularization of some dances, they have induced unhealthy competition among Balinese, the traditional system of mutual help appears to be dying, there is growing individualism, people are being induced to sell their estates for the purposes of tourism. On the positive side, the authors mention increased income, better standards of hygiene, new forms of architecture, new dance styles, and people are learning foreign languages (particularly English).

On the whole, the Report is more favorable than one would have supposed having particular regard to cries that tourism would "destroy" Bali. The authors find that not only the traditional organizations have been strengthened but that new organizations, and new forms of employment have already grown up. Despite the many weaknesses in the report, it forms the starting point for more thorough investigation into the nature and effects of tourism, mass tourism particularly, on Balinese society and culture. It also forms the basis planning so that the Balinese can not only control the speed and direction of tourism, but also reap the greatest benefit from it.

UNPINGCO, N.R. 1975. The realities facing Guam today. In R.W. Force and B. Bishop (Eds.). Honolulu, Hawaii: Pacific Science Association, 107-114.

Tourism has brought an economic boom to Guam. It is a boom that, within a decade, has resulted in a higher standard of living, increased foreign investment, and urbanization. But are these benefits "worth the sacrifice in terms of quality of living"? (109)

Unpingco finds that needs have increased; prices have risen; and local ownership of land has diminished. "Thus, Guam's expanding economy is benefiting a few large corporations at the expense of local control, ownership, and pride." (110)

More people are being educated, but without sensitivity to and awareness of human dignity. The transition from the rural to an urban society brings with frustration and violence; misunderstanding, and a loss of identity with the devaluation of local social patterns and traditional ways of life. The Chamorro "language is vanishing, as are the lands and rights of the native peoples of this land... increasing pollution... improper and shortsighted sewage and solid waste disposal; the systematic destruction of virgin lands; the presence of unsightly and poorly constructed buildings; the absence of professionally planned zoning... wasteful consumption of valuable water and mineral resources; these are only a few examples." (110-111)

Unpingco feels that Guam can still learn -- both from what is already evident, and from the mistakes of Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, and

Hawaii. He recommends an action plan on three fronts: (i) education and communication; (ii) legislation; and (iii) participation.

Under education and communication programs the people must learn (a) their rights and responsibilities in a democracy; (b) "the vital connection that tourism has with the over-all economy, the benefits and complexities of tourism, and the need to seek viable alternatives to problems arising from the tourist industry" (112); (c) the preservation of the cultural heritage and the use of the Chamorro language; (d) the understanding and maintenance of an ecological balance; and (e) communication of needs and goals, seeking guidance when necessary so that government "responds to the needs of the people first, and then to those of business." (112)

Legislation is necessary to control tourism, license guides, provide for the use of revenue for the benefit of the people, outline land use and zoning procedures, and to protect the environment and natural monuments.

There have been many conferences and meetings to plan the future of Guam. Most of these have been "little more than social 'get togethers' which result in a tremendous waste of time and energy. Along list of impressive speeches and an armload of written data usually produce no more than increased work for the janitor" (113-114). These conferences never ask the real questions: "Do we have the courage to guide the changes?" (114) It is only when there is an answer to this question that Unpingco feels that change can be directed and public participation will be obtained.

U.S. Government, National Tourism Resources Review Commission, 1973.  
Destination USA (in six volumes). Washington, D.C.:  
U.S. Government Printing Office.

The main parts of interest to a sociologist are contained in Volume 5 of this study: "Special Studies", specifically chapters 2 ("Tourism and the Environment") and 5 ("Tourism and Minorities").

A full-scale investigation of the relation between tourism and the environment, originally scheduled, was given up because of time and financial constraints. Instead, a special panel was set up "to highlight problems and identify the most pressing questions of environmental concern to serve as a guide for any follow-up study" (16). This panel comprised an ecologist, a botanist, two zoologists, and two representatives from the tourism industry. Given the panel's background, it is not surprising that their definition of environment would be the "entire ecosystem" (although there was some definitional factionalism) and that most of the problems enumerated relate more to the physical environment, with a reference mainly to the tourist (and his behavior) when the human was touched upon.

Few dealt with the effects of tourism on the local population in Chapter 2. One of those who did, albeit briefly, has a "vulnerability"



ranking of interest: Under the heading "cultural resources" Dr. Cantlon ranks resources on the scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being the least vulnerable. "Vulnerability" is the destructibility of the resource, which "may be a result of the intrinsic structural or behavioral fragility of the resource, its rareness or its small size" (22). The ranking is as follows: "rural (farming patterns) (4); villages and towns (3); cities (2); antiquities (5); primitive or strongly differentiated cultures (Indians, cowboys, Eskimos, Amish) (5) 1/; restaurants (3); theaters (2); museums (2); government buildings and monuments (2); operating industries (visitors viewing auto manufacturing, mining, shipping, etc.) (2); handicraft industries or markets (1); sports facilities (ski resorts, golf courses) (2); travel facilities (conventional transport to places of recreation) (2); special tourist travel facilities (cable cars, sightseeing buses, glass bottom boats, etc.) (2); hotels, motels, resorts (2); zoos, botanical and formal gardens, city parks (2); artificial tourist areas (Marineland, Disneyland and Disney World) (1)." (22-23)

The section on "tourism and the American Indian" in chapter 5 is worth reading for two reasons: the American Indian has been "an object of tourism," second, in trying to organize tourism within the reservations the American Indian faces many of the problems which are encountered in tourism development in developing countries -- "the lack of orientation of the Indian people, the need to resolve social barriers, the lack of training, the lack of facilities and equipment, and perhaps most important.... a great need for more experienced management" (82). Another factor, not mentioned, could be added to round off the list: lack of finance.

ZECHA, A. 1972. Is tourism really necessary. San Francisco: PATA, pp. 79-82.

Zecha catalogues the list of "sins" attributed to tourism: tourism is non-productive, it is counter productive, it impoverishes, it is socially and culturally undesirable. And he concludes that "Tourism has undoubtedly been a major catalyst of the 'Revolution of Expectations' that has created considerable turmoil in more than one country" (81).

### III. JOURNALISTS

1. ALLSOP, K. 1972. Across Europe and out of sight, man. Punch, August 2, 1972, pp. 130-132.

This delightfully written article is cited as an example of the perceptive journalist, often the forerunner of more "serious" studies because he illumines problems.

---

1/ "differentiated" presumably from the "normal" American way of life.

The article deals with the trials, tribulations, character, and "recrudescence" of the modern tramp: the drifter. It was Allsop's article describing, among other matters, those vast numbers -- "inert miscellanies" -- tramping across Europe to nowhere that prompted Cohen to revise his 1972 description of the "drifter" as the genuine student of unfamiliar societies and recognize the "institutionalization" of this collection of one-time establishment rebels.

FRASER, R., 1973. Tajos. The story of a village on the Costa del Sol. New York: Pantheon Books.

This is a brilliant example of what a sensitive journalist can do. Fraser lets the villagers speak for themselves; it is through the villagers' eyes that we notice change, that we can trace the impact of tourism.

The villagers' narratives are set against a framework that contrasts tourism in 1957 and 1971. The first year is important for two reasons: it was the year in which tourism became important for the village, it is also the year of Fraser's first visit. The author visited the village again in 1971 -- when the "results" of tourism could be more fully evaluated. At the end of the book are appendices tracing land distribution.

But the main story is that of the villagers: the old, landowners, "men with ideas," the "survivors" of the Spanish Civil War, the parish priest, the "new men," the young.

Although the narrative seems truncated at times, the reader can gradually build up a picture of village life over a period of nearly 70 years. Tajos, "was a village largely closed in on itself," says Vincente Lombard, former parish priest. "I don't believe one can explain this by lack of communications, for the other villages had no better. Rather perhaps by the large extent of the municipality in which the men would always try to find work, even if it meant walking for several hours. And also by the particular disposition -- idiosyncrasy, one might say -- of its people .... Tajos.... is a village enamoured of itself, of its customs and traditions.... There (was) this village pride and union...." (112)

What sort of village was it, apart from its pride, and the reluctance of the villagers to move out? To start with, one could "summarize the year by the religious calendar." The basis of power was ownership of land, or land together with commerce. The landed lived better lives than the vast majority of poor, only slightly better. "We were always half starved" says one of the poor. Chicken was only eaten on feast days; eggs were a luxury reserved for Easter and since their stomachs could not take something so rich, they threw up. The shoemaker speaks of the cliques prevailing in his youth: "The ruling classes conceded universal suffrage only as long as they could manipulate it."



Tajos was not noted for its productive lands. A living was barely eked out by most. Education was neither sought after by most, or available. The lot of the sharecropper was the worst; the tenant had no security of tenure.

Then the war came. The village workers were mainly socialists, aware of rural exploitation and class consciousness. In the 1930s they hoped that unemployment and the rule of the cliques was past; that the promised land reform would come. "In Tajos, specifically, nothing happened." The revolution was a nightmare. It allowed for the settlement of old scores. For the mass of the people the aftermath was famine, unemployment and pauperization. For the few, "fortunes were made out of low wages" (since unions were prohibited), "speculation and blackmarketing." Old occupations, especially gathering for instance, were prohibited; prices rose. A breed of "new men," the bureaucrats, came to power. They were not admired, but the villager had to "keep in" with them since they mediated between the anonymous government and its forms on the one hand, and the villager on the other.

"1955 is the date commonly given as the year when 'things started to get better'" (74). It is the year when tourism first started to come into the village. A matter of accident: an Englishman deciding to build a house and settle down in the village, villagers learning construction, others taking risks: deciding to start a taxi business, or linking up with a German factory several miles away to produce onions and leeks, still another deciding to concentrate on selling clothes and toilet articles rather than continuing as a general store. Individual decisions all, but gradually building up to take advantage of the growth of tourism. Even the Virgin of the Rock, patron saint of Tajos had to be repainted (at comparatively enormous cost to the poor villagers): "With the foreigners who were already beginning to come here, it would have been scandalous to allow our patron saint to appear in public in such poor condition" (109-10).

Again, through the villagers' eyes, we see what benefits tourism has brought: more work (particularly in construction, crafts), better diets. There are also the accompanying changes: religion is not so important now, the young (some complain) have too much freedom, pork does not taste as good (since the pigs are fed on "synthetic garbage"). Probably more than anything, agriculture has been affected "There's hardly anyone working the land; everyone is in the building business. The land is pretty well abandoned, to tell the truth." But, the question Fraser asks is whether this is a bad thing, particularly since the mechanized farming in neighboring villages has increased farm production, and the land in Tajos was never good agricultural land anyway. Further, new land legislation makes it impossible for the landlord to evict a tenant without paying him compensation -- an amount that is far beyond what most sharecroppers or tenants would have ever saved for generations.

Let us look at some cases: Miguel, old and infirm, formerly a fishvendor with an uncertain living, is the usher in the village cinema;

Juan, a goatherd from the age of 8, is a self-taught bricklayer, the owner of a house and a TV set; Manuel received 200,000 pesetas to give up possession of the land he rented; Cristobal, the former sharecropper, is a gardener in a foreigner's home, happy and tranquil. These were the lowest in the economy of the village.

New expectations have also come in: apart from the desire to own at least an apartment, and a TV set, the more universal desire is for education. Most villagers want their children to be educated, and will save money more often for this purpose than any other. Roads have been constructed. Health services are available now.

The implicit message is that tourism does not appear to be as bad a thing as it is made out to be. True, there are changes. But are these changes not inseparable from modernization?

HOAGLAND, J. Plastic cushions, higher prices in coffee houses by the sea. The Washington Post, September 1, 1976.

This article, the third on Mykonos, introduces a time-perspective to the assessment of the changes that have resulted from tourism.

Tourism has made Mykonians wealthy beyond their dreams; it has also fostered a cheap and brassy approach which contrasts vividly with the earlier beauty and unspoilt charm of the island. Today, in the peak tourism weeks nearly 20,000 tourists descent on the island.

The town's night life has been taken over by homosexuals, nude beaches dot the island. Tourism has brought money, "but also shattered local values. Here this summer a feeling that something has gone wrong in paradise is spreading among some of the more perceptive islanders and regular visitors, who say they will go elsewhere next year."

MILNER, G.B., 1972. Samoan lesson. New Society, July 6, 1972, p. 26.

This brief article makes two points: first, the need for humility among that growing breed of "international experts and advisors" who should learn from the people they "advise"; and, second, the necessity for providing the various options for development to the local people, and letting the local people choose which option they want to follow.

These two "principles" are exemplified with reference to organizing a South Pacific arts festival; the choice of education policy; and the choice of architectural styles for a public utility building.

In the first example, Milner points out that the arts festival could be viewed either (a) as representing the best traditions of each Pacific



island participating in the festival; or (b) as a showcase to attract outsiders. In the first case the management could be left to the islanders themselves; in the second, it is necessary to call in outside expert management. Fiji chose the latter alternative.

In the second example, there are also two options: (a) to view education as a means by which a Pacific islander comes to know his own environment and culture. In this case, education would be primarily concerned with teaching local languages, culture, and tradition. Teaching a world language and standard school studies would play a secondary role, though not excluded. (b) Education is viewed as a means of adjusting the islander to the demands of the modern technological world. In this case, instruction in local languages, history, and culture would be merely a transitional phase in the education system. Independent Western Samoa chose option (a); American Samoa chose option (b).

The third example is of building styles. The building can be regarded as expressive of local social and artistic values, together with an adaptation to the physical environment. Or, one could take for granted that western architectural styles are the most sophisticated, while local styles are quaint and should be rejected. Western Samoa chose the first option. "The new building has been widely praised on all counts".

In all these cases, the ultimate choice was left to the people themselves. An outsider may criticize the choice, but it cannot be said that the decision was made by outsiders. If it had been made by outsiders, it would merely provide another instance of "cultural arrogance": "the unjustified claim to qualities, rights and privileges to which one is not entitled".

THEROUX, P. 1976. In darkest Afghanistan. Harper's Magazine, March 1976, 89-98.

If journalists first pointed out that the trails of the wanderer-explorer were being organized, this article rounds out the picture by pointing out what can happen.

The scene is Afghanistan, along the "hippie trail" from Turkey and through Iran. Theroux, a journalist, on the way from Mashad (Iran) to the border of Afghanistan with "freaks" (their own description) and others. For the "freaks" it is no longer exploration: the "trip" is getting a high, even if it is third-rate hash when the best variety should be (at least, was, some years ago) available. It is being in Afghanistan, not necessarily the company (since they treat each other with the frank disdain that comes with mere coexistence in space, not a sharing of minds). It is the place, the journey; in overcrowded buses.

Theroux paints the Afghan scene with journalistic touches -- the bazaars, the women in their burkahs, the sweepers. But the theme is the

"freak"; his naivete and cunning: (He) "struggled with a debased language of drug psychosis to express abstract concept (he) had got third hand from dropout philosophy majors" (95). When, however, money was the subject, they were "serious cunning and shreed by turns, because they knew -- even better than their detractors -- how much their life, so seemingly frivolous, was underpinned by cash" (96). And, finally, there is Peter, the Canadian... in a "nut house." Peter in rags, Peter in chains, Peter huddled in a corner of the madhouse, Peter arrested, Peter unwilling to go back to Canada...." 'Afghanistan, I love Afghanistan.' He lifted his hand and kissed the largest sore" (98).

TURNER, L. and ASH, J., 1975. The golden hordes: International tourism and the pleasure periphery. London: Constable.

Turner has been heard of before -- his name enshrined by reference in the Bank Appraisal Report on the Bali Tourism Project. For this work, with its titilating title, he is joined by Ash whose previous endeavors appear to have been unravelling the mystique of the sun tan.

The book lives up to the promise of its title. It is subdivided into three parts (history, culture, and politics), but these are merely convenient dividers for, after the first few chapters, the reader knows the repetitive theme: tourism is dangerous, even though, at times, it may have some value. A style that seems mellifluous at first, soon bores with repetition.

The sub-title could have been "All the naughty places you wanted to tour..... but don't be surprised if they are different when you reach them." There is the convenient generalization. A few examples will suffice:

The mass tourist is the "barbarian of our Age of Leisure".

"In general tourism kills agriculture stone dead" (122).

"Since it is based on illusion the tourist industry resists analysis, yet it proves to be highly susceptible to analysis in terms of neo-Freudian theory, specifically that of N.O Brown" (89).

"An American journalist anatomized the charm of the Seychellois girls: 'They're French enough to have good shapes, English enough to have good manners, Asian enough to have a touch of the exotic about them and African enough to have the call of the wild in them'." (153)

"It is curious that next to the portrait of Queen Elizabeth II in the Seychelles 50-rupee note there stands a group of palms whose fronds spell out, unmistakably, the word SEX" (154).



The book's value lies in the fact that it repeats popular notions about the effects of tourism -- mostly harmful -- which must be taken into account in any study of social impact. These notions are, briefly:

1. the motivations of tourists and their expectations;
2. the ecological damage that tourism does to an area;
3. tourist behavior as non-normal behavior;
4. tourism and the local elite;
5. tourism and the exclusion of local people from tourist facilities;
6. tourism has a greater impact than other forms of development;
7. tourism and agriculture;
8. tourism destroys local cultures and alienates a host population from its heritage;
9. tourism and an artificial view of local cultures;
10. tourism and agriculture;
11. tourism and the inflation of land prices;
12. tourism and prostitution.

Ultimately, the book has a common failing: the inability to decide whether a culture should be preserved as it is (presumably, for others to come and look at it) or whether the host population should be permitted to use tourism to modernize. The proposed "solutions" are vague and inconclusive.

WEST, R. 1973. Where the flying tourists play. New Statesman, May 18, 1973, 85, p. 730.

If Allsop's article reminds one of the best in journalists, this article points to the other extreme: the quickly penned, fluid description of a collection of half-truths mainly directed to emphasizing the more sensational "minuses" of tourism. If West had the facts in perspective it might have helped -- particularly since one does not know whether his article is the result of personal observation or merely a translation from the German of the "Stern" article. It would certainly be inaccurate to suggest that tourism has been an unmixed blessing. But it is equally inaccurate to suggest that all tourism is a blight, without examining the type of tourism, the place, the people which is what the article does not do.

#### IV. IBRD

1. Current economic position and prospects of Jamaica. Vol. 4: Tourism. Report No. CA-9a. Washington, D.C.: IBRD, June 4, 1971.

This is one of the earliest reports to touch on some of the social aspects of tourism.

Some of the aspects dealt with are:

- (i) The financial and social benefits of tourism are not open to Jamaicans -- a charge supported by reference to foreign ownership of the hotel sector, loss of valuable lands, land speculation accompanied by increasing costs of land.

- (ii) The feeling among Jamaicans that the social implications of tourism are considered, in many instances, to be disadvantageous: reference is made to the marked differences in living standards of the tourists and the majority of Jamaicans which gives rise to social tensions: the social tensions are accentuated by the high ratio of tourists to Jamaicans in the peak seasons.
- (iii) The possibility of mitigating the social tensions by (a) government policies to "Jamaicanize" the tourist sector; and (b) the development of a program to "educate" the Jamaican about the economic benefits of tourism.
- (iv) The changing image of Jamaica as a tourist resort which does not only cater to the luxury tourist.

2. Tourism sector review and project identification, Korea (white cover).  
Washington, D.C.: IBRD, August 9, 1971.

One of the references of importance in this report is contained in Annex I. It assesses the Japanese cultural tradition of group sight-seeing among the young as an "integral part of a student's education". Inferences are drawn from this "tradition", in addition to other factors, about the type and volume of Japanese tourism in Korea.

3. Tourism reconnaissance mission - Malaysia: Back-to-Office and Full Report.  
Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD, June 25, 1972.

One of the issues considered important to tourism development is that "tourism development proceeds in harmony with Malaysian environment and Malaysian traditions" (p. 12, para. 42). But this concern appears to be limited only to the framing of zoning laws, water pollution, and the incorporation of some features of traditional Malaysian architecture.

4. Yugoslavia: Tourism sector review and project identification.

Report No. 236-YU. Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD, September 10, 1973.

This report describes another type of tourism: tourism to maximize workers' welfare. It also traces the evolution of tourism from a means of maximization of the welfare of workers to an economic sector. For the sociologist it would have been interesting to trace the change in attitudes or patterns of behavior, if any, with this transition from mainly a socio-political concept to primarily an economic one.

The report also analyzes the development of international tourism -- both foreigners entering Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavians travelling abroad. An



examination of the former type provides "a relatively rare example" of the impact of tourism on the coastal villages south of Dubrovnik.

Finally, the report contains an assessment of the effects of political and decision-making changes: through decentralization.

5. Mexico: Tourism sector reconnaissance and project identification

Report No. 322-ME. Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD: January 29, 1972.

This report mentions: local ownership of most hotels, the majority of those employed working in the tourism sector are drawn from the unskilled - reduction of regional disparities in income and employment because of the wide distribution of Mexico's tourist asset, and that tourism is one of the most labor-intensive sectors of the economy.

A separate chapter discusses the types of land, their methods of acquisition, the payment and distribution of compensation, and the limitations on foreign ownership of lands -- although in the category last mentioned there do appear to be convenient loopholes.

6. Morocco: Tourism sector report (white cover). Washington, D.C., IBRD, January 29, 1974.

One of the recommendations made in this report "to foster tourism development" is that the government of Morocco should consider" (i) providing the promoters with equipped land in the most sought after zones of Agadir and Marrakesh" (p. 30, para. 74).

7. Philippines: Tourism sector review and preliminary project identification.

Report No. 418-PH. Tourism Projects Department, IBRD, April 19, 1974.

Among the items referred to are:

- (1) The number of tourists has not yet led to conflicts between the local inhabitants and the tourists over the use of tourist assets, and that there is no reason for this to take place in the future.
- (2) The friendliness of the people, their high level of education, and the universal use of English -- "language problems can act as a serious deterrent to tourism as for example, to Japan" (p. 7, para. 3.02).
- (3) The purposes of Philippine tourist development: primarily foreign exchange, stimulation of regional economies,

employment, small-scale enterprises, support for cultural minority groups (p. 22).

One of the recommendations made: "A research program should be initiated by the Department of Tourism to enable the impact on income for nationals to be quantified for different types of tourist facilities. Such analysis could be further refined to cover the indirect and induced effects of different types of foreign tourist expenditure, as well as the impact of domestic tourism" (p. 23, para. 4.05).



B I B L I O G R A P H Y

(articles, books, and dissertations referred to in the report,  
alphabetically arranged)

- ADAMS, J.  
1972 Why the American tourist abroad is cheated: a price-theoretical analysis. Journal of Political Economy, 80, pp. 203-207.
- AERNI, M.J.  
1972 The social effects of tourism. Current Anthropology, 13, p. 162.
- ALEXANDRAKIS, N.E.  
1973 Tourism as a leading sector in economic development: A case study of Greece. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Kentucky (University Microfilms No. 74-1401).
- ALLSOP, K.  
1972 Across Europe and out of sight, man. Punch, August 2, 1972, pp. 130-132.
- BELT, COLLINS & ASSOCIATES, LIMITED et al  
1973 Tourism development programme for Fiji. A report submitted to the Tourism Projects Department, IBRD. Belt, Collins & Associates, Limited et al: Honolulu.
- BENNETTS, A. & P. BURAK  
1976 Designing products for the leisure travel market from market definition to product information, 1975. In The Travel Research Association. The impact of tourism. Salt Lake City, Utah: The Travel Research Association, pp. 153-162.
- BIGELOW, C.D. & ASSOCIATES  
1973 Integrated economic, social, environment development; alternatives for tourism in Rwanda. Contract No. AID/CM/afr-C-73-17. Washington, D.C.: Decision Systems.
- BIRD, R.A.  
1971 An approach to tourism industry planning in developing nations. Paper presented to the Pacific Regional Science Conference. Tokyo, August 25, 1971.
- BLAKE, E.W.  
1974 Stranger in Paradise. Caribbean Review, 6, 8-12.
- CALVO, D.  
1974 Caribbean Regional Study. Vol. 6: Tourism. Washington, D.C.: IBRD
- CARIBBEAN ECUMENICAL CONSULTATION FOR DEVELOPMENT  
N.D. The role of tourism in Caribbean development. Report of Ecumenical Consultation, Study Paper No. 8. Bridgetown, Barbados: CADEC.
- COHEN, E.  
1972a Towards a sociology of international tourism. Social Research, 39. pp. 164-182.

- COHEN, E.  
1972b Arab boys and tourist girls in a mixed Jewish-Arab community. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 12, pp. 217-232.
- 1973 Nomads from affluence: notes on the phenomenon of drifter-tourism. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 14, pp. 89-103.
- DOXEY, G.V. & ASSOCIATES  
N.D. The tourist industry in Barbados. A socioeconomic assessment. Kitchener, Ontario: Disco Graphics Limited.
- ECONOMIST, The  
1974 Don't give them napkins. The Economist, April 14, 1974, 251, p. 38.
- FORSTER, J.  
1964 The sociological consequences of tourism. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 5, pp. 217-227.
- FRASER, R.  
1973 Tajos. The story of a village on the Costa del Sol. New York: Pantheon Books.
- FRIEDL, J.  
1973 Benefits of fragmentation in a traditional society; case from the Swiss Alps. Human Organization, 32, pp. 29-36.
- GREENWOOD, D.J.\*  
1970 Agriculture, industrialization, and tourism: the economics of modern Basque farming. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Pittsburgh (University Microfilms No. 71-4463).
- 1972 Tourism as an agent of change: a Spanish Basque case. Ethnology, 11, pp. 80-91.
- 1976a Unrewarding wealth. The commercialization and collapse of agriculture in a Spanish Basque town. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HILL, G.A.  
1974 Central New York snowmobilers and patterns of vehicle use. Journal of Leisure Research, 6, 280-292.
- HILL, P.  
1972 Rural House. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- HUDSON, E. & R. PELADAN  
1971 Tourism in the South Pacific islands: situation and prospects. Paris: ITA.
- HUTSON, J.  
1971 A politician in Valloire. IN F.G. Bailey, ed., Gifts and Poison.

---

\* This is cited as 1976a and the article summarized in the Annex (I) will be cited as 1976b in the Bibliography.



INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IBRD)

- 1971a Current economic position and prospects of Jamaica. Vol. 4: Tourism Report No. CA-9a. Washington, D.C.: IBRD, June 4, 1971.
- 1971b Tourism sector review and project identification. Korea. (white cover). Washington, D.C.: IBRD, August 9, 1971.
- 1972 Malaysia: Back-to-Office and Full Report. Tourism Projects Department, IBRD. Washington, D.C.: IBRD, June 5, 1972.
- 1973 Yugoslavia: Tourism sector review and project identification. Report No. 236-YU. Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD, September 10, 1973.
- 1974a Mexico: Tourism sector reconnaissance and project identification. Report No. 322-ME. Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD, January 29, 1974.
- 1974b Morocco: Tourism sector report (white cover). Washington, D.C.: IBRD, January 29, 1974.
- 1974c Philippines: Tourism sector review and preliminary project identification. Report No. 418-Ph. Washington, D.C.: Tourism Projects Department, IBRD.
- 1975 The Gambia. Appraisal of an infrastructure and tourism project. Report No. 844-GM. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- N.D. Turkey: First tourism infrastructure project. "Outline of the synthesis report to serve as a basis for Bank appraisal." Xeroxed note.
- JOSHI, V. & M. SHARPSTON  
1973 Tourism and economic development: a study of Antigua. A draft prepared for IBRD. Washington, D.C.: IBRD, November 1973.
- KRECK, L.A.  
1969 International tourism. Roneod notes for private circulation. University of Nevada, Las Vegas.
- LUNDBERG, D.E.  
1972 The tourist business. Chicago: Institutions/Volume Feeding Management Magazine.
- MacGANNELL, D.  
1973 Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings. American Journal of Sociology, 79, pp. 589-603.
- McKEAN, P.F.  
1973 Tourism, culture change, and culture conservation in Bali. Paper presented at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Chicago, August-September, 1973.

- MILNER, G.B.  
1972 Samoan lesson. New Society, July 6, 1972, p. 26.
- MONTEN, C.  
1970 Some sociological and psychological considerations in tourism planning. IN The 1969 UNECA Dag Hammarskjold Seminar on the development and promotion of tourism in Africa (in two parts). Uppsala, Sweden: The Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, 1970, Part I.
- MOORE, K.  
1970 Modernization in a Canary Island village: an indicator of social change in Spain. Journal of the Steward Anthropological Society, 2, pp. 19-34.
- NORONHA, R.  
1976 Paradise reviewed: Tourism in Bali. Paper presented to the Joint IBRD/ UNESCO Seminar on The Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism in Developing Countries. Washington, D.C., December 8-10, 1976.
- NUNEZ, T.A., Jr.  
1963 Tourism, tradition, and acculturation: Weekendismo in a Mexican village. Ethnology, 2, 347-352.
- O'LOUGHLIN, C.  
1970 Tourism in the tropics: Lessons from the West Indies. Insight and Opinion, 5, 105-110.
- OUMA, J.P.B.M.  
1970 Evolution of tourism in East Africa. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- PARKER, S.  
1975 The sociology of leisure: progress and problems. The British Journal of Sociology, 26, pp. 91-101.
- PATTERSON, W.D.  
1972 Need for planning: good and bad examples. IN PATA/1972. Report of proceedings--Malaysia. San Francisco: PATA, pp. 217-222.
- PEREZ, L.A., Jr.  
1973-74 Aspects of underdevelopment; tourism in the West Indies. Science and Society, 37, 473-480.
- POPOVIC, V.  
1972 Tourism in Far East Africa. Munich: Weltforum Verlag.
- REITER, R.R.  
1973 The politics of tourism in two Southern French communes. Unpublished PhD dissertation. The University of Michigan (University Microfilms No. 74-15, 830).
- ROBINSON, G.W.  
1972 The recreation geography of South Asia. The Geographical Review, 62, pp. 561-572.



## SHANKLAND COX PARTNERSHIP

- 1974 Tourism supply study: Caribbean region. Prepared for IBRD, Washington, D.C.: IBRD.
- SMITH, V.L.  
N.D. Introduction. In V.L. Smith (Ed.). Host and Guests. The anthropology of tourism. Unpublished Mss.
- SUTTON, W.A., Jr.  
1967 Travel and understanding: notes on the social structure of touring. International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 8, pp. 217-223.
- TALBOT, N.  
1974 A note on tourism in the West Indies. Science and Society, 38, pp. 347-349.
- TURNER, L. AND ASH, J.  
1975 The golden hordes: International tourism and the pleasure periphery. London: Constable.
- US GOVERNMENT, NATIONAL TOURISM RESOURCES REVIEW COMMISSION  
1973 Destination USA. Report of the National Tourism Resources Review Commission (in six volumes). Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office.
- WEST, R.  
1973 Where the flying tourists play. New Statesman, May 18, 1973, 85, p. 730.
- ZECHA, A.  
1972 Is tourism really necessary. IN PATA/1972. Report of Proceedings-Malaysia. San Francisco: PATA, pp. 79-82.



## OFFICE MEMORANDUM

TO: Mr. Raymond Noronha

DATE: December 15, 1977

FROM: Gloria L. Scott, CPSVP

SUBJECT: Social and Cultural Dimensions of Tourism

As I indicated when we discussed it I was overwhelmed by the amount of material which your report covers, or better, uncovers. Even if its publication by the Bank were to serve no other purpose than indicating these sources as a basis for directing social concern in tourism development, it would be fully justified. I am in full sympathy with your indications of the complexity of definitions and typologies, the differential impact of tourism and the difficulties in disentangling the cause/effect relationship of the various sectors to and within which tourism development is related.

Among the areas on which I missed discussion were access, the market, and the tourism multiplier. The easy availability of say the Caribbean for the U.S. and the possibility to "hop down" was surely an important factor in its attractiveness. This also facilitated repeater visits.

In the meeting to discuss the report a number of points were made which may sharpen the focus of its operational implications. I will not touch on these nor on my strong support for some of the issues you identify. I will merely raise some of the questions which I had:

- p. 1 para. iii - Is not access also an influential supply factor? I assume that you found no references to it since it is not included with the other resources in III p. 14 et. seq. and this may be significant.
- p. iv line 4 - Is the order of strange and familiar reversed?
  - para.x(iii)- In addition to those from the lower strata, (hotel service, taxis, etc.) there are the local population who can afford to use the tourist facilities. (Also p. v line 7 from end.)
- p. v line 5 - While he may have distinguishing features such as foreign education, a foreign parent, etc. I wonder whether the culture broker is so often not a native (also para. 5.15).
- pp. viii & ix, paras. vii & viii - What about the impact of changed consumption patterns? This refers also to pp. 20 and 63/4 concerning price rise and competition for resources. The wording of para. viii implies that migration and tourism employment are synonymous.
- p. x para. xx - Is it correct that tourism decreases out migration? Are there not migratory movements corresponding with tourism seasons?
- p. 22 para. 4.09 lines 4-5 - A very important point concerning retaining tourism expenditures locally is somewhat hidden, a point that relates also to the need for integrated tourism planning which is noted elsewhere in the report.



- p. 33 paras. 5.07-5.10 - The potential for focusing (p. 69, para. 6.26) anti-tourist resentment, etc. arising from the "registered parcel" and eventually closed systems approach deserves some thought.
- p. 65 lines 11-14 - The question of efficiency would include the social disharmony referred to in the previous comment as well as the insecurity of the tourism market and the lack of control of it by local decision makers. This leads to the essential question which I am not sure is raised explicitly - namely how to ensure local (hosts) control of the tourism development.
- pp. 65-6 - I note the special section devoted to women which may be strengthened particularly in relation to employment and economic impact by references in the Mexico study.
- p. 68 para. 6.25 - The multiplier from tourism needs study e.g. with social services.
- p. 69 para. 6.26 - Are there any references on the role of the media in exaggerating these anti-tourist feelings and their exploitation by foreign influences to support their interests in directing tourist traffic?
- p. 78 para. 8.01 - Since the whole report is a justification for considering the sociological aspects of tourism, is this limited paragraph appropriate here?
- p. 89 para. 9.09 - Should the search for procedures for the analysis of tourism also be a research topic?
- p. 94 para. 9.14 - Even though concern for integrated planning for tourism is implied throughout the report, it may be desirable to state it here also. Perhaps the sociologist performs a catalytic role across sectors.

Among the tasks for the sociologist should there be specific reference to employment related questions and also to the identification of social resources.

cc: Ms. Jacomina de Regt  
Mr. Frank Mitchell

GLScott:ra

UNESCO/IBFD/TIS/1  
Original : English

UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL,  
SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION  
AND DEVELOPMENT

Joint UNESCO/IBFD Seminar on the  
Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism  
(Washington, 8-10 December 1976)

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF TOURISM

A synthesis of papers prepared

by

Emanuel de Kadt

(SHC..76/CONF.713/COL.9)  
Paris, 1 October 1976

© UNESCO/IBFD 1976  
DRAFT - not to be quoted



SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF TOURISM

by Emanuel de Kadt<sup>\*</sup>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1 - 7
Chapter I      TOURISM AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF LIFE CHANCES	7 - 31
Chapter II     TOURISM AND DECISION-MAKING : PUBLIC AND PRIVATE	32 - 48
Chapter III    TOURISM AS AN ENCOUNTER : ITS IMPACT ON VALUES AND ATTITUDES	49 - 72
Chapter IV     ARTS, CRAFTS AND CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS	73 - 85

<sup>\*</sup>I am greatly indebted for the help in the preparation of this paper which I received from Anthony Ferner, whose creative contribution went well beyond that of providing mere research assistance.

## INTRODUCTION

---

One of the reasons for calling the present seminar has explicitly been to broaden the range of effects that will be taken into account when evaluating tourism development in less developed countries. While here we shall concentrate on broad social and cultural aspects, in the past such assessment and evaluation has tended to be mainly concerned with issues of the environment, with questions of material culture, and especially with economic development in the widest sense of the term. At the Bank a sophisticated methodology has been developed for predicting the economic costs and benefits of proposed tourism projects. It is not our task to concern ourselves directly with those economic effects. Nor have we been asked to assess the broader relevance of the evaluation and appraisal procedures used by the World Bank (or the advice given to governments on the basis of such procedures). But if one thing has been confirmed by the papers submitted by our contributors, it has been the impossibility of separating the social (and cultural) effects neatly from those we usually call economic, of pushing and keeping the different disciplines dealing with these matters into watertight compartments.

An important problem which faced me when writing this paper was the highly disparate nature of the tourism development experiences reported on by the different contributors, and hence the lack of comparability of such conclusions - for policy making or even for further research - as they reached. As I found myself thrown backwards and forwards between incompatible circumstances and views, the need for a clear framework, which would help to categorise different situations and guide us to the most important variables which need to be considered at particular times and particular places became increasingly apparent. And yet, the time was lacking for that essential exercise, and I can offer no more than a few starting points for what I should presumably be the first task to be taken in hand as a follow-up to this undertaking.

There must have been a number of previous attempts at constructing models or typologies. Two of these are discussed at some length by Noronha (1974): Cohen's typology of tourists, and the stages or phases of tourism development set out by Forster, by Greenwood and by Moore<sup>1</sup>. Cohen's tourists are divided into drifters, **explorers**,

---

<sup>1</sup>Forster (1964), Cohen (1972), Greenwood (1972), Moore (1970). These and almost all other references to previous work on tourism have been taken from the two summaries of the literature prepared by Noronha (1974) and the Centre d'Etudes du Tourisme in Aix-en-Provence (1975). The former has been particularly helpful.



individual mass tourists and organised mass tourists; Forster and Greenwood both broadly see tourism as going from a discovery phase through a local response and institutionalisation phase, to the mass tourism phase.

None of our contributors has addressed himself to the issue of constructing a typology. But the many relevant distinctions mentioned by them have been helpful in showing precisely how complex that task would be. Mass tourism or resort tourism; high income tourism; cruise tourism; excursion or discovery tourism; cultural tourism; business tourism; settler tourism; environmental tourism; - here are some of the adjectives used with the word tourism, all of which implicitly form part of some kind of typology based on the tourists themselves. But there are also 'kinds' of tourism based on what happens in the host country: large infrastructure tourism; modest construction tourism; small country tourism; high density tourism, etc.

For our purposes any first attempt at sketching out the relevant variables needs to do two things. It must be of some help in providing a context for the specific findings and views reported on in the rest of this paper, even if only to point to areas for research. Above all, it must be operational, i.e. be relevant to decision makers concerned with tourism development. Without being particularly confident that this is the right way to cut the cake, I would suggest that the first question to ask is what kind of tourism situations exist, in terms of what tourists appear to be looking for, and (the reverse of the same coin) what tourism promoters or host countries appear to be offering. If we take account of the relevant natural and other resources available, we can arrive at a listing of the types of tourism situations which any one country can attempt to promote, the kinds of tourists it can try to attract. But in terms of the likely effects of such tourism development as a country might be able to promote, the following pages suggest that two broad distinctions between host country situations are crucial: the size of the country and its general level of development.

Tourism situations - A typology of tourism situations is, I am afraid, rather a messy business, not very clear in terms of the underlying dimensions, and the following suggestions are only partly based on the distinctive situations reported by our contributors.

Business tourism is not discussed at all in any of the papers, and yet it is a limiting case that would seem worth considering more closely. The whole point of business visits is contact with host country nationals: the 'encounter' is an integral and essential part of the experience. The building of hotel facilities in the capital city, or in a major development town, where visiting officials or businessmen can be assured of a comfortable stay, can be the first step towards more general touristic development.

A very different limiting case is that of settler tourism, where people retire to a tourist resort. According to Boissevain and Inglott (p.6) such foreign residents have had an important impact on Malta, where they are engaged in a kind of 'permanent encounter' with the local population. This is, however, a rather unusual situation in less developed countries. Settler tourists have very little contact with the major infrastructure of the tourism industry - hotels and travel - though they do (in Malta, at least) have much influence on restaurants, arts and crafts.

Evidently, there are many other types of tourist, if tourist 'type' comprises some cross classification of purpose of trip, mode of transport, degree of organisation of voyage, etc. Thus, the majority of non-business travel in many destinations may consist of persons on religious pilgrimages (e.g. Saudi Arabia) or, yet more commonly, visiting friends and relations. Yet the vast bulk of tourists of prime concern to the authorities concerned with promoting tourism to their countries are people on vacation, who do not have any strong personal or religious ties with the destination country.

The further away the destination from the tourist's home (and hence the higher the cost of transport and information on the destination), the more important becomes the role of market intermediaries - travel agents, transport companies, and above all, tour operators - in promoting and organising this type of tourism. From the point of



view of the clientele, these intermediaries 'package' a complex series of services, and offer access to sea, sun and fun at a price unattainable by any other means. The prices of these offers can be very low, and hence the package must aim at some common denominator. This appears to be recreational escape from the problems of everyday life, in a resort offering sun, sea and usually some small ration of exoticism. For the bulk of such resort tourists, contact with the local population will probably be limited to those directly employed in the tourism sector, and they are likely to prefer the 'safe' and familiar interaction with fellow tourists. (Nettekoven pp. 588)

This is not to say that all tourists are content with simple resort tourism, and as the numbers touched by the tour operators expand, it becomes economically feasible to offer a wider range of touristic experiences. Such holidays, which might be called resort tourism plus, range from cruises which offer standardised excursions, mostly producing fleeting encounters with the natural assets, the culture, history or just possibly the people of the locality visited (especially in the Mediterranean and Caribbean); through combined seaside and safari holidays (East Africa); to holidays which add to the time spent at the resorts, explorations of the country's cultural peculiarities through visits to specially created (or preserved) environments. Two of such experiences will be discussed at some length in the following pages: the village guest houses in the Casamance region of Senegal (Saglio), and the cultural tourism to Bali (Bagus and McKean).

If such experiences are the main purpose of the holiday, they would however need to be placed in separate categories such as cultural-educational tourism, or socio-cultural discovery tourism. Schematically, the difference between these two orientations would be the following. In the former case the holiday-maker visits museums, sites or performances because he is interested in some aspect of art, history or archeology - the local people are in a sense incidental to his visit.<sup>2</sup> In the latter case he is concerned with present day culture, and thus almost necessarily with the people who are its bearers.

<sup>2</sup>Nettekoven indicates that many visits to Italy, Greece or Egypt would fall into such a category (p. ).

This same distinction can, of course, also be applied to the different kinds of 'additions' people seek, or might be induced to seek. (an important point if we are to take a dynamic view of these matters). to a resort holiday.

A country interested in tourism development needs to ask to what extent it can match these tourism situations with the resources it has available. If fabulous beaches exist, the development of (massive) resort tourism is at least a possibility. Special attractions (a game park, a spectacular waterfall, villare guest houses that show the local culture, an archeological site where local craftsmen retain age-old traditions) might be developed for tourism where they are sufficiently close to existing (resort) facilities in order to capture something of the tourist flows - the idea of touristic circuits or special modules discussed below. Similarly, major manifestations of great civilisations, such as the more important temples in India or the ceremonies and performances of Bali, can provide either specialist cultural-educational holidays or modules in a circuit added to a resort vacation.

Host country situations - As far as the social and cultural effects of tourism are concerned, the body of this report seems to indicate that two variables are of particular importance in distinguishing between likely outcomes. In the first place, there is the size of the country; in the second place (and in interaction with the first) its general level of development.

Size is essentially concerned with physical area, though a subsidiary issue is that of population. The main reason for introducing size as a variable is to draw attention to the characteristics that most small countries seem to share with regard to tourism development. In small countries, and especially small islands, pressure on resources can be considerable, and tourist-host contacts can be widespread - particularly if population density is high. The level of development can be measured by a conventional economic indicator such as GNP/cap. or preferably take account of other factors such as levels of skill and education, or possibly even the strength or resilience of the indigenous cultural tradition.

The more multi-dimensional the framework becomes, the more it will be able to make distinctions that could be crucial in terms of the effects of tourism development: simultaneously, as it becomes more



complex, it can become operationally less useful. From the situations dealt with by our contributors I have not been able to go beyond some very gross distinctions, making it possible to fill in just one or two of the 'boxes' implied by the framework. In a very rough and ready way I believe we can say that smaller countries, and especially small islands, which are also relatively underdeveloped in terms of production structure and infrastructure, and particularly in terms of the educational and skill levels of their people are more likely to experience negative socio-cultural effects as a result of tourism development than larger and more developed countries. A subsidiary proposition (discussed in various contexts in the following chapters) is that the negative socio-cultural effects are likely to be stronger with more rapid and more massive development of tourism facilities.

A comprehensive analysis of the social and cultural aspects of tourism development would have to concern itself with the particular characteristics of the different situations implied by some model such as is here suggested, and with the policy implications of those particular characteristics. The present paper cannot aspire to anything half as ambitious. It is, after all, no more than an attempt - made under great time pressure - to draw together ('synthesise') the findings and views of fewer than a score of contributors, who wrote about a collection of cases that is only very partially 'representative', and who were themselves under similar time pressure. But perhaps it will demonstrate the importance of proceeding to a more serious consideration of social and cultural aspects of tourism in less developed countries, and help to prepare the way for that.

The paper is divided into four chapters. The first concerns itself with aspects of the impact of tourism on the 'life chances' and welfare of the host population. It deals in some detail with tourism and employment, and focusses particularly on what information there is regarding the question of 'who benefits' from tourism development. Chapter II tries to examine where and by whom the decisions are taken (or should be taken) which influence the course of tourism development, and especially its effects. It discusses issues relating to national as well as to local interests: it also attempts to link the processes of decision-making, especially through agencies of the state, to the dynamics of class and class relations.

Chapter III looks at two related areas. In the first place it deals with the contact between tourist and local population in different kinds of settings, 'the encounter', and with the mediation of the encounter through cultural interpreters such as guides. Secondly it concerns itself with the impact of tourism on the values, attitudes and behaviour patterns of the local population, Chapter IV, finally, is concerned with the impact of tourism on cultural manifestations, on arts and crafts, as well as on ceremonies and performances. It also discusses modalities of integrating tourism promotion with preservation of the physical environment and stimulation of the traditional local culture.

## CHAPTER I

### TOURISM AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF LIFE CHANCES

This chapter begins with a brief discussion of some of the socially more relevant economic issues raised by our contributors - for example, the impact of a construction boom on land prices. It will then move on to examine tourism and employment, first in terms of employment creation (both direct and indirect), then in terms of the earnings generated by tourism employment, and finally in relation to the types of people who have benefited from employment in tourism. Next, we shall look at some evidence regarding the distribution of the benefits brought by tourism as between the local population and outsiders, this will narrow down on expatriates, their necessary role in certain types of tourism development situations and the issues (including training) that need to be faced if they are to be replaced. I shall then examine what evidence we have on the impact of tourism, (for example through speculative real estate booms) on the class structure, and especially on patterned social inequalities; this will lead on to a discussion of the impact of tourism on different aspects of welfare. I shall end by stressing the importance of the role of government as regards all these (mal-) distributional effects of tourism, and argue that in this respect tourism policies are likely to be a quite faithful reflection of more general socio-economic strategies and ideological orientations.



### 1. A brief look at some relevant economic issues

Some of the questions usually posed by economists are relevant to our concern with social and cultural issues. There are situations where the economic reasons for the development of tourism are very strong, e.g. where the realistic alternatives available are few (Elkan, D. ) - where there is no human or resource base for the development of intensive agriculture or industry, for example. This point has been mentioned especially for some of the small island economies in the Caribbean (Villamil, D. ) and the Seychelles (Wilson, pp.5/6), and it could be made similarly for most of the central and western Pacific islands. In such situations it may not be possible to give as much weight to the fact that certain negative social and cultural effects may make themselves felt as could be done where the range of alternatives is broader. Conversely, we are supposed to tackle the impact of tourism on the life chances of different population groups. As non economists we have something to say about the different ways in which various forms of inequality can be institutionalized in the social structure and the different effects this may have on the costs and benefits of projects to distinct classes, groups or categories of people ('parameters' taken as given in the equations of the economists). But in order to talk about distribution there must first be something to distribute - and so we listen with more than polite interest to our colleagues when they argue about the cost per bed of hotel developments, about scarcities accentuated in certain types of economies by tourism developments and the consequent rise in factor prices which affects the local population, or about strains put on a country's infrastructure by the needs of tourism. I shall briefly report on some of these questions before moving on to the, for us, more central issue of tourism and employment generation.

Tourism developments may confer benefits (or costs) on inhabitants of the host society either as consumers or as producers. As consumers, the host population may gain access to a wider range of services due to tourism than they would have otherwise, or they may find the range of their choice restricted. This may apply as much to infrastructural services installed to support tourist development as to the recreational services offered by access to beaches, or the various items sold by hotels and restaurants. In general, those of our contributors who

discuss the interaction of tourism and infrastructure development leave the distinct impression that it is difficult for the local population to benefit directly in this respect, though their experiences may be unrepresentative. Only one instance is mentioned where the infrastructure developed for tourism had an effect that was unambiguously beneficial in economic terms, in causing further industrial development to take place - that was in the case of Sousse, a town in Tunisia which had an already established industrial sector when tourism got off the ground (Groupe Huit, p. ). Infrastructure may serve the tourists rather than the local population - by using resources that might otherwise have improved their living conditions (Villamil, p. ) - or may come under stress as a result of the expansion of tourism. In Puerto Vallarta (Mexico) a combination of both effects seems to have occurred (Evans, p. ): in Famagusta (Cyprus) the development boom apparently caused great strains on the local infrastructure (Andronicou, p. ); and a special problem is reported for the arid coastal zones in which tourism development has taken place in Tunisia, where the increased demand on the water supplies (a tourist uses five times more water on average per day than the typical local inhabitants) has created not just shortages, but actual conflicts at the local level (Groupe Huit, p. ).

As producers, members of the local population may gain from securing higher returns from the resources they possess (men, labour, skills, land, etc.). Yet for persons in competing activities, who do not themselves enter tourism, these gains to the economy may be losses to themselves. Various contributors report on the effects of demand for tourist development land on real estate prices. Malta was a case in point (Boissevain and Inglott, p.11). We shall return below to the limited understanding we have of the distributional effects of such often speculative booms, but here the point to emphasize is that in small economies 'scarcity is a fundamental problem ... in terms of area or available space, in terms of fixed and limited quantities of resources such as beaches, scenic places, estuaries' (Villamil, p. ). When Andronicou reports (p. ) that in Famagusta - the boom tourist development area of the early seventies



in Cyprus - prices for tourist seaside land rose by almost 600 per cent in the short span of three years (1970-73), he also tells us that in the Limassol region, prices for similar land rose by about 350 per cent while in Paphos they only just doubled; the actual price per acre for such land by the end of that period, was, compared to Famagusta, one-third in Limassol and one-thirtieth in Paphos. As Andronicou emphasises, the negative effects of this development for the Famagusta residents could have been avoided by proper planning and controls; and the facts that the value of seaside land did not rise in a similarly spectacular way elsewhere, while farming land rose very little in value over the same period in all three regions, underscore the limited impact of the Famagusta boom. But if land prices are being bid up on a really small island (e.g. by multi-national hotel chains or by new 'settler tourists' as happened in Malta, for whom the local price may be low even after a substantial rise) the effects will be felt in the entire economy (Boissevain and Inglott, p.11 and Villamil, p.14/15). The smaller the economy, the more important it is that there be comprehensive plans<sup>3</sup>.

## 2. Tourism and employment

I shall not dwell on the mutually irreconcilable generalisations made by contributors as to whether the tourist industry is more or less capital-intensive than other industries, and hence creates fewer or more jobs than other sectors per unit of capital<sup>4</sup>. But there is unanimity among the contributors that the generation of employment is not only one of the main aims of all tourism developments, but one of

---

<sup>3</sup>The point that (rapid) tourism development leads in general to price rises is also made by a number of contributors - though Gaviria (p. ) suggests that in Spain some tourist resorts have become relatively cheaper than non-tourist towns because of the downward pressure on prices that comes from tough bargaining with hotels, cafés and restaurants by tour operators in a buyers' market and from tourists who really shop around. These are classical issues of supply and demand analysis, which economists should be able to handle without difficulty.

<sup>4</sup>For example, Rouhdiba argues that a job in the tourism sector can be up to 20 times cheaper to create than a job in 'the classical industrial sector' (p.6). Green, on the contrary, believes that the weight of evidence is on the side of those who think it is expensive to create a job in tourism (p. ). Elkan is confusing, for while reporting that in Kenya a job in a hotel costs more than twice as much to create as a job in 'manufacturing and repair', he also points out

their main achievements. While in the larger and economically more diversified Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica and Puerto Rico, tourism provides no more than perhaps 5 per cent of total employment (but still a considerable figure in absolute terms), in the smaller islands, this proportion can go up to one half (Villamil, p. ), and in Bermuda direct and indirect employment created by the tourism industry is said to keep three-quarters of the labour force busy (Manning, p.5).

Some questions of definition are of importance here. Smaoui (pp. 5 ) reports extensively on estimates made by the Tunisian National Tourist Office of employment generation by the tourism sector, and he rightly distinguishes jobs that result from the direct running of tourism businesses, employment that can be indirectly ascribed to tourism, and jobs that result from investment in tourism. He is unusual in classifying jobs in arts and crafts in the first category (direct employment), and it is only as a result of that decision (arts and crafts account for about half the direct employment) that his figures broadly tally with those reported - or assumed - by other contributors for Africa and Asia, and fall within the range of 0.9 - 1.2 jobs per bed, depending on occupancy rates.

---

4 (cont.) that the latter includes many small repair shops, in no way comparable to an industrial enterprise (pp. ). Finally, there is, of course, the whole vexed question of the size of the indirect effects, by which tourism creates income (and jobs) beyond the sectors directly related to the servicing of tourists (hotels, restaurants, transport) such as arts and crafts, furniture making, agriculture etc., to say nothing of the multiplier effect, by which spending of incomes earned in tourism and indirect activities induces yet further income increases. The controversy generated by the Zinder Report on tourism in the Caribbean - whose assumption of a multiplier of 2.3 has been severely challenged by various authors - is reported briefly by Villamil (p. ).



Smaoui's calculations are based on data for 400-bed, 3-star hotels. Elkan reports on the differences between large and small hotels in different locations in Kenya and Tanzania. Unfortunately, Elkan's results are not very clear (p. ). We are told that the coast hotels, which were cheaper to build, also generate less direct employment once running: the figures for the coast and Nairobi are respectively 0.7 and 1.0 jobs per bed. Although the largest hotels in the sample were apparently in Nairobi, Elkan does not show by separate tabulations to what extent his finding is a function of size rather than location, nor does he differentiate between different categories of hotels in terms of price/standards. But work done at the Caribbean Tourism Research Centre appears to support the view that larger hotels generate more jobs, per bed, than smaller ones. Moreover employment in the larger hotels (usually, in the Caribbean, owned by multinational chains) also seems to be more stable, i.e. less subject to seasonal fluctuations (Villamil, p. )<sup>5</sup> Finally, we have some indirect data on this for Malta, where on average there were 0.4 employees per bed in 1975. Late in that year, the Maltese Government published minimum staffing requirements for different categories of hotel, requirements which are presumably related to existing patterns. These requirements ranged from 0.8 jobs per bed in the luxury class hotels, to 0.25 jobs per bed in hotels of Class IIB (the lowest category for which requirements were set). Unfortunately, we have information on the relationship between size of hotel and category of hotel neither for Malta, nor for other countries, and this relationship may well be quite different in different places.

The data so far presented, which in all cases relate to countries with well-established tourism industries, indicate that there are considerable differences in employment generation between different countries. Hotels in the Mediterranean appear, grosso modo, to give rise to about half the direct employment for hotels in East Africa (and the Seychelles). As for differences in employment generation between different types of hotels within one country, our

---

<sup>5</sup> This is presumably because of the latter's capacity to attract off-season business, possibly in the form of conventions or conferences, a subject not explored by any of the contributors.

data are less conclusive. Though they appear to suggest that large hotels provide more employment than small ones, this relationship is probably the result of one or more intervening variables, such as category of hotel, or even the extent of family labour engaged in different size hotels (small hotels may have more people working there, but fewer who are actually in paid employment, and thus counted as employed).

But tourism development does not only create jobs in the running of establishments: as we saw above, the employment created by investment in tourism needs to be counted, and discussed separately. For Tunisia, Smaoui estimates that a total of 2.7 man-years of employment are needed in the construction industry and in other sectors (e.g. furniture, infrastructure) for each new hotel bed. In large and diversified (or diversifying) economies this is, of course, a positive result, but especially in small, under-developed economies with limited prospects of modern sector development beyond tourism, the setting up of the tourism industry can create considerable problems, particularly if care is not taken over the speed with which it is done. Green reminds us that 'a building boom will cause serious sectoral problems for construction, first straining capacity and pushing up prices and then leading to major sectoral construction and replacement problems after the tourist sector stabilizes' (p. ).<sup>6</sup>

Perhaps the major message of Wilson's case study of the Seychelles lies precisely in the problems caused by the over-rapid creation of the infra- and super-structure for the tourism industry in that small country: the construction of the international airport, other general infrastructure works, and the new hotels. Between March 1970 and May 1971 the number of workers in the construction industry rose from around 1,500 (just over 10 per cent of the labour force) to a little over 4,000, as much as one quarter of the labour force. The figure stayed at that level for about three years, and then started to drop, reaching about 2,750 (of the order of 17.5 per cent

---

<sup>6</sup> See also Joshi & Sharpston (1973) who discuss the same issue for Antigua.



of the labour force) by August 1975. Once a small country has allowed itself, by pushing through the simultaneous construction of much of the infra- and super-structure of tourism, to get into that kind of situation it could be faced with the dilemma of unemployment with all its social consequences (the redundant construction workers are not easily absorbed into the hotel industry; moreover, in the Seychelles, as Wilson tells us (p.19) new hotel jobs have gone more to women than to men); or continued expansion of the tourism sector, leading to an 'increase in the density of tourists to levels which could place an intolerable strain on both public and social services as well as on the social fabric of local community life' (Wilson, p16 ). Moreover, in the Seychelles the tourism construction boom encouraged an exodus from agriculture to higher paid construction jobs: those working the land decreased from some 4,500 in 1970 to around 2,500 during the boom period, only to pick up marginally afterwards (to about 2,850).<sup>7</sup>

In summary, therefore, the one relatively confident conclusion is that in countries beginning their tourism development, and especially in small countries in this position, it would seem to be better to advise against rapid, large hotel and infrastructural developments, the kind of lumpy projects which cause major upheavals in the labour market, and to suggest that small, more modest and particularly gradual initiatives are to be preferred.

---

<sup>7</sup> From Wilson's analysis it would appear, however, that probably most of those leaving agriculture abandoned the conra plantations and not food production. On the other hand, the staggering rise in food imports once the tourism industry got going (from 1973 onwards) suggests that there was an unfulfilled potential in the island's farming sector (pp. 5 & 13).

Bearing that distinction in mind, let us now turn to the indirect employment effects of tourism. On agriculture and horticulture the evidence and views of our contributors do not present a clear picture. All who raise the issue agree on the desirability of stimulating local agricultural production, and Elkan even suggests that quality production of domestic meat, vegetables and fruit for the tourists could lead to a new and profitable export line (p. ). In Fuenterrabia (Spain) tourism did stimulate agricultural production and employment in other sectors (Greenwood, p. ).<sup>8</sup> Gaviria, also writing about Spain, is more pessimistic (p. ). But he does not give such evidence beyond reporting that the Canary Islands though perfectly capable of producing much of the necessary foodstuffs themselves and actually exporting bananas and tomatoes, appear to import a large part of the tourists' food needs from Europe. In Sousse most agricultural and horticultural products for the tourist are supplied by local producers (Groupe Huit, p. ), and yet agricultural productivity seems to be declining as the original farmers are drawn into - better paying - tourism jobs and are replaced by migrants from other regions whose skills are not appropriate for the local conditions (p. ). In Saglio's African villages, the benefits from the village guest houses were, among other things, invested in improvements in food production, giving both new employment to youths who might otherwise have migrated to the towns, and helping to increase the availability of local supplies for the guests (pp. ). Green reminds us of the differences in this respect between East and North Africa (where most food requirements can be procured locally, even by luxury hotels) and West Africa, where different agricultural output patterns make such targets unrealistic (p. ). And finally Villamil brings up, also in this context, the special problems of very small economies. Rather than being stimulated by tourism, agriculture may be replaced by it through losing out in the competition for labour and land especially, where the agricultural lands are in the coastal plains (pp. ).

---

<sup>8</sup> See also Greenwood (1970) for an analysis of how rising incomes from tourism led to an investment in machinery, fertilizers, etc., and hence to a considerable rise in agricultural productivity.



Thus, all it seems possible to say on this matter in general is that the outcome of the tourism-agriculture interaction appears to depend on many factors, among which one should emphasize natural conditions, size of the economy, the cost of imported foodstuffs, and relative wage-rates in agriculture and other sectors (including, of course, tourism). Tourism may stimulate an increase in food production, either through rising productivity or through increased employment in agriculture, or both: on the other hand tourism may draw people from the land and/or lead to a fall in productivity and thus cause food prices to rise - also for those people whose incomes have not improved as a result of tourism development.

The other sectors most frequently mentioned as being stimulated by the development of tourism are, in the first place, arts and crafts (we have seen that Smaoui has even classified jobs in that sector under the direct employment effects of tourism) and transport. Really large scale tourism development is often sought not least in order to reap the benefits of additional employment and production in further sectors. The manufacture of household utensils, glass products, porcelain, earthenware or even plastic crockery and other housewares, and sanitation products - on which Gaviria reports for Spain with its almost two and a half million tourist places (pp.

- will not be stimulated by a few isolated and modest hotel projects. Tunisia's mass tourism appears to have engendered much secondary employment in industry: Smaoui (p. ) quotes about 0.4 other jobs per bed (counting neither arts and crafts nor secondary employment generated by investment in tourism), and the case study of Sousse also mentions various types of secondary employment in manufacture. There, the infrastructure, transport facilities (airport plus rapid train services), and administrative and banking facilities developed for the tourism industry, became in turn factors attracting new industries to the already partly industrialized town (Groupe Huit p. ).

Nevertheless, in these sectors, too, possibilities for development depend on many factors, some of them similar to those discussed earlier for agriculture. While in most places it should be possible to stimulate the kinds of small-scale businesses of which McClelland speaks in his paper, the extent of secondary employment creation is likely to be strictly limited in small economies, with a narrow resource base for development beyond the tourism sector proper.<sup>9</sup> Another reason, it would seem, for caution of the size and speed of tourism development in such places.

### 3. Employment and the generation of income

The employment effects of tourism are of importance for two main reasons. Where the development of tourism directly or indirectly draws people in from traditional (subsistence) agriculture, tourism will create jobs in the 'modern sector' which could lead to higher cash incomes, and thereby probably lead to an improvement in the standard of living and life chances of the employee (and of his family). This was at least partly true for the villagers in Senegal, who benefited considerably from the income created by the village cooperative while at the same time remaining essentially within the traditional sector (Saglio, p. ). Alternatively, jobs in tourism may pay higher wages and salaries than those paid in already existing modern sector employment, and thereby make possible a rise in living standards of those involved. In some places, such as Bermuda, the effects have been little short of spectacular: there, as Manning tells us, tourism has led to a per capita income comparable to that of the United States and Canada, and ten times higher than the Caribbean average, with 'an overall standard of living ... surpassing that of most Western industrialized nations ... and the virtual absence of poverty and its manifestations' (p 5). Usually the outcome is a good deal less dramatic. Even so, many contributors make mention of rises in living standards brought about by tourism development, even though tourism may create problems because of its seasonal nature, and (like certain other sectors, of

<sup>9</sup> Plake (1974) discusses the social problems and tensions in the Virgin Islands, between immigrant workers imported because of a tourism-induced labour scarcity and the native labour force.



course) is influenced by 'inflation, business cycles, political crises and trend-setting vogues' (Greenwood, p. 7<sup>0</sup>). On relative earnings in tourism and in other sectors, insofar as we can compare employment in tourism with employment in agriculture, fisheries, etc., there appears to be little doubt that tourism-generated incomes are higher. But in comparison with construction, manufacturing, and services, incomes from employment in tourism do not appear to be all that favourable. Figures from Tunisia suggest that on average industrial workers earn some 12.5 per cent more than those in tourism (Groupe Huit, p. ). A more detailed breakdown for that country giving average annual wages in ten sectors (including agriculture, where wages were one quarter of those earned in tourism) shows tourism coming seventh (Smaoui, p. ). Gaviria, comparing the thriving Spanish new tourism town of Benidorm with nearby industrial towns, finds few differences in living standards, but nevertheless tells us that wages in industry are higher, on average, than in tourism (p. ). Only Andronicou suggests (p. ) that tourism employment provides higher incomes, but his data can only support the contention that between 1967 and 1972 average pay rates in hotels have risen faster than those in other sectors (by 93 per cent as opposed to 69 per cent for all activities).<sup>11</sup> (see p.19 for fn)

Our obviously very limited knowledge of the structure of earnings within the tourism sector is matched by a corresponding lack of information regarding the structure of employment. Thus, for example, we appear not to know much about the actual skills pyramid in the tourism industry. The fact that in Tunisia two-thirds of those employed in hotels and similar establishments in 1975 had at most a completed primary education (Smaoui, p. ) tells us little in the absence of comparative data for the labour force as a

<sup>10</sup> Bouhdiba (p. ) notes that Tunisian hoteliers have 'rediscovered' the importance of a local clientele, after the Middle East troubles sharply reduced the inflow of tourists from Europe in 1973. In general, 'local' tourism is hardly mentioned by the contributors, even though it must be of importance in all countries which are at least some way on the path to development and where a middle class of some significance has developed. Among the countries dealt with in the papers for this seminar, Spain - though hardly a less developed country! - is the most relevant example, but for Tunisia, Cyprus (Andronicou very briefly touches on the issue), Malta, parts of the Caribbean, Mexico and other countries of Latin America the issue is far from peripheral. I don't believe much attention has been paid to the interaction of local and international tourism at all: it would seem an important topic for further research.

whole. It is Gaviria's opinion that jobs in tourism on the whole require no more than a 'limited intellectual and technical level' and can be 'very easily improvised', and he suggests that 98 per cent of those employed in tourism in Spain have been trained on the job, 'learning by imitation' skills that are rapidly acquired (pp. ). Green, on the other hand, believes that a probably higher proportion are semi-skilled, managerial or professional than is the case in other sectors (including manufacturing). 'The image of a handful of managers and an army of waiters and chambermaids is totally erroneous', he asserts (p. ). So there seems to be a clear need for some relatively simple research into the structure of employment and the structure of earnings in the tourism industry.

#### 4. The distribution of the benefits of tourism

There are two categories of persons singled out by some of the contributors as having benefited particularly from the employment opportunities provided by tourism. They are younger people and women.

Statistical evidence on the age of those in tourism jobs comes exclusively from Tunisia. Though we are not presented with figures on the overall age structure of Tunisia's labour force it would seem that in that country tourism jobs have been taken up particularly by young people. Smaoui reports (p. ) on a 1975 national survey in hotels and similar establishments, which showed that one-third of those employed were under 23, while in Sousse (p. ) just over half of the employees in one large hotel studied were under thirty.

In any society with a traditional social structure, relations between the generations are usually governed by (fairly) strict authority patterns. Such patterns are underpinned by financial dependence of the younger on the older generation. A widening of employment and earnings opportunities cannot but have effects on intra-familial relationships. Though there is no evidence from Tunisia on this count - the process may be in an early stage, as yet (see below) -

---

<sup>11</sup> (from previous page). His appendix shows the index of pay by activity taking 1967 as 100 for each activity. He does not give data on the absolute levels at any one time.



Greenwood found that in Fuenterrabia the growing financial independence of the younger generation, and their increasing consumption possibilities, had undermined the traditional authority structure of the Basque family (pp. ).<sup>12</sup> Exactly the same point is made for Malta by Boissevain and Inglott (p.12). Family ties have, in many cases, become more tenuous, and inter-generational conflicts have made themselves felt. This is, perhaps, the shadow side of the considerable upward social mobility which tourism has brought to Basque and Maltese youths - but such a judgement would assume that the close control exercised in both countries by parents and especially fathers over their children was a desirable aspect of social relations.

Similar considerations apply to the widening of employment opportunities for women. We have, again, data for Tunisia's tourism industry. In the country as a whole about 16 per cent of employment in tourism establishments is held by women (Smaoui, p. ), while in Sousse the hotel survey showed that 30 per cent of personnel were women. In Malta, the proportion dropped from some 38 per cent in 1970 to 32 per cent in 1975; in contrast to Tunisia, where Smaoui (p. ) has noted that female employment is relatively more stable, in Malta women are employed in the more marginal jobs and are more affected by economic difficulties in the tourism industry - especially since in 1974 a bill was passed encouraging male employment in the industry in order to off-set growing male unemployment (Boissevain and Inglott pp. 8 & 9). Andronicou (p. ) and Wilson (p.22) also mention the importance of tourism jobs for women in respectively Cyprus and the Seychelles, though for these countries we are not given any statistical data.

---

<sup>12</sup> He also notes that the inheritance system has run into difficulties with the great increase in the value of many patrimonies, due to the skyrocketing of property values. The resulting conflicts have further weakened family cohesion. But that may be the price of progress.

The fact that tourism provides jobs for women tends to have similar 'liberating' effects as was seen for young people. In the Seychelles, the result has been that women lead a less restricted life than was previously the case: 'A young girl can now earn more money than her father if she lands a good job, and this also increases her ability to dictate her own life-style' (Wilson, p22). In Cyprus, the new earning opportunities helped young women to acquire more of the necessities for setting up their own households, and thus gave them more independence from their families (Andronicou, p. ), while in Malta they have 'removed unmarried women from the traditional, mother-controlled, house-bound existence' (Boissevain and Inglott, p.12). But in Tunisia the winds of change do not blow so hard. There, it appears, most heads of households appear to prevent employers in the tourism industry from handing over the wages directly to their daughters, or to open an account in their names. Hence the girls are dependent upon tips for whatever financial independence they have (Group Huit, ) - and the authoritarian family structure appears to be maintained largely unchanged, at least for the time being.

We must now consider some other effects of tourism development on the social structure and its different constituent parts. A possible shift of labour from agriculture to tourism has already been mentioned. Tourism development brings about not only inter-sectoral shifts, but also actual migration of labour. Again, as could be expected, the flows are related to the scale of development in tourism: where large projects are grafted upon pre-existing small communities, those who benefit from employment may well be largely outsiders. Even though gameparks are developed in areas with an unusual socio-economic structure, Green's remarks à propos are worth reflecting upon. There, he suggests, the gains do not usually benefit the initial residents of the area, whose existing production patterns are dislocated and whose needs may not be properly taken into account. More generally, 'extending game parks, banning hunting by savannah and forest peoples, relocating fishermen away from homes and markets, "clearing out" unsightly evidences of poverty near tourist sites (e.g. "squatter villages") are both common to "green field" tourism and highly damaging even in narrowly economic terms to the poorest and weakest of the initial residents.' (p. )



Some other contributors also touch upon the distribution of the benefits of tourism as between the original local population and migrants or outsiders. Evans alludes to this question in her discussion of Puerto Vallarta, which grew in population from 10,000 in 1965 to some 50,000 ten years later (p. ). She does not tell us what happened regarding employment and income to the 'original' population as compared to the migrants, though there are hints throughout that the benefits were widely spread, with living standards (and welfare provisions, pp. ) apparently having risen for all population groups. Nevertheless, the changes brought about by the public authority charged with tourism development (the Fideicomiso), a body responsible to outsiders in the capital, but whose resources come largely from the sale of nationalized land previously belonging to community members as ejidatarios,<sup>13</sup> appear to have been oriented more to the well-being of outsiders than to that of the local community. Exclusive projects, such as a hotel condominium, and an expensive residential area which restricts public access to the beach (p. ) are economically and socially beneficial to the new owners of such properties in Mexico City or the U.S.A. But while they could bring economic benefits to the community, in social terms the average citizen may well feel (and be) worse off. A very similar situation appears to exist in Tunisia, where the new tourist facilities are not economically accessible to the vast majority of Tunisians, even though they do cater to the needs of a privileged minority (Bouhdiba, p. ). On Malta, one of the first privately sponsored major tourism projects (though it was mainly for retirement 'tourism') was set up in 1963 with an exclusive character. But it caused widespread ill-feeling, and since then no tourism project has projected the image of 'Maltese not welcome' (Boissevain and Inglott, pp.10/14)

---

<sup>13</sup>The ejido is a form of communal property in agricultural lands which was instituted after the Mexican Revolution, and which has been in decline in recent decades under the pressure of capitalist agriculture.

In general, the most usual **complaint** in this connection is that which deals with the closing off of public access to environmental facilities (beaches, parks) in order to reserve them for the tourists. This has been mentioned before. Almost everywhere some 'reserved' areas (e.g. swimming pools) are inevitable. But none of our contributors defends a policy which deprives the local population of access to their natural heritage, while in various papers physical planning controls are explicitly or implicitly advocated which would ensure that tourism does not attempt to monopolise part of the natural amenities that should be open to all (Andronicou, Boissevain and Inglott, Bouhdiba, Green, Villamil).

As for the issue of internal migration, our contributors who write about Tunisia do mention the importance of migration to the coastal tourism zone, but they do not suggest that the migrants have benefited at the expense of the local population. In Spain, we are faced with a mixed picture. Greenwood tells us that in Fuenterrabia, where a sustained but gradual development due to tourism has taken place since the early fifties, large outside investors have brought in their own labour force apparently to the detriment of the local population (p. 14). But Greenwood also reports that migrants from Spain's less developed areas have been taking some of the more menial jobs, in which the local population lost interest with a rise in living standards (pp. ). Gaviria (pp. ) has observed a similar type of migration to Catalonia and the Costa Blanca by persons willing to fill the less skilled jobs. At the same time, however, in the country's less developed regions the more responsible posts frequently have to be filled by outsiders from more developed parts of the country. As a general proposition, he suggests that the benefits of tourism have been spread widely among all social classes, without, however, having had a particularly favourable effect on the poorest groups (p. ).

---

<sup>14</sup> Coignat (1973) mentions similarly that tourism in Isere does not employ local people and draws mainly on the urban labour market.



Expatriates are outsiders par excellence. The issue of expatriate employment is mentioned by various contributors, with Green and Villamil analysing the problem in some detail. Expatriate managers, heads of reception and so on, are found mainly in the large hotels owned by multinational companies.<sup>15</sup> It may be desirable to replace them sooner rather than later with citizens, and to plan and possibly to negotiate accordingly (Green, p. ). But there are strong incentives for the hotel chain to use persons for key positions who have learned, from experience, how such a complex organization actually operates (Villamil, p. ), and that usually means expatriates from another hotel in the company. Also, where the general level of development of the economy is still rather low other inhibiting factors come into play. Skilled manpower is often scarce, and from a macro-economic point of view difficult choices may have to be made as to whether the local talent is most needed in tourism or in other sectors (Green, p. ). Moreover, in that kind of situation it is not easy to secure adequate performance (Green p. ) at the various levels of hotel operation, as standards still have to be established in the sector. Expatriates, especially where backed up by the organizational expertise and routines of a multi-national hotel chain, may well have a role to play in this, particularly in the development of adequate facilities for business tourism.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, where the conditions seem right the government can take various measures to enable its citizens to acquire the skills needed for the higher level posts. A hotel school at post-secondary level is one possible method: it is being tried in Tunisia. But countries with a tourism sector less developed in absolute terms may not find that a feasible proposition. For their conditions less formal and more flexible programmes are almost certainly preferable. Villamil tell us (p. ) that such a programme exists in Puerto Rico (but he believes much more is needed)

---

<sup>15</sup> Calvo (1974), in the Bank study on Caribbean tourism mentions that it is usual practice to keep locals out of the higher echelons of hotel management.

<sup>16</sup> See Introduction

and Elkan sets out a proposal for in-service training in existing hotels - which, he suggests, would benefit more from not having their personnel 'poached' than be hurt by helping their future competitors (pp.        )

As McClelland's contribution deals very largely with issues of the training of people who could take the place of expatriates (or of local minority groups), it may be appropriate to take it up briefly here. His concern is mainly with motivation of people for entrepreneurial achievement in (small) businesses, and he presents some of the characteristics of the training courses which are both motivation-oriented (setting challenging goals and developing a drive for efficiency), and skill-oriented (what does one need to know to perform better, and about available (technical and financial resources that may be used to support performance). He reports that schemes based on his theories have been 'consistently successful in improving the performance of some 50 to 70 per cent of the small businessmen trained in many different parts of the world'. (p.    ). Achievement motivation training has been mainly oriented to small entrepreneurs, the kind of people who might run shops for tourist needs, cafés, taxi services, or small local excursion agencies, and McClelland proposes that such training should be accompanied by financial and technical assistance schemes - and possibly even be run by the agencies which provide such assistance (e.g. loan banks, credit associations). But there are also some examples of such training having been given for employees in the tourism industry, notably a ten-day achievement motivation development programme for senior and middle management staff of a large government-owned hotel, which raised the productivity of the staff considerably.



### 5. The distribution and level of income and welfare

The distribution of income in a society reflects its class structure; where the system of social stratification is very inegalitarian, income distribution is not likely to become less skewed, and absolute levels are not likely to be raised, without the (political) mobilization of the lower class and poor majority, and the emergence in power of a government is unlikely to accept tourism projects without considering their income distribution effects. On the other hand, in a society which operates mainly to the benefit of those already better off, tourism development will almost certainly simply confirm - or even accentuate - already existing structures of inequality.

A limited amount of evidence is adduced by our contributors to throw light on these processes for the countries dealt with in the papers. What follows needs to be read with caution, as in general, we are only beginning to understand the wider mechanisms, the ways in which different types of tourism development affect different types of social structure <sup>17</sup>

In the Seychelles, census data and special surveys show that over the ten years preceding the take-off of tourism (but including most of the tourism-linked construction boom) there was an increase in the proportion of those occupations that represent the skilled working class and (less) the white collar groups (Wilson, pp. 25 and 27). In a similar vein, a considerable increase in the size of the local middle class was found in Fuenterrabia as a result of tourism development, but Greenwood hints that there, too, at the lower levels - because of a lack of collective organization and the failure to pursue collective demands - things look less bright (pp. ). As we have already seen, for the last ten years the really big profits in Fuenterrabia have been made by those outside the town belonging to the national business elites. In

---

<sup>17</sup> The framework mentioned in the Introduction should probably be refined to take specific account of these questions. Moore's classical study (1970) of a Canary Islands village showed that the emergence of new entrepreneurs, thrown up by (modest) tourism development, meant a considerable challenge to existing social relations and especially to the power of caciques.

Tunisia a new entrepreneurial class appears to have emerged, 'catapulted into leading very important enterprises economically' as a result of the widening of the credit system, facilities for the acquisition of land, and state aid in general (Smaoui, p. ). Bouhdiba refers to a new class of property owners there, thrown up by real estate speculation, whose 'all too quick enrichment makes them all the more keen in the pursuit of profits' (p. ). In Malta, too, the building boom led to a 'truly wealthy class' of property owners, businessmen in construction and real estate, lawyers and notaries. (Boissevain & Inglott, pp. 11 & 13). And the same road of enrichment through land deals was opened up by the tourist boom in the Famagusta area in Cyprus. Only in a few cases did developers or speculators from outside the locality buy and sell the land: it was mostly the local owners who pocketed the profits or set up in business themselves (Andronicou pp. ). Still, benefits of the real estate boom there went exclusively to the lucky few who happened to own the land, or who were associated with the real estate business and building industry, and the same kind of thing has clearly happened in the Caribbean (Villamil, p. ). Speculative gains of this kind, which tourism fosters, are not likely to be conducive to an equal distribution of wealth, notwithstanding the occasional poor peasant who actually becomes rich.

But income, and what it can buy in the market, is not all. An increasing proportion of resources are, nowadays, allocated by means of administrative mechanisms to individuals, families or population groups, even though these may also be available in the market. This area is sometimes referred to as that of 'welfare' (as in 'welfare state'), and embraces such sectors as health services, education or housing. Does tourism increase welfare in this sense?

Health services are mentioned by two of our contributors. In one of the Casamance villages discussed by Saglio, a part of the income of the village guest house was used to establish a health post and a maternity (p. ). Evans tells us that in Puerto Vallarta tourism development has brought a government (social security) hospital to



the town, 'complete with an ambulance, clinics and specialists' (p. .), available to government employees and unionized labour (though we do not know what proportion of the population actually do have the right to use this hospital).

Prima facie one might be inclined to generalise that the necessity to cater for tourist health needs would have a positive effect for the local inhabitants. On second thoughts, however, this is not likely to be so. The health care needs of tourists are usually entirely different from those of the permanent (low-income) population. If tourists need any medical care at all, they need essentially curative facilities for emergencies: a place that copes with coronaries or with accidents, for example. But the population probably needs preventive health care more than anything else, especially for their children. If health policies are directed at those problems for the country as a whole, then the proper kind of facilities will be made available in the tourist towns (as anywhere else). In other cases, places where tourists gather are likely to develop health care structures of strictly limited relevance to the needs of the majority of those employed in or around the tourism industry.

The impact on education is quite different. In this area the facilities are exclusively for the local population, and no issue of conflict between tourist and local needs arise. We have already seen that our contributors disagree on the structure of employment in tourism, and on the training needed to do the jobs properly. We have heard of the existence in Tunisia of special schools for those aspiring to employment in tourism, and in Puerto Vallarta, the educational facilities are said to be excellent in comparison to surrounding areas, with almost all children

finishing primary school (Evans, p. ). In the Seychelles, too, the demand for literate and skilled personnel is reflected in the educational statistics: about ten years ago enrolments in secondary schools totalled about one-sixth of those in primary schools, whereas in 1974 the proportion was almost one in three (Wilson, p. ). But it is hard to argue that the changes in this area are specific to the development of tourism: any kind of modern sector development would, presumably, have had similar effects.

Tourists stay mainly in hotels: the people who serve them need housing. Boissevain and Inglott report on the one case mentioned where tourism development had a directly negative influence on housing - though admittedly the Maltese situation was somewhat unusual because of the great importance of 'retirement tourism' and its demand for permanent housing. As a result of the influx of retirement 'tourists', an already existing housing shortage was aggravated, with particularly serious effects on the poorest classes, who competed in the market for the properties which were being snapped up as 'old houses of character' by settlers and by non-resident foreigners in search of investment opportunities (pp.11/12). Apart from Green's earlier quoted passing reference to the elimination of shanty towns whose sight - or inhabitants? - might offend tourists (more often they are simply hidden behind fences), housing is only mentioned by one further contributor. Evans tells us of a government housing project in a tourism development area - the suburb in Puerto Vallarta of four hundred low cost houses, available at a heavily subsidised rate to those drawn at weekly drawings from among the eligible (Evans, p. ).<sup>18</sup> Clearly it is desirable to include such kinds of projects in tourism developments. But, as Evans indicates, supply does not begin to meet

---

<sup>18</sup> It appears that 'eligible' are those who have a permanent job and earn at least the minimum legal wage (personal communication).



demand, and she gives no information on who actually lives in the new houses. Unfortunately, in such situations, experience from many countries and especially from Latin America shows that the housing meant for those most in need, rapidly (or even at the outset) falls into the hands of those best able to acquire it. But again, this phenomenon is hardly specific to housing developments in tourism areas. The role of government with respect to all these matters of distribution of the benefits is stressed by various contributors, most notably by Green.

There is a whole range of policies which determine in a broad sense how the benefits of tourism development will be divided. In the first place what the outcome will be as between nationals and the national economy on the one hand, and foreigners or multi-national operators on the other. Secondly, how the initial local inhabitants will fare in comparison with those coming in from other parts of the country. Last, but hardly least, how the poor will do out of tourism as compared to the better off. As I have already suggested, in this respect the tourism sector cannot be isolated from the rest of the economy, and sectoral policies regarding tourism are very likely to be little more than a reflection of the wider social and economic policies of the government.

On the last issue we can draw some tentative conclusions from the material presented by our contributors. It appears to be de facto difficult to strike an acceptable balance between encouraging entrepreneurship, innovation and 'modernisation' (the kind of issues McClelland stresses in his paper), and controlling the effects of such activity on income distribution or the class structure. Unrestrained capitalist activity, in the tourism sector as in all other spheres, leads - on the whole - in less developed countries to a worsening of the income distribution and a widening gap in living standards and life chances between different groups of the population.

Green, in his, paper, rightly, no doubt, puts great emphasis on the need for sectoral planning for tourism (p. ). But he equally makes a point of showing, by a brief comparison of the options open to Kenya and Tanzania, that tourism development must be judged in the context of the

overall development strategy of a nation (p. ). There is little planners of tourism can do to promote greater equality in the distribution of the benefits of that industry, if the forces making for inequality are left a free rein in their society and if policies aimed at the eradication of poverty are not vigorously pursued. It is at that higher level that the problems need to be tackled: it is that higher level which will, in effect, largely determine the eventual social outcome, if not the initial economic shape, of tourism projects.<sup>19</sup> The limited evidence reviewed here should be of some value for those who wish to make that point.

---

<sup>19</sup>No doubt a comparison of expected and achieved results - an evaluation of past projects and of the assessment made of them when in the planning stage - would be very enlightening. It would seem a useful follow-up research activity.



## CHAPTER II

Tourism and Decision-Making:  
Public and Private

This chapter deals with the control of decision-making regarding tourism. It will start by looking at the way in which the national authorities responsible for tourism promotion usually appear to reach their decisions, specifically within the context of planning. It will then move on to consider the impact of a nation's political ideology on decisions in the field of tourism, and its capacity to impose its will (the strength of the state). Subsequently, I shall turn to the local level: particularly the operation (and usual weakness) of local government and the need for strong central government intervention or back-up in those areas where local authorities are supposed to deal directly with tourism. Next I shall deal with the issue of negotiations, and specifically ask which parts of the tourism business most less developed countries cannot but leave in the hands of foreign operators, what kinds of constraints appear to exist in general on the freedom of action of their governments, and what policies might be successfully pursued to bring a greater share of the benefits to the host countries. Finally, we shall move to a consideration of the relations between local groups and outside interests, and specifically see whether any general conclusions for policy-making can be drawn from the different types of situations discussed by our contributors.

1. Tourism development - Planning and politics

In an earlier section we have already touched upon some of the reasons why governments want tourists. Few would disagree with Andronicou's list for Cyprus, which emphasises foreign exchange earnings; the growth of national income, employment and regional development (p. ). Especially small economies may have few alternatives to the promotion of tourism in aiming for the first three goals listed above (Green p. ; Wilson p.5). But in small economies even more than elsewhere, the

repeated warnings of Green and Villamil, that decisions on tourism projects must not and should not be made in isolation of planning considerations related to the other sectors of the economy, need to be taken seriously. Malta has clearly appreciated this point, and there, tourism planning has been undertaken, within the framework of the national plan, since 1959 (Boissevain & Inglott, pp 4/5). Unfortunately, the planning capacity of most small countries (certainly in the Caribbean) is very limited through lack of appropriately trained manpower, which is aggravated by the fact that planning techniques and approaches to planning are not particularly well adapted to the problems of small economies; there is an urgent need to pay special attention to both these problems (Villamil, Appendix 1). Elsewhere, tourism projects are all too often considered without being tested against the framework of an overall sectoral plan, their costs (and benefits) not analysed in relation to other projects in the same sector, let alone explicitly related to the wider demands of economic development (Green, pp.       ).<sup>1</sup>

Thus the first conclusion of this section, and one particularly relevant to the participants in the seminar, must be that project by project planning needs to be supplemented by sectoral planning for tourism, not least because only then will tourism development be placed in the wider context that is essential. And, insofar as the present exercise makes a convincing case for the need to take account of the social and cultural effects, above all in tourism development, it ipso facto suggests that tourism planning (or any other planning) needs to broaden its perspectives beyond the skills usually possessed by those who are its current practitioners.

---

<sup>1</sup>The question of infrastructure developments for tourism projects, already mentioned twice before, is a crucial example (Green, p.   ).



But even national planning is not a simple technical or technocratic activity. Plans are oriented to policies, and policies are determined by broad political strategies or ideologies. At the end of the previous chapter I have already mentioned that, to a very large extent, what happens in the tourism sector is determined by these overall strategies, by the explicit or implicit societal goals striven for by those in power.

An important divide in this respect is between states which pursue a broadly socialist policy, and those which do not. There is virtually no material in the papers submitted by our contributors which throws light upon the tourism options of the former type of state; really only Green reminds us that tourism promotion does not have to take place in a capitalist context by his occasional comparisons of Tanzania and Kenya (e.g. p. ), and by his short but intriguing reference to Eastern Europe (p. ). If the example of Spain may be of most interest to the Tunisias and perhaps even Kenyas of this world, then those planning the tourism sector in Tanzania or Algeria may be more interested in the experience of Yugoslavia, Cuba, or Romania, different as they are. It is regrettable that we are able to throw so little light on this issue. An analysis of tourism development in socialist countries would add a great deal to the present discussion, and could have considerable practical implications from the point of view of policy formulation.<sup>2</sup>

As it is, in most of the countries which are discussed by our contributors the private sector (national or transnational) appears to have a predominant influence on tourism development, this being in line with explicit government policies, which actively promote free enterprise tourism in a mixed economy. Such policies have characterised Spain during the 1960s, where real estate operators, foreign entrepreneurs in the tourism business, tour operators and foreign travel agencies have been given great freedom of action within regulations on the nature and quality of services and prices (Gaviria, pp. ). In its quest for foreign currency Spain reduced restrictions on the acquisition of real estate by foreigners, on the setting up or operation of foreign

---

<sup>2</sup>From a social, as opposed to economic or planning, point of view the main distinguishing characteristics could well be (a) the conscious desire to limit the contact of the tourist as much as possible to those actually working in the tourist industry and (b) a much greater emphasis by the State on providing recreational and tourism services to citizens as a component of welfare. These questions, on which we have no further information, would have been particularly relevant to our later discussion of 'the encounter' (Chapter III)

enterprises in Spain and on the remittance of profits, and made available large amounts of official credit for hotels and vacation houses at interest rates which were little higher than the rate of inflation during the 1960s. This combination of freedom and control, together with an active state role in the tourism industry itself (including, in addition to credit and regulations, the network of high quality and reasonably priced paradors, state-owned hotels usually built and furnished in harmony with the historical environment) is not all that different from the situation pertaining on Cyprus. There, however, the measure of control seems to be somewhat less, and active state participation in the industry not nearly so developed, while foreign participation appears intentionally to have been kept to a minimum. But the ideological framework within which the industry has developed is unquestionably the same: 'the socio-political structure leans heavily towards individualism, free enterprise and capitalism' (Andronicou, p. ).

In Tunisia the promotion of tourism has taken place within the same broad strategy for development of this sector. None of our three Tunisian contributors gives us precise information on the participation of foreign or international capital in the tourism business, but it is clear that the state has actively stimulated the emergence of a private capitalist tourism sector, not only by giving private entrepreneurs all kinds of aid and incentives (Smaoui, p. ), but also by assuming direct responsibility for the development of tourist facilities in the earlier stages of growth of the tourism industry. Thus between 1960 and 1965 40 per cent of the bed capacity was constructed by the state itself, since the end of that decade, however, virtually all construction has been for the private sector. (Groupe Huit p. )

In economies which contain a capitalist sector, private tourism development should be guided by general economic policies towards private capital. Even where such policies have been clearly formulated, it appears that their application in the tourism sector often leaves much to be desired. National or transnational private enterprise in tourism - as, of course, in other sectors - often seems to be very little interfered with; less, in effect, than one might have expected in theory.



It is not really clear from the material at hand how, precisely, this comes about, and research leading to a more thorough documentation of the relations of the tourism industry with public authorities (preferably in comparison with other sectors of the economy) could be very illuminating. Various instances are reported of 'shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted'. One example is the restrictions imposed in the Seychelles on transfers of land to foreigners after they had acquired almost a quarter of the land area of the island, including 'much of the best development land which also tends to be the prime agricultural land of the coastal plateau'. (Wilson, p.17). Another one, the regularisation of illegal purchases by Mexican and foreign corporations and private individuals of ejido land (Evans pp. ) which in essence confirmed the new dominance of non-local groups in Puerto Vallarta. Similarly, the planning controls enacted in Cyprus (Andronicou, p. ) were not adopted until after the logic of private enterprise had been allowed to run riot with the development of Famagusta. Finally in Malta, measures to curb land speculation (a sizeable tax on property transfers, for example) were introduced after the boom had run most of its course - though in this case the measures were taken after an election (in which these processes were important issues) had brought about a change of government (Boissevain & Inglott, p.12). A common thread runs through various reports: the task which is left to local authorities in these processes, and their limited capacity in carrying it out effectively. To that issue we now turn.

## 2. Planning and control at the local level

Considerable differences exist between countries in the degree of constitutional decentralisation of government authority. Differences are also found in the extent to which local authorities such as municipal councils have any real decision making power or any real capacity to enforce the laws, rules and regulations which pertain to the affairs nominally under their control, and in how much they are open to influence from interest groups from within or outside the community. If the cases reported on by our contributors are anything like typical,

at least for all but very small countries, tourism developers have to contend with local authorities who, while supposedly concerned with regulating the effects of tourism, on the whole lack the human resources to tackle or even grasp the issues involved. Nor do they usually have a clear framework from which they can understand which questions need to be considered, and what factors should enter into their decision making.

Famagusta was, even before the development boom, one of the three largest towns of Cyprus, and as such presumably better equipped in terms of local government structure than most small localities where tourism gets underway. And yet, it had neither the technical expertise nor the legislative powers needed to deal with the new problems. Even in areas where it could act - e.g. the control of building heights and densities - it was apparently tardy in issuing appropriate regulations and incapable of enforcing them against the weight of those interested in pursuing private gains at the expense of public well-being (Andronicou, p. ).

Fuenterrabia never saw the frantic speculative boom which caused the problems in Famagusta. But despite the much more gradual impact of tourism development on the town, local government was not able to act in a number of vitally important areas. I am not sure how, within a nation state, a local authority could stem the outflow from the community of profits accruing to outsiders, or even to 'control outside investors in order to make room for local initiatives and for local labour to fill local demand first' (Greenwood, p. ). If those outsiders are nationals, as was the case in Fuenterrabia there is a strictly limited degree to which legislation, or even regulation, will be allowed which discriminates against them and in favour of local inhabitants. In Puerto Vallarta people refer to this invasion of economically powerful groups from Mexico's large cities as 'internal neo-colonialism' (Evans, p. ); there the local authorities were equally impotent to take any action against them. But local authorities do have the right to make decisions as to land use, infrastructural



investments or zoning. Even within those areas, however, the Fuenterrabia municipal council failed to act. 'Uglification' of the town came about because of the pursuit of quick profits, mainly by outside groups (often after defiance of local codes), and in general the result has been 'that the positive, local indirect effects of tourism have all but disappeared' (Greenwood, pp. ). This is a situation that appears to be widespread in Spain according to Gaviria, who tells us that (national) financial groups put pressure on the local councils via the central government as well as via locally appointed straw-men (p. ), people whom Greenwood refers to as 'their local agents, inside and outside local government' (p. ).

In those countries (and they include no doubt most of the poorer nations hoping to derive developmental benefits from tourism) where a vigorous national entrepreneurial class and a strong nationally owned private sector do not exist, the main potential 'threat' to national and local interests comes from foreign operators and investors in the tourism industry. The next section will discuss some of the areas in which negotiations can attempt to tip the balance of benefits somewhat further towards the recipient country. But, significantly, in those negotiations, the interests involved are defined as national in contrast to foreign (or transnational), and the issues of local benefit and control which have been brought up in the present section are not properly considered. The lessons from Mexico, Spain and Cyprus should not go unheeded. Even where appropriate contractual or legislative frameworks have been formulated aimed at safeguarding the national interest as far as possible, controls at the local level are still needed. When implementation and policing of such national frameworks is formally delegated to local authorities, their crucial role is self-evident. But even where that is not the case the absence of detailed local regulations and the capacity to see that they are observed will leave scores of loopholes which private investors, be they national or foreign, will be quick to discover, seek out and exploit.

All this points to extremely important processes, which are, however, hardly properly understood. Much would be gained, also for policy makers, if we knew more, for different situations, about the groups who come to control tourist development, their resources, their links with other national elites or with transnational capital. Meanwhile, pending such research, what practical and political conclusions can we draw? The defence of local communal interests demands a capacity to articulate and to formulate those interests, and then to defend them with the right kinds of executive instruments - a task obviously best carried out by those who have an intimate knowledge of local conditions, needs and wishes. Experience from the cases discussed by our contributors suggests, however, that 'local government; perhaps in the nature of things, is unable to control and regulate powerful outside interests' (Greenwood, p. ) - and so inevitably the national authorities are seen as having to take on that role. In Cyprus, after the Famagusta boom ran out of hand, the national government stepped in to prevent a similar occurrence in other parts of the island, by drawing up an Island Master Plan for physical planning, and enacting regulatory legislation (Andronicou, p. ). In most places, it must also be up to the Central Authority to decide upon such matters as land development taxes, 'betterment charges' or a value-added land tax (Andronicou, p. ; Boissevain & Inglott, p.12), potentially powerful and important weapons in the hands of those who wish to prevent the benefits of tourism growth falling solely into the hands of the propertied classes. As Greenwood puts it: 'The people must ultimately be able to find a powerful ally in the state or ... its agencies, or they have no allies at all' (p. ). In Malta this appears to have happened at least to some extent, since 1971 (Boissevain & Inglott, p.12). Whether such an alliance can really safeguard local interests against the designs of outsiders depends, once again, upon wider factors than those controlled by planners in the tourism sector. Government policies, decisions and plans do, after all, reflect the broad balance of power in the society, and the development strategy which that balance implies. Many governments are likely to be susceptible to the problems posed by unrestrained physical development



à la Famagusta, and willing to think of zoning or building regulations; rather fewer will interfere when nationally powerful groups bend such regulations to their own advantage, and in doing so reinforce existing inequalities and widen the gap between rich and poor, national elite and 'peripheral' mass.<sup>3</sup>

Only one example exists among the cases discussed by our contributors where local interests have been fully safeguarded: the Senegalese village guest houses built by the local people themselves, and run by the local community through a cooperative (Saglio, passim). This kind of project is, of course, fundamentally different from conventional tourism development, most especially in terms of its limited scale and of the essential link with the local community for its very raison d'être. To what extent its successes, also in the area of local control, can be transferred to the more usual kinds of tourism projects, is difficult to assess. In an economy based on free enterprise, the incentives to ride roughshod over local interests will be greater as the profits are larger that can be made by doing so. Saglio reports that interest in replicating the Casamance set-up was not confined to other villages, but also extended to private entrepreneurs in the region (p. ). But he does not suggest that the latter were likely fundamentally to undermine the purposes of such schemes.

---

<sup>3</sup> There are strong indications from Evans' account that this is what happened in Puerto Vallarta, where the national government did step in with legislation to deal with the aberrations of local development. Not only are local representatives on the local planning authority (Fideicomiso) 'too intimidated by the power, status, and presumed expertise of the outside officials to be forceful in presenting civic needs' (p. ), but, as we have seen above, the kind of investments made by the authority were aimed to benefit outside elites. Legislation, regulation and policies have to be implemented; if they are not, they remain on the level of rhetoric. Perhaps it was a little premature for Evans to write that 'since 1969, Mexico has demonstrated a worldwide leadership in launching a multiple attack on rural poverty and urban congestion, a huge part of which is to be accomplished through the creation of regional tourism centres often referred to as "America's New Rivas"' (p. ).

The issue of local community interests cannot, by itself, determine the desirability of a tourism project. But if social benefits are to be taken into account, and not only economic ones, then the matters discussed in this section should be taken very seriously in project appraisal and valuation. In the present context, one probably would be justified in reaching the conclusion that wider spread and smaller scale projects are preferable. This conclusion would derive from the assumption that such projects are less likely to attract attention - attention, that is, from those whose interests may run directly counter to the interests of the local community, and who are willing to use their power and influence to try and circumvent whatever obstacles are placed in their way.

In a more general vein the evidence of local authority weakness is so overwhelming that one is tempted to agree with those who call for greater central government involvement with tourism development at the local level. The effects of such involvement, however, may be disappointing. This is only another way of saying that planning cannot be divorced from politics, and that politics reflects the power of different groups in society. Governments can have an independent impact on the configuration of social forces. And yet they tend to represent the interests of certain groups or classes rather than others; hence they operate within limits which are usually fairly narrow at any one time.

I can only see one alternative to 'centralisation'. That is to provide training courses for local officials and other interested persons to enable them to grasp more clearly the issues involved, and in addition to stimulate local organizations of one kind or another to articulate local interests and to defend them. In other words, to help local communities go through a process of education, and what Latin Americans have come to call conscientización, as well as to promote the mobilisation of the mass of local community members in active defence of their interests as they come to see them. It could be very useful to build such a component into tourism projects, at the very least on an experimental basis. Its outcome, however, will inevitably be much influenced by factors that lie outside the local community - by general social and political processes in the country concerned.



### 3. Safeguarding the national interest

'The widespread myth that there is a standard, unalterable tourist contract package which involves ceding full control to external firms and then subsidizing the sector is not accurate'<sup>4</sup> Thus writes Green (p. ) in the opening paragraph of the important section of his paper that deals with the options open to less developed country governments in promoting tourism. While careful to analyse the kinds of constraint under which recipient country governments have to operate, Green leaves us in no doubt that a great deal can be gained by carefully prepared negotiations.

Foreign firms who come with a particular proposal have an interest in seeing it realised: hence such proposals are seldom proffered on a simple take-it-or-leave-it basis (p. ). Of course negotiation requires specialised knowledge and personnel, including knowledge of the world tourism industry and of the firm negotiated with, and such expertise is hard and expensive to acquire. Yet the trouble and expense are worthwhile, because those costs are small compared to what is to be gained. 'Indeed, the lack of adequate attention to data collection and negotiation both in tourism and in other sectors involving foreign partners can itself be explained only in terms of lack of enough data to realise how much is being lost' (pp. ).

But it is essential to be aware of the limitations, and to understand in what respects developing countries cannot do without their foreign partners. If a country wishes to promote tourism on a large scale, it will inevitably have to deal with foreign firms who 'package' tours and sell them to individual tourists. Such packagers, because of the very volume and the usually integrated nature of their business (marketing - charters - hotels), are strong bargaining partners, particularly where

---

<sup>4</sup>Green adds: 'Nor is the subsidiary postulate that this package was designed and promoted by the World Bank'.

flows can easily be directed to an alternative destination (Green, p. )<sup>5</sup>. Smaller countries with less developed facilities may have difficulties in breaking in to the established patterns which link multinational hotel chains to charter companies, a problem noted by Villamil (p. ) for the smaller islands in the Caribbean. Where destination countries are trying to compete with each other it may be particularly hard for them to get a share of the market on terms that bring a larger proportion of the benefits to the recipient economies and their nationals. This vying for the interest of the foreign investor or tour operator by offering the most generous terms conceivable (more generous than those available at the next island down the line) is of course the precise opposite of 'effective and tenacious' negotiating; such countries need to get together on a regional basis to develop a coherent and common strategy to deal with the transnational tourism industry (Villamil, p. and Appendix I, pp.2/3). Even where earlier made concessions have to be honoured, future projects can be set up on a different basis, and there is also scope for legislative innovation which can increase the local benefits even from already established foreign enterprises.

Many of the negotiable conditions do not directly concern us here as they lie essentially in the economic field. Green (p. ) mentions management fees, the rate of interest on state loans, allocation of the costs of infrastructure, tax rates, and depreciation concessions. He suggests that the difference (for a profitable unit) 'can easily be 50 per cent of operating surplus and 20 per cent of gross receipts'. Similar issues arise over traffic rights and charter business where a national capacity exists or could be easily created (p. ). However, the way such issues are resolved has social implications. Quite apart from the overall balance of benefits between host country and 'abroad', there are specific matters such as taxation systems which can be more or

---

<sup>5</sup> It would be interesting to investigate in detail some of the cases where foreign partners have pulled out, or tour operators have deleted a particular destination from their tours. Were the reasons 'simple economics', were they related to bargaining issues, were they political, could it have been prevented?



less inegalitarian, or depreciation allowances which may stimulate capital intensity and discourage employment creation.

Green stresses that the basic problems in the promotion of tourism are knowledge, communication and organisation; these are precisely the transnational enterprises' basic assets and sources of power (p. ). But it is useful to disaggregate the process of tourism promotion into a number of component tasks, for some of them are more easily carried out in and by the recipient country than others (Green, pp. ). The design of (profitable) packages and their sale abroad are areas in which the recipient country will largely have to rely on the packagers' expertise, though some local input should be possible. The tourism promotion organisations of recipient countries can develop mechanisms (publicity, contact with the tour operators etc.) to introduce a greater local content into the packages: not just hotel, sea and sun, but special interest 'modules' which bring the tourist in contact with local reality and locally run ventures. In other words, they can have a role in promoting a shift from a 'resort tourism' orientation to one that I have earlier called 'resort tourism plus' (Introduction). Excursions to Senegal's village guest houses have been introduced as options into previously standardised package tours such as those run by the Club Méditerranée, and have become a feature in more specialised packages designed, for example, for youth travel (Saglio, pp. ).

An area in which the need for foreign partners is not so evident is that of the provision of local facilities. Green remarks that in the building of local facilities foreign consulting firms may be needed, but the hotels, once built, do not need to be foreign owned (p. ). They may, however, have to be foreign-run: large hotels built by foreign consultants according to foreign models, are more likely to require expatriate senior and middle management personnel than smaller facilities, also when ownership is formally in the hands of local interests, or even the state. Replacing expatriates may be difficult, and (as I indicated before) expatriates can have an important role to play in the

setting and keeping up of standards in the early stages of tourism development. Nevertheless, it is surely right to pursue expatriate replacement (and the training of local staff to make this possible) to the limit, and it should be an issue taken up in negotiations over tourism projects. That legislation can work in this respect is shown in Cyprus, where even tour operators and travel agencies are obliged to employ local staff unless the required skills are not locally available, which, according to Andronicou (p. ) 'very rarely happens'. Here, the level of development of the recipient country is likely to be an important factor in determining the extent to which tasks can be carried out without recourse to foreign partners. In any case, it is worth remembering McClelland's suggestion (pp. ) that formal provision for the participation of local entrepreneurs should be made in all major tourist resort developments (and that they should be given training, technical assistance and credit facilities) - it could be an important issue in negotiations when large projects are contemplated.

Empirical data from other contributors add some useful nuances to these general prescriptions. Villamil points to the problem of small countries and the lack of local resources which may necessitate reliance on foreign capital - though he also tells us that hotels (small hotels?) on the smaller islands in the Caribbean are often owned by expatriates rather than by multinational chains (pp. ). In Bermuda there has been a clearly recognizable set of stages in the process of expansion of the tourism industry with foreign interest playing a markedly different role in each of them. Between the wars, when the island was the destination of small-scale elite tourism from the United States, the local 'merchant aristocracy, joined in the building of hotels and the organization of ancillary tourism services (Manning, p.2). After World War II, however, large foreign hotels rose to prominence in two stages: first when the existing hotels changed hands from local to foreign ownership, as the capital resources needed to renovate the existing establishments could not be found on the island; then when large new luxury hotels were built by international



hotel chains, leaving nine of the ten large hotels (accommodating 64 per cent of the tourists in 1975) under foreign control (p.4). For Spain, Gaviria notes significant differences in foreign penetration in different regions of the country. Those which had a commercial and industrial tradition before the great expansion of tourism (Catalonia, Valencia and Alicante) maintained local control of facilities to a much greater extent than the more 'backward' and more 'colonized' areas of the country such as Andalusia and the Canary Islands, where the multinational enterprises appeared in strength (p. ).

If we are tempted to draw a general conclusion from these diverse circumstances, such a conclusion would appear to be that rapid and large scale expansion of tourism facilities in places where resources and experience, appropriately qualified manpower and entrepreneurship are thin on the ground, will lead to loss of local control over the industry and will lead to loss of local control over the industry and will further tip the balance of benefits towards the foreign hotel chains, the tour operators and, of course, the tourists themselves.

This needs to be seen in the light of two observations made by Villamil. 'The impacts of tourism ... must be dealt with in the context of an industrial organisation which is now, and probably will remain thus in the future, mostly controlled by large foreign firms or expatriates'. And : 'The nature of the multinational system is such that technological, as well as other, decision-making will become even more centralized in a few decision centres.' (pp. )

There is, finally, an interesting remark by Gaviria which throws light on the way in which the transnational packager or tour operator relates to the local hotel and restaurant facilities in a relatively highly developed country such as Spain. Seldom, he writes, do tour operators become involved in the actual hotel business. This they leave to specialised chains and particularly to local entrepreneurs 'who tear each other to pieces in order to obtain cheap foodstuffs and labour which can lower the prices for the tour operators and indirectly for

the tourists' (p. ). Maybe this is no more than a typical 'buyers market' situation, come about because of an over-rapid expansion of the tourism industry, in large part because of state incentives to expand its capacity. It becomes a matter of judgement just how the state should interfere. But insofar as such a situation results from highly fragmented local enterprises facing powerful transnational tour operators, some correction of market mechanisms may be thought desirable.

Villamil makes a suggestion that would tackle this problem from the end of the local hotels. Having remarked on the advantages enjoyed by the large multinational chains - and, incidentally, on the advantages bestowed on the local population through more, and more regular, employment - he suggests that complexes of locally owned and operated small hotels and other facilities be organised as an alternative to the large foreign owned enterprise (Appendix I, p.2). He sees this as a means of achieving the necessary economies of scale without having to depend on the multinational firms; it could also give local interests the muscle to protect their interests much more successfully in their dealings with the tour operators, thus avoiding the kind of situation described by Gaviria. That the recipient government would have to play a role in promoting such a development goes almost without saying. Once achieved, it could well have an impact on the outcome of wider negotiations.

One can also try to tackle the situation from the other end, namely that of the packagers. In this particular area, government action by the recipient country is not likely to be very effective vis-à-vis the tour operators. Bouhdiba would attempt to expand tourism based on professional organisations, trade unions, or other kinds of voluntary agencies or interest groups, where possible through links with sister organisations in the receiving countries. Thus the monopoly of tour operators could be challenged and perhaps broken (p. ). But another alternative is worth considering. Something might be gained if the governments of the tourists' home countries were to take a more active interest in these important issues that touch on the well-being of



many of the poorer countries in the world. Action in this area could well have a more positive impact than some of their aid (aid, for example, to build large tourism complexes with donor technology and using donor consultant engineers). Innovations such as adjustment assistance for rich country industries threatened by more liberal trade policies towards developing countries are now subjects for serious discussion. Perhaps the next item on the agenda can be some active concern of donor governments with the transnational tourism industry, with the aim to make tourism relations more beneficial to recipient countries - for example, by requiring transnational tourism enterprises to make public certain information about the nature of their packaging arrangements, management contracts etc.

## CHAPTER III

Tourism as an Encounter :  
its Impact on Values and Attitudes

This section deals with the relationships and interactions of tourists and host society on the behavioural and value level. It will begin by briefly looking at the expectations (we know very little about these) and the behaviour patterns of tourists in different situations, and move from the conventional holiday package to more innovative ideas. Then we shall discuss some special mechanisms of mediation between tourists, the local society and the local population, focussing on the role of guides and their tasks of 'stage-managing' the encounter. Their importance in preserving, in places such as Bali, the image of the 'friendly native' will lead on to a discussion of the meaning, to the local population, of 'service' - such an essential aspect of the tourism industry. The necessity to relate contemporary patterns of behaviour in tourism service to specific historic-cultural experiences will be stressed. I shall then move on to look more directly at the imputed impact of tourism and tourists on local values and attitudes, both as a result of the direct contact which tourism brings about between tourists and local population, and as a result of the so-called demonstration effect. The section will end with some general remarks on the encounter, specifically of its widespread occurrence in the context of the unequal relationships between rich and poor.

1. Holidays, conventional and innovative

From the papers submitted we can learn very little indeed about what tourists actually want or even say they want, though a little more about what some of our contributors think they want. I shall leave their speculations (at times made with great confidence!) aside, apart from noting Nettekoven's two general points, firstly that 'inter-cultural confrontation' - what we are calling the encounter - occurs less during touristic travel than is often assumed, and secondly that intense encounters are less desired by tourists than is often suggested (p. ). This is confirmed by the one empirical study on tourist attitudes on which the



Groupe Huit reports though the sample (67 tourists interviewed in 1975 in Sousse) is a very small one. The main impression is that Sousse as such (as opposed to a place with sun and sea) was chosen for contingent reasons: some three-quarters of respondents might just as well have gone to another resort or country. Almost nine-tenths of tourists came exclusively for the 'setting' (especially the sun, the beach, the palm trees and the sea); the country's civilisation, history, people or present day society together only accounted for one-tenth of the replies (p. ). They were obviously there for 'resort tourism' (cf. Introduction), as were the tourists surveyed by Nettekoven in Tunisia in 1969, of whom almost two-thirds responded to a query about their interest in the country with the reply: 'Yes, as long as it doesn't disturb the holiday'. Most tourists are, essentially, people for whom the holiday is a chance 'to get away from it all' - the last thing they want is to be confronted with anything problematic during this short period of the year when they can be, what Nettekoven calls, 'egocentric leisure seekers' (p. ).

Within that overall perspective leisure is a flexible concept, and people have very different views on how to use it. As tourists, their views of the desirable do change and can be made to change, even if they are at present mostly motivated to want (and offered!) resort holidays of one kind or another. But I have no doubt that any attempt at inducing changes in the kind of experiences people seek on their holidays must be based on a more thorough understanding of tourist 'motivation' than we have at present. It is not enough merely to know what differences there are in this respect between categories of tourists (people from different countries, socio-economic backgrounds, with different kinds of education, young people, older people, and so on) - the kind of thing that the tour operators' market research has no doubt discovered in considerable detail.

Nor shall we make such progress by drawing up a detailed attitude questionnaire, putting on a bathing suit, and taking it down to the beach to ask a randomly selected stratified sample (one out of every ten adult males, one out of every five adult females, one out of two topless females) what they like and dislike about the place. The approach to research needs to be more dynamic. People could be presented with novel but realistic alternatives; it might be particularly rewarding to investigate those tourists who do go off the beaten track or act, during their holidays, more in accordance with the host society's 'ideal' than the average; and a simple research component, focussing on the participating tourists, might be built in to those tourism innovations which countries want to promote on a growing scale. As we shall further discuss below, tour operators have much to do with moulding tourist expectations and attitudes - they do not just passively respond to them. Research could therefore also profitably be directed at the problem of getting the tour operators to accept such desirable innovations.

What, then, do our contributors tell us about those holiday experiences which tourists appear to desire? Saglio became interested in the village guest house alternatives because he saw tourists being 'parked' in air-conditioned hotels, in tourist enclaves somewhere near a point of easy access by air, living in 'a whole world artificially created for [them] without relating to the realities of the country they are visiting', having most of their impressions filtered by the windows of a car or the interpretations of an officially accredited guide (pp. ). His image of mass resort tourism is in line with the findings of the earlier mentioned small sample study of tourists in Sousse. Recruited by tour operators, flown in by charter, they were transferred collectively by car to the hotel complex where they spent on average 22 out of the 24 hours of the day during their vacation, leaving two hours per day for visits to Sousse, etc. But that was an average : 65 per cent of the tourists made no such visit at all. Although about one-fifth of the tourists visited the house of a



Tunisian family (which seems quite a high proportion), the overall impression from the enquiry was that 'beyond relationships with guides and hotel personnel, the tourists kept themselves to themselves' (pp.     ). Similarly, Boissevain and Inglott write that most tourists remain relatively or totally ignorant about the customs, life styles, political aspirations, and social problems of their hosts with whom they have had no contact outside perfunctory service relations (p.19).

But why should the tourist want or expect otherwise, if this is precisely what he has been offered, what he has been sold by the tour operator, what he has seen in the glossy brochures he studied before deciding where to go? Bouhdiba looked at the material with which the tourist agencies 'sell' Tunisia, and found that the imagery reinforces the potential client's expectations about the land and its tourist facilities. Nettekoven speaks of a 'touristic world of appearances', presented by the agencies and operators for its help in promoting sales: 'beach, sun, palms, 'untouched' landscape, monuments of past ages, friendly people, amusement opportunities, quality of the hotel beds, number of courses at meals, and dimensions of the hotel's own swimming pool' (p.   ).

Saglio, in describing the brochures produced about Africa, writes : 'Savage and unspoilt Africa, the continent of deserted beaches, of tom-toms, lions, sorcerers and bare breasts - in short a whole iconography made to measure for the Westerner ... [which] does no more than accentuate existing stereotypes' (pp.   ). But that, thinks Bouhdiba, is precisely what the tourist wants: to be confirmed in his prejudices, and to be left alone in an atmosphere and milieu as closely as possible representing his own familiar background. So he prefers to stay in his air-conditioned bus rather than to walk around. And Bouhdiba recounts an anecdote. 'I know, I know' said one worn-out German, 'I've read it all in my guidebook' (p.   ). What the whole experience does to the tourist and his image of the country he has visited, is also largely unknown, an important question which Boissevain and Inglott want to be investigated (p.22).

National tourism offices also produce brochures, and these may depict the country more in line with reality.<sup>1</sup> But Bouhdiba's lament on the good official material produced in Tunisia is doubtless equally valid for other developing countries, if not more so: 'What a pity that they are not more widely circulated abroad' (pp. ). Only for Cyprus are we told that this general problem is under control, with tour operators' brochures apparently based on texts provided by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation, and all commercial publicity in general being carried out in close collaboration with the authorities (Andronicou, p. ). That case might be worth studying more closely, for those who control the processes of image-making and the building up of expectations may have much to answer for in terms of setting such tourist behaviour patterns as leave the host country nationals (and possibly also the tourists) dissatisfied with the whole experience. Obviously, the national tourism organisations can play a major role in this area, and there may even be a case for regulation through legislation or negotiation. Bouhdiba, for example, suggests that hotels or travel agencies should be required to spend a small percentage (0.5 or 1 per cent) of their turnover on improving the quality of tourist reception, and on better information and education of tourists as well as host population. Moreover, steps now being taken in some rich countries to produce more 'valid' information on less developed destination countries for prospective tourists could be replicated elsewhere, possibly with financial assistance from official agencies.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Though Boissevain and Inglott write that in Malta the officially produced brochures 'promote this seaside image of Malta', adding local culture no more and no less than the private agencies' brochures or guide books (p.18).

<sup>2</sup> The Studienkreis für Tourismus, F.R.G., has produced so-called 'sympathy-booklets' in which an attempt is made to describe the country, its people, culture, customs, etc. accurately, scientifically and realistically. These booklets are handed out to tourists by the German tour operators in these African countries. They propose to do research on how this information changes the tourist's perception of the host country and the experiences they look for and report on back home to their friends.



These information-linked issues are, of course, only a small part of the problem. Nettekoven reminds us that private tour operators, agencies, even guides, are in the tourism business for commercial reasons - they are essentially propelled by the profit motive (p. ). In pursuing their profits they may act in ways considered undesirable by host governments, tourism planners and sociologists, and to a limited extent incentives, disincentives and controls can be used to deflect them from their 'natural paths'. But, as we have seen in the previous chapter, tour operators have considerable bargaining power because of their capacity to choose alternative destinations, and competition between countries for custom is likely to remain a feature of the tourism market in most areas for the foreseeable future. So rather than think in terms of controls or legislation, countries should think about what they are actually offering, making it possible for tour operators (and tourists) to choose something more than just the resort holiday. It is within the context of such a broadened 'menu' that governments might introduce incentives to encourage the take-up of additions to the resort holiday,<sup>3</sup> while it might even be feasible for the authorities in the rich countries concerned with development co-operation, or for international organisations, to support such initiatives at their end.

The central point which is being made here is, in short, the following. A country may present much of potential interest to outsiders, and its people may be quite willing, in principle, to be parties to some form of positive encounter with tourists. But without some organisational effort, without actively creating the circumstances which can be translated into some form of 'offering' to tourists, such potential will not be realised. 'Famous' places, monuments, and buildings, or renowned markets, festivals and other folkloric manifestations should have no problem in attracting the

---

<sup>3</sup> What Boissevain and Inglott call the 'secondary extra(s), in which (the tourist) may indulge if he has the interest, energy and time' (p.18).

visitors away from their beaches - at least for a while. But they probably already figure in the brochures, and are included in many of the packaged tours. The real issue is, of course, that most tourism resorts do not offer a Mona Lisa, Taj Mahal, spectacular carnival, or notable celebration of the town's patron saint, and often they do not even have a well-organised handicrafts centre, or an interesting fair there or in the vicinity, which might be 'discovered' by tour operators looking for something to add to their package. Much less do circumstances exist in which easy and relatively spontaneous non-commercial encounters between tourists and hosts are likely to arise. To organise and 'offer' the latter is by no means easy.

Programmes of 'home visiting with the locals' are artificial in most circumstances - unless common interests bind tourist and host together. That would be the case if holidays were organised through professional, trade union, or other special interest associations, one of Bouhdiba's proposals which has already been mentioned above. Ellis calls for small-scale projects which would aim to bring about a sense of unity and integration of 'local population, the tourists, the physical environment - buildings, urban spaces - and such local expressions as handicrafts, popular arts, etc.' (p. ). He also suggests that we think of touristic 'circuits', which integrate contemporary aspects of reality with such historical, archeological or cultural attractions an area may have (p. ). But the successful inclusion of the human dimension in such schemes remains the most difficult.

The Senegalese village guest house projects in the Casamance area address themselves frontally to that question. Their simple comfort reduces the standard of living gap that usually separates tourists and local population; their authentic reflection of local architecture brings tourists and villagers closer together; their close approximation of village life style (local food, etc.) and the direct involvement of



villagers, as members of a cooperative, in their running, all serve to 'create a relationship between visitor and visited which expresses a genuine economic and human equilibrium, and to facilitate contact and exchange' (Saglio, p. ).

Saglio relates some of the difficulties of a social and cultural nature (beyond the sheer hard work involved in getting the constructions completed) which were encountered in Senegal. The administrative authorities were far from keen on the idea at the beginning, criticising the small scale of the projects, doubting whether tourists would want to stay in simple traditional-style buildings, and even worrying about troubles and disturbances at the village level. But beneath these he sensed 'a profound reticence to show visitors certain realities of traditional life (its relative simplicity and the integration of customs and life styles), which many elites tend to despise under cover of an official over-exaltation (négritude, authenticity ...)' (p. ). Happily, in Senegal, that reticence has been overcome. We should not assume that the task was easy, nor that it will be easy elsewhere.

In this connection, too, the dynamics of nation-wide social structures, and the ideologies underpinning them (sometimes couched in class, sometimes in ethnic terms) are likely to set limits and constraints to what can be achieved locally, though in certain conditions they also provide particularly favourable circumstances. After the Mexican Revolution, for example, when inequality was being reduced in Mexico, the vigorously promoted indigenista movement, aimed at a revival of indigenous Mexican culture hitherto despised by the ruling classes and their Hispanic traditions. This led to an interest not only in Mexico's ancient civilisations, but also in the contemporary peasantry and its arts and crafts. This movement has had a positive influence also in neighbouring countries. But in societies where the differences in life styles and living standards between different classes or ethnic groups is great, and where the general configuration of social relationships is inegalitarian and elitist, it could well be less likely that governments, tour operators, or local agencies would 'find' something 'worthwhile' for tourists to see or do that brings them in touch with local populations outside of totally stylised situations.

If the Casamance example is to be followed, it will take not only dedication, but also understanding of and sympathy for the day-to-day life and culture of the common people.<sup>4</sup> The Casamance projects are still too new for a proper evaluation of the degree to which they have lived up to expectations. The extent to which they can, in the long run, avoid some of the problems that have often plagued more conventional projects - like undermining of the village social structure, for example - is a matter that should be closely monitored by research. In any case, such projects by their very nature cannot provide the major contribution to national economic development which is (correctly or incorrectly) expected from conventional tourism projects. But then, what they can contribute at the village level may be more than any conventional project ever does. They would, on present evidence, appear to be well worthwhile pursuing, certainly where 'spin-off' traffic from resort tourism can be expected.

## 2. Mediation between tourists and hosts - setting up the encounter

As we have already seen in the previous section, tour operators, travel agencies, and other providers of tourism services are (through the production and distribution of selective information) important intermediaries between the tourists and the host country.<sup>5</sup> The employees of such agencies, as Nettekoven tells us, when they act as 'couriers' or 'tour leaders' to groups of tourists accompanying them abroad or receiving them at their destination, fulfil this selective function in a personal way by providing a perspective on the holiday at its beginning, and incidental advice during the rest of the stay. He holds that they are usually culturally ill-prepared for their mediating function and tend to be oriented by commercial motivations just like the agencies themselves; they often receive no more than a middling salary, which they eke out with commission payments received locally for excursions made or souvenirs bought by members of their group (p. ).

---

<sup>4</sup>Perhaps there are lessons in the facts that Saglio is by training an anthropologist, and that all of his expenses were defrayed from French technical assistance sources - i.e. were not borne by the village guest houses themselves.

<sup>5</sup>On the encounter generally, see Sutton (1967).



As for the local guides, their most familiar role is that of interpreters to the tourists of a place's more famed examples of material culture, and through those to certain aspects of the history of that place, of its religion or its national pride. Licensed official guides need to have an appropriate education in order to present the nation's sights in an acceptable way to visitors - thus in Cyprus guides acquire during their training 'a good knowledge of Cyprus history, archeology, art and culture' (Andronicou, pp. . ).

However, guides may in certain circumstances be much more direct mediators between the tourists and the local population, if the object of interest of the tourists is not so much the material culture as certain religious ceremonies or popular or folkloric cultural manifestations. What needs interpreting there directly involves the people, their culture and their way of life - hence guides act as culture brokers, i.e. 'persons who learn enough of two cultural traditions or of the ethnic and social features which separate groups or persons, and spend a good deal of their time attempting to bridge these differences' (McKean, p.1). Whether or not guides really know enough about both cultures to bridge the differences successfully is another matter; Nettekoven believes that on the whole they do not, and holds that the result is 'an inexhaustible source of information-distorting misunderstandings'(p. ).

Be that as it may, such culturally mediating guides play an important role on the island of Bali, celebrated not only for its handicrafts and temples, but for its temple services and religious ceremonies, for the artistic performances derived from them, and in general for the appealing life style of its people. Bali's people (McKean, pp.8/9) are renowned for being extremely friendly, and living simple, contented and intrinsically satisfying lives, very different from the kind of 'civilisation' tourists have left behind. It is those people tourists want to meet, that kind of society they want to experience, besides seeing performances or sharing in ceremonies. So the guides, in addition to interpreting cultural

manifestations, try to ensure that the human encounter conforms to the tourist's expectations, that Balinese are not discovered to be materialistic or interested in making a profit off the visitors.

These speculations do not, of course, apply in quite the same way to the guides themselves. In sharing the tourist's culture as well as that of the local population, it is acceptable that they make a living out of guiding, that they charge for their services. But part of those charges (surreptitiously) find their way to the people of Bali, when tourists come as 'guests' to temples or ceremonies. McKean quotes at length from an interesting lecture given by one of Bali's most famous and senior guides, Nyoman Oka. Here is what he has to say on this particular question :

'Many Balinese are not as friendly and hospitable as in the old days. Then no-one was asked to donate when one entered a temple. Today this has become a general practice. No-one was asked to give something when they visited a compound where a ceremony was going on. Now you find a donation in more and more places is expected. You have to expect this today, so be prepared. The foreigner need not know this. If you can avoid it, you should, to keep the image of Balinese being friendly and hospitable. You should pay the donation yourself, without the tourist noticing it.' (p.11)

Here, then, is a remarkable example of a 'stage-managed' encounter, one which deliberately tries to reconcile the (no longer) compatible expectations of tourists and local hosts.<sup>6</sup> In the past, the values of hospitality made the encounter between visitor and guest into a human experience, unmediated by 'second thoughts'. Now, a form of 'commercialisation' of the encounter has been institutionalised and 'appearances' are preserved. Balinese society is clearly not the 'paradise' that tourists are meant to experience, but neither McKean nor Bagus suggest that the impact of tourism has been destructive of the more important aspects of traditional culture. It appears to be sufficiently resilient to find a positive adaptation to this

---

<sup>6</sup> See MacCannell (1973) for a general discussion of this phenomenon.



and other forms of 'modernisation' (Bagus, pp. 34 & 14) that are impinging on the society. It is possibly because of this resilience that the part played by the guides as cultural intermediaries can, on the whole, be evaluated positively by McKean - though Bagus mentions certain harmful effects as a result of (increasing?) 'commission wars' between local groups competing for custom, with the guides often playing a crucial intermediary role (see below, Ch. IV, p. ). I have already touched on this issue of commissions at the beginning of the present section. Before going on to the next subject, it is relevant to point out that for Nettekoven the widespread payment of commissions is a crucial stumbling block to a more positive and genuine mediating role for the different intermediaries acting in the tourism field (p. ). Whether his proposal - raising of the basic wage - would eliminate the practice is by no means certain. But it might be a step in the right direction and worth a try.

### 3. Friendliness, service and servility

The 'friendliness' of the Balinese, and the fact that they willingly accept the relatively lowly jobs that can go with serving tourists, and do so without loss of dignity, are cultural characteristics underpinned by basic values and beliefs, partly secular, partly religious. The values of most tourism societies do not offer the traditional justification, the performance of duties in occupations of low rank, which Balinese culture provides.

Nevertheless, some places appear to be rather like Bali in this respect. Bermuda, so Manning tells us, is a place of friendliness, a place where service presents no social or psychological problems, one where the encounter between the local population and the tourists is 'non-exploitative and mutually respecting' (p.16). Bermudians 'tend to view themselves as hosts rather than menials' (p.15). Manning believes that this results from the accommodation of tourism to traditional values in Bermuda, arguing that Bermudian society has in the past been seen as a metaphorical kinship system, where -

apparently despite slavery and despite racial segregation that lasted into the 1960s - all had a sense of collective participation and shared responsibility for the well-being of the large Bermudian family.

Whether or not one agrees with Manning's interpretation of Bermuda's socio-historical experience,<sup>7</sup> it does appear that tourists do find Bermuda 'a delightful place, a place of peace and prosperity where "everyone gets along"' (p.14). It may be true that 'for generations Bermudians have been taught to recognise every tourist they pass with a smile, a wave, or a word of greeting' (p.13), and that nowadays they are constantly reminded by their political leaders and in newspaper editorials that 'tourists rank native friendliness as Bermuda's chief asset' (p.14). But though this kind of exhortation probably helps, it does not seem to be essential. Bermudians do not find tourism and its service ethos objectionable.

Perhaps the explanation for Bermuda's capacity to serve without rancour lies in the high standard of living which has already been commented upon in an earlier section. To be a waiter, or even a beach attendant, is acceptable above all if the income gained is at a level which compares reasonably favourably with the current income of others, as well as with one's own income in the past. In the second place it helps if that money can then be spent in a way which is psychologically more meaningful than mere imitation of the tourists and their affluence.

---

<sup>7</sup>To me, though I do not know Bermuda, it sounds one-sided. However benevolent slavery may have been in Bermuda, slavery it still was. If the present-day friendliness to tourists reflects anything socio-historical at all, one can just as well (and perhaps more plausibly) interpret it as the continuation of the admittedly benevolent paternalistic master-servant relationship of colonial days. 'Cast as seafarers, artisans and domestics, black Bermudians have experienced a physical and personal closeness to whites that was unknown in the plantation societies of the Caribbean' (p.14). Manning chooses to emphasise the 'household' element in such relationships, rather than the 'subservience' (and hence the class) element. Years ago Gilberto Freyre interpreted Brazilian slavery, and present-day race relations in Brazil, in a rather similar vein. Though one can still learn a great deal from his works, as basic sociological interpretations of Brazil, subsequent research as shown them to have given much too much emphasis to one particular aspect. The parallels with Manning on Bermuda are striking.



It is to that second aspect that Manning devotes much of his contribution in his analysis of the black workmen's clubs which have spread in the country during the post-war period of expansion of the tourism industry and rising standards of living. Despite the ethos of friendliness and the unresenting manner of giving service, Bermudians do not focus their response to the tourists on the actual encounter, but outside it. The club world where money is spent easily and often lavishly, 'is a reflection of the tourist world, a native imitation of the free-spending, pleasure-seeking life of visiting vacationers' (p.6). It embodies the tourist's values of consumerism without, however, destroying or denigrating the indigenous meaning system. Having emerged as the Blacks' response to racial segregation, which operated also in sports, the clubs came to represent a 'glamorisation of racial identity and cultural tradition' (p.9 ), stressing Afro-American and Afro-Caribbean cultural expressions and infusing the whole of life (including race relations) with a sense of sporting rivalry.<sup>8</sup> This, Manning sees as 'a constructive socio-cultural response to mass tourism' (p.12), though he does note that the clubs come under considerable criticism from religious leaders, middle-class blacks and left wing politicians. The latter would no doubt agree that the club-focussed response distracts attention from the real conflicts of interest generated by mass tourism, conflicts which would otherwise find political expression.

In the Caribbean, in places where the special characteristics of Bermuda are not present, similar efforts at promoting the image of friendliness can easily become a matter of 'selling the people of the Caribbean ... not as they are but as the tourist industry would like them to be'. Villamil then adds that 'the line between friendliness and servility is a thin one when it is a commercial requirement' (p. ).

---

<sup>8</sup> In the colourful language of professional anthropology: 'the clubs perpetuate and popularise the agonistic-dramatistic tropism that is the expressive basis of black Bermudian culture' (p.17).

I would like to suggest that much of the controversy that rages over tourism as an industry which supposedly 'demeans' those who work in it results from differences in interpretation of two inter-related facts. In the first place, tourism, as opposed to other sectors, provides personal service, service where the lower level employee (and it is those whose situation and experience are at issue) is at the direct 'beck and call' of the tourist. Hence, it can be agreed that compared to other types of work there is a massive multiplication of 'bosses', of people from whom 'orders' are to be taken in unmediated person-to-person contact, people whose whims may have to be indulged. This immediately raises the questions (a) of actual tourist behaviour towards such personnel, and (b) how such behaviour is understood and interpreted by the latter. Of course, different personality characteristics of the tourists - and also of the employees - account for some of the differences in this interaction; but it is possible that beyond such (randomly distributed?) differences, tourist behaviour is, in effect, socially patterned - i.e. that people from different national, ethnic, cultural or class backgrounds share certain relevant behaviour patterns towards service personnel in similar situations.

In the second place, and in contrast to social patterns of behaviour among the tourists, employee-tourist contact occurs in a socio-psychological and socio-historical context which is shared by the employees, and which can colour their perceptions of the situation. In contrast to egalitarian Switzerland, in certain kinds of ex-colonial society, memories of the colonisers' or settlers' expressions of superiority and disdain in personal relations, perhaps in racial or ethnic terms, are still alive among the population, and similar conditions may exist in societies with profound class divisions. In such societies the personal service encounter with tourists is almost inevitably coloured for the employees, by the evocation of other encounters they may have had personally or which are embedded in the local population's socio-historical consciousness.

All this is not to say, of course, that even in such societies serving tourists needs inevitably to be experienced as servility and to create resentment. Proper training of tourism personnel may have a role to play in this respect, by giving the actions of service the status of skills, to be learned, and to be performed with professional pride, thereby breaking the possible associations with inferiority and imposed deference. Trade union organisation of tourism personnel could well be another factor of much importance in this respect.



The conclusion, though hardly simple, is certainly clear in broad lines. Whether or not the encounter with tourists, and especially the service relationship, is experienced as demeaning and an expression of servility (and hence whether or not it provokes hostility), depends on the socio-historical context. Slavery and colonialism are instances of historical elements in the equation (the Caribbean above all; partial counter-example: Bermuda). The nature of the socio-religious system (e.g. Hinduism in Bali) may have an influence. The gap in living standards between tourists and local population, and whether or not local living standards are rising, and how fast, seems to be of considerable importance (Switzerland as the classical European example; Bermuda; but also the village guest houses in Casamance).<sup>9</sup> In a somewhat different vein is the situation commented upon for Malta, where at one time a growing number of lower middle class tourists competed 'more directly with the average Maltese citizen for goods and services', which led to resentment on the part of the local population (Boissevain and Inglott, p.14). Finally, there is the extent to which tourism and past or present oppression or dependence are experienced as similar phenomena.<sup>10</sup> The Basques' long history of conflict with the Spaniards rubs off on tourism in Fuenterrabia (Greenwood, p. ), in part because of the way in which Spaniards have moved in to dominate the industry locally; in Tunisia an over-emphasis on 'servicing' foreigners may accentuate feelings of dependence and lead to resentment (Groupe Huit, p. ), but - on the other hand - the difference between the French colonial presence and the multifarious crowd of tourists who come from all over Europe does mean a radical break with the social relationships previously prevalent under French colonialism (Bouhdiba, p. ). The same point is made by Nettekoven (p. ), and also appears to be relevant to Malta (Boissevain and Inglott, p.15).

---

<sup>9</sup> See also IBRD (1971) on Jamaica.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Calvo (1974) on the possibility that in the Caribbean tourism is experienced as a continuation of plantation system.

All this is not to say that, even where tourism creates resentment and hostility, the poor are not 'rather glad of the opportunity to earn a livelihood' (Elkan, p. ). But it does suggest that it is something more than 'a matter of personal judgement whether having waiters from a poor country serve customers from a more affluent society is to be deplored as so many Radicals would have us do' (ibid).

#### 4. The impact of tourism on local values

If we ask in what ways tourism development has brought changes to established value patterns and associated behaviour, the most notable change is that under its impact certain aspects of traditional social and human relations are brought into the area of economic activity and become part of 'making a living'. Our contributors, and I believe also most other writers on the subject, unmistakably suggest that outside of this area of economic or commercial relations, tourism does not have a serious impact on local values, and that (specifically) non-economic encounters do not account for more than a marginal part of the entire experience. Nettekoven states this explicitly (p. ).

Even in Bali, where the outward forms of traditional hospitality are maintained by means of payments or donations hidden from the tourists, the arrival of large scale tourism has meant that goods or services are now provided as commodities - have been commercialised - which had hitherto been part and parcel of people's personal and social lives. Whether the Balinese will continue to stage-manage the way they make a living so that it appears that material benefits are of no consequence to them seems to me an open question. Be that as it may, those of our contributors who discuss the matter are agreed, with one, exception, that commercialisation is a basic change brought about by tourism development, or at least precipitated by it (Bouhdiba, p. ).



The exception is Andronicou, who believes that the encounter is educationally and culturally desired by the Cypriot, that it is 'never seen as a "cash generating" activity' and regarded as 'a happy event in his life' (pp. ). It would be surprising if Cyprus, for all its traditions of hospitality, were to be radically different in this respect from other places, especially when compared to Tunisia, which is also a Mediterranean country with a long tradition of hospitality. Perhaps the answer lies in the evidence which Andronicou adduces for his assessment: the story of a French journalist who travelled by car to the interior of the island and was everywhere warmly received and treated as a guest (p. ). Off the beaten track, where tourists are still rare birds, the people of a country in which strangers have from time immemorial been received with warmth and ritual, will give the visitors the traditional reception. But where the 'hordes' are out, surely the situation is different; and in Famagusta or Limassol, Andronicou's journalist friend presumably got a rather different treatment. I suspect that for those parts of Cyprus, Bouhdiba's description of Tunisia is more to the point :

'...the tourist is a transient, and above all, he is a client. He is not sent by the gods or the saints like the travellers of old but merely by a travel agency. There is no room for adventure...A certain reserve is felt to be good manners. What would once have been regarded as unpardonable coldness unworthy of our national character and tradition, becomes a necessity...Hospitality has become just another technique of selling a set of standardized goods and services for the best price.' (p.9)

Similarly, Nettekoven, in a section entitled 'Is modern tourism a form of traditional hospitality?' resoundingly answers: 'Hardly. Tourism is the commercial form of giving board and lodging; the tourist is primarily a customer and only exceptionally a guest' (p. ).

Where some people want goods and services and are prepared to pay for them, while other people can provide them, a market - and commercial relations - cannot but develop. Tourism, in this respect, produces changes that are no different from other forms of 'modernisation'. Yet, once again, the comparison between small-scale,

gradual tourism promotion and mass tourism development thrusts itself upon us. The care taken with the Senegalese village guest house projects to maintain a sense of the traditional values of hospitality, of the immediacy of arts and crafts, and to bring about a gradual and 'harmonious' change towards commercial relations with tourists (Saglio) may not be easily reproduced, but it does appear to be a model which it would be positive to try and approach.

Certain changes in sexual morality or patterns of behaviour are also attributed to tourism in some of the papers. It has at times been said that prostitution flourishes in tourism resorts,<sup>11</sup> but no much evidence was adduced on this by our contributors. In the Seychelles girls seek contacts with tourists (or with white people working on the island), perhaps in the hope of a prestigious wedding to a white foreigner, perhaps because of the 'rather more basic attraction of being taken to nightclubs, bought drinks, being given money and presents and, at least for a while, taken away from the hard realities of day-to-day life.' And Wilson continues: 'A sort of innocent prostitution characterises many of these relationships between low status girls and high status men' (p.23), relationships which appear to fit into well-established historical patterns of sexual behaviour on the islands. In Bermuda a government commission of enquiry observed in 1951 that the high rates of illegitimacy were 'attributable to the "holiday atmosphere" generated by large scale tourism' (Manning, p.6), but again one is left with the impression that tourism merely confirmed patterns and values already present in the culture.

Tunisia appears to have been rather more directly affected. In the first place, both Bouhdiba (p. ) and the Groupe Huit (pp. ) report on the activities of young Tunisian males, who make themselves available - at a price - to women tourists (especially the older ones among them) and, to a lesser extent, to tourist homosexuals.

---

<sup>11</sup>Joshi and Sharpsten (1974) make a mention of the problem for Antigua and a paragraph or so reports on the topic in the Aix-en-Provence report for Unesco (p.18).



In a more general way, the simple presence of many young women on the beach, scantily dressed in a country where the local female population is kept out of view and where 'the veil is still staging its last rearguard actions', is bound to attract attention from the local males (Bouhdiba, p. ). Linked to this: the nightclubs, where the local population are always welcome, and where shows (and behaviour) depart much from the traditional strict sexual morality. So Bouhdiba concludes that 'the role of tourism in sexual liberation is undeniable' (p. ), a view shared by Boissevain and Inglott, who report on the increased 'aggressiveness' of Maltese youths towards unaccompanied female tourists with more permissive moral standards than Maltese girls (p.22). But Bouhdiba also warns against the tendency to impute directly to tourism all 'undesirable' changes: essentially it is a factor of acceleration in a situation which gets its basic drive from other forces for change. In relation to sexual behaviour this is, no doubt, the wisest conclusion to reach.

In the next chapter we shall see how tourism has, in many places, had a positive impact upon craftsmanship and the revival of certain cultural/artistic traditions. In the realm of values and attitudes it is more difficult to find examples of that kind of change, beyond those implied by the easing of authoritarian inter-generational relations and by the widening of acceptable activities for women (see especially Chapter I). But where tourists have valued elements in the local environment which were previously taken for granted by the local population, the effect on local values has been noticeable - the conservation of the natural environment in the Seychelles, for example, and the tourists' admiration for the island's rare species, have obviously rubbed off on the local population (Wilson, p. 30). Similarly, Boissevain and Inglott in their summary of the impact of tourism in this respect in Malta write: 'Maltese have changed their attitude to many things. There is a greater awareness and appreciation of things Maltese. These include not only historical monuments, but also arts, crafts and even locally produced wine'. (p.21) Some of

these changes have, no doubt, come about because of direct contact with tourists; others may have been the result of 'demonstration effects'.

##### 5. 'Demonstration effects'

The changes in behaviour and values referred to above were on the whole, if they occurred at all, attributable to the direct inter-action of local population and tourists.

Demonstration effects are something a little different: they are those changes in attitudes, values or behaviour which result from the mere presence of tourists, changes which come about from just 'watching' them. The taking over of consumption patterns is the most frequently mentioned example.

Greenwood has seen it happen in Fuenterrabia: 'Over time, local people have come to adopt a style of life markedly similar to that of the middle-class tourists they have seen (p. ). More than that, young Basques react to the 'rude, rich and idle' outsiders they see around them with a 'combination of defensiveness, hostility and attempted social invisibility. They mimic the consumption patterns of the tourists, dropping all external signs of their Basque culture' (p. ). Wilson tells of the adoption of imported tastes in the Seychelles (p.26). In Malta, the demonstrative impact of tourist behaviour has perhaps been of greater importance than elsewhere because of the role of 'permanent tourists' (settlers) who constitute a visible 1 per cent of the population and act as a link, demonstration-wise, between the temporary tourists and Maltese. Boissevain and Inglott tell how Maltese came to aspire to something better than their own relatively simple terraced dwellings after seeing and visiting the luxurious villas built by the settlers (p.11), and how they have taken over the custom of 'eating out' in restaurants on special occasions (p.12). Tourism is also credited with the boom in the popularity of sailing among the Maltese (p.21). Finally, a clearly negative consequence of the demonstration effect is



mentioned by Bouhdiba, who tells of a survey which showed that the desire to satisfy certain secondary needs, taken over from the tourists, led to juvenile delinquency in Tunisia (p. ).

In all this it is worth remembering that tourists, on holiday, usually 'demonstrate' consumption patterns which are considerably higher than their average standard of living during the year. As such they project a false image of their home society - something which those young local people who are attracted, by that 'demonstration' into emigration, discover to their grief (Nettekoven, pp. ). Whether tourists are actually imitated or not, the great gap between what they 'demonstrate' and the living standards of the majority of the host country's population, does create serious problems to which I shall briefly return in the last section of this chapter. Bouhdiba puts it graphically. when he asks us to reflect on the fact that there is 'something diabolical in this permanent temptation, and in this invitation to taste the indiscreet, but as yet forbidden, charms of the consumer society' (p. ).

But expectations and values are not only changed as a result of the tourists' example: tourism development itself can have a demonstration effect, as the Groupe Huit points out. Though there also appears to be much excellent local architecture in Tunisia, the hotels going up in a nondescript international beach style, introduce into the country (aesthetic) values which in fact represent the worst of 'modern' culture: 'the hotel which is experienced as the most "beautiful" is the most gaudy, the largest, the most monstrous one'. And the houses being built (often by hotel personnel) behind those big complexes have fallen prey to the same kind of demonstration effect: 'all reference to local architecture is lost because the model has become that imported architecture which is, in the last analysis, anything but architecture'(p. ).

But also in this area of demonstration effects Bouhdiba would, no doubt, wish us to remember his earlier mentioned caveat. Tourism is but one factor among many making for change. In most places other forces such as radio, television, the press, or commercial advertising, which have usually been identified with demonstration effects, or with cultural dependence are present alongside the tourists. Andronicou (p. ), Nettekoven (p. ) and Green (fn.21)<sup>12</sup> all draw our attention to these factors, and add their voice to Bouhdiba's in minimising the independent impact of tourism in this connection.

#### Tourism: the rich and the poor

In various places I have drawn attention to the paramount importance of the absolute and relative living standards of the local population with respect to a number of central issues that arise with tourism development, particularly regarding the likely reaction of the hosts to the tourists. In concluding this chapter I want to stress that point again.

When tourism development is grafted on to a 'modernising' but unequal society, where poverty is still widespread, and where many do not share in the benefits brought by tourism, negative attitudes towards the tourists and resentment of their wealth and well-being should cause no surprise. The unemployed youths 'staring with faint aggression at the ... tourists bustling happily around the handicraft shops' in Victoria (Seychelles) are, so Wilson tells us, not only bored but also 'suffer from a feeling that they have been demeaned' - in part apparently because many of the jobs created by tourism have gone to the girls rather than to them (p.22). Similarly in Sousse the many poor have few chances of satisfying the cravings which have been aroused in them by the tourists (and their richer compatriots): 'the resulting frustration is serious' (Groupe Huit, p. ).

---

<sup>12</sup> Green adds (a point relevant for some African countries) that a substantial expatriate community may be a more permanent hub of demonstration effects than even a large number of transient tourists. His point entirely squares with earlier reported effects in Malta.



One of the earliest papers on tourism quoted by Noronha remarked that 'A tourist region ... must possess natural advantages and a slightly lower standard of living than the region from which it draws its tourists' (Forster, 1964: p.219). But in many tourism resorts today the difference is not 'slight'. On the contrary, it is overwhelming, as tourists now often go to places 'where many people are living close to the margin of the minimum standard of living admissible in their society', a minimum 'which lies drastically below that limit which is regarded as required for acceptable survival in European industrial societies' (Nettekoven, p. ). There are those who are sensitive to the ethical and human problems which this raises. Unfortunately, these problems have no easy solutions.

Bouhdiba grasps, I think, some fundamental truths in this respect.

'...tourism is the behaviour of a wasteful society in the midst of a society of want. What the average tourist consumes in Tunisia in a week in the way of meat, butter, dairy products, fruits and pastries is equivalent to what two out of three Tunisians eat in an entire year. The rift between rich and poor societies at this point is no longer merely a theoretical scandal based on academic analysis. It is everyday reality. (p.11)

For much of mass tourism development little can be done about this, short of total ghettoization, or even declining tourism projects altogether. But before we despair, we should remind ourselves of the basic philosophy underlying the Senegalese village guest houses, because they do attempt to break precisely with that basic characteristic of tourism which Bouhdiba denounces.

## CHAPTER IV

Arts, Crafts and Cultural Manifestations

Much has been said about the nefarious impact of tourists on arts, crafts and manifestations. We shall start this discussion by looking at the evidence for that kind of 'degeneration' of crafts into mass produced curios. More is told by our contributors about the positive impact of tourism, and we next examine examples of the stimulation and preservation of arts and crafts, as well as their transformation to meet the new conditions of demand. I shall distinguish various types of craft product stimulated by the growth of tourism, particularly crafts to be purchased by tourists, as opposed to crafts to be used in the local environment. The income generated by these activities may be a secondary concern from the cultural and artistic point of view, but it is the central objective for the craftsmen and artists. Their income is much affected by the marketing arrangements, and the limited information we have on these will next be examined. In conjunction with this, we shall examine issues of training of craftsmen and the sales promotion of good quality products. Finally, I shall turn to some questions regarding the physical environment, and examine some of the proposals for an integrated approach to the different aspects of cultural manifestation.

1. Degeneration, preservation or transformation?

The demand which tourists make for souvenirs, and their uncritical stance towards the performances with which they are presented in their search for couleur locale, have often been mentioned as causes of a decline in cultural and artistic standards.<sup>1</sup>

McClelland (p. ), in discussing the objections raised to tourism, speaks of the creation of 'a kind of phoney folk-culture which misrepresents the country both in the eyes of the hosts and the visitors', and exemplifies this with the case of mass-produced small carved heads in the Ivory Coast, without artistic merit, 'designed to make as much money as possible and as quickly as possible'.

---

<sup>1</sup>For an early expression of this view, see Forster (1964:226).



He calls the result 'disastrous from every point of view'. Gaviria (pp.     ), in the same vein, argues that craft production, once it comes under the impact of mass tourism and the demand for products which the mass of tourists can afford, becomes the production of souvenirs, which are not necessarily objects of traditional craftsmanship. Another 'degenerative development' is that mentioned by the Groupe Huit. When traditional artefacts are being bought up by tourists for decorative uses which have no relation to their original functionality (camel muzzles which become handbags, for example), craftsmen respond by making changes in the design and execution of these products, bringing them closer in line with the (stereotyped) taste of the new customers (pp.     ). The same kind of unfortunate adaptation has happened in the case of Mexican bark paintings, whose 'modern' gaudy luminous colours apparently (or thought to be) preferred by North American tourists are without doubt an aesthetic step backwards.

One can also speak of 'degeneration' in the area of the performing arts. Let us leave aside for the moment the fundamental question of the transformation of a meaningful religious or community ritual into a performance for outsiders. More like the mass production of 'curios' are the ubiquitous nightclub acts based on local or national performing traditions (the flamencos in Spain, for example), and competition for custom can lead to a lowering of standards also among more serious groups. Bagus mentions this problem for Bali, though the instances of what he calls 'cultural pollution' seem to be rather isolated ones (p.24).<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, there are various examples reported by our contributors where tourism, far from leading to a degeneration of arts and crafts, has contributed to their preservation and revival.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup>In an earlier section I have already mentioned the unfortunate influence of international styles of architecture in Tunisia (p. 70); this is likely to have a depressing ('degenerative') effect on authentic local craftsmanship.

<sup>3</sup>See also Forster (1964)

Andronicou speaks of the impetus given towards the revitalisation of certain crafts 'some of which were in a moribund state', adding that 'but for tourist development some of these would have become completely extinct' (p. ). He mentions pottery, weaving, embroidery, jewellery and leather work among others, and these same crafts are mentioned by the Groupe Huit as having revived as a result of demand created by the tourists in Sousse and elsewhere in Tunisia (p. ). In Malta tourism has led to a flourishing handicraft industry among other things in knitwear, textiles and glass (Boissevain and Inglott, p.20). Schaedler suggests piquantly that the demand for counterfeits may help preserve traditional crafts, as these 'make heavy demands on the abilities of carvers and casters' (p.9) - although he would hardly argue that this demand was stimulated exclusively by the tourists who visit Africa.

In the realm of the performing arts and folklore, tourist interest has led to an increased demand in Cyprus, where the performances, shows and festivals which have flourished in recent years have been given encouragement and support by the authorities (Andronicou, p. ). In Malta, too, tourists have helped stimulate existing local ceremonies of various kinds, including the carnival celebrations, and their interest in local music and folk dance has made these acceptable to young middle class Maltese (Boissevain and Inglott, p.20). In the Seychelles the tourists have also kindled local pride in traditional Creole folk music, song and dance 'which were beginning to disappear in favour of Western-style music and dance', although Wilson points out that their exploitation for commercial show in a sense 'devalued' the originally spontaneous cultural expression (p. 31 ).<sup>4</sup> A similar 'devaluation of community ritual through its transformation into a tourist attraction has been discussed by Greenwood for Fuenterrabia (p. ; also 1974). In Bali, not only do the guides stage-manage the encounter (see p.59), but ceremonies previously imbued with religious meaning have been copied to be more available, enacted 'on schedule' in standardised form, for successive groups of tourists (McKean, p.6). But Bagus gives us to understand that

---

<sup>4</sup>Forster (1964) already mentions this for the Pacific Islands he studied.



creativity and quality are usually not impaired in this secularised transformation of ancient rituals (p.21).

This question of the impact of tourism on the meaning of cultural manifestations is discussed at some length by Schaedler, though in the context of artefacts rather than of activities or performances. In his detailed analysis of the changes that have taken and are taking place in African arts and crafts he is at pains to point out that such changes are not necessarily due to tourism at all. They result in the first instance from a decline in the religious beliefs which have always been the mainspring of African artistic expression. Craft objects (carvings, etc ) were cult objects; with the demise of traditional religious beliefs and their associated rituals, the objects to which craftsmen devote themselves become 'meaningless fragmentary husks of a cult or religion' (p.16). The original meaning invested in craftsmanship has disappeared, and the objects have become ipso facto degenerate. Such a judgement may be fair from an anthropological standpoint, and yet, two contrary points need to be considered. The first is made by Schaedler himself, when he reminds us that much traditional art (now in collections of museums simply because of its antiquity and 'genuineness') is of a quality just as poor as much that is produced today for the so-called tourist market (p.3). The second is more fundamental: the craft industry can acquire a new meaning. A craftsman can produce objects without these being invested with ritual significance either for him or his clientele. The earlier religious motivation which related to producing something for the cult, can be replaced by a secular motivation; and the satisfaction of having made a 'good' - i.e. appropriate - cult object can be replaced by pride in having made a craft object which matches or surpasses certain standards of workmanship and/or creativity, and which fits into a tradition which he shares with others. In the area of activity or performance the Bali dances are a notable example. Rather than speak of degeneration, the process to be discussed is that of transformation.

The demand created by tourists can, if appropriately channelled, be the force in such a transformation. This is shown by Schaedler himself. While he argues that 'genuine' traditional African arts and crafts, i.e. those forms still linked to cult and religion, have not been noticeably influenced by tourists or tourism (p.10), he also discusses at length how African craftsmen have responded to tourist demand with new forms and styles based on traditional models (pp.7/8): the new 'cult' figures and animals invented in the Upper Volta, the new examples of brass casting in the tradition of the Ivory Coast and Ghana gold weights, and generally the carrying forward of the casting tradition into hitherto untried areas. Increased demand, and increased production, means greater problems of 'quality control'; in order to overcome these, and also in order to satisfy tourist tastes, these castings have become increasingly 'oversized' - traditionally they were often very small figures indeed. On the other hand, in weaving, craftsmen (especially from Korhoge) have responded to the market's demand for smaller products, objects that are 'of the right size to decorate a small wall or cover a normal table' (p.8). In Latin America similar innovations, in which traditional quality is maintained, can be found in countries of the Andean region, and in Central America and Mexico. In Bali, too, new 'schools' emerged in arts and crafts after World War II, particularly in painting and design, but also in weaving and jewellery, which were stimulated by the influx of tourists. Their products, known in Bali as 'tourist culture' are provided not only for the tourists, but for local use and for export as well (Bagus, pp.15:20/1).

## 2. Crafts for tourist purchase or crafts for wider use?

'Genuine products; 'quality' products; 'functional' craftsmanship; 'folkloric' performances; souvenirs and curios; nightclub acts - some of these are instantly recognizable, but between others the borderline is fuzzy. The outward appearance of certain kinds of popular art and certain kinds of commercial kitch are not all that different. Tourists probably buy local products more as souvenirs,



to evoke the visited place for themselves or for friends, than as objects of aesthetic or cultural value. Those who want to make a living out of selling them little things to take back home and put on the mantelpiece are likely to produce objects whose relationship to the traditional arts and crafts of a locality is far to seek.

But there is a danger that we identify arts and crafts all too much with those objects - or activities - which tourists are willing to pay for, things that they buy to take away, or events or performances which they go and see. We must not forget that craft products were primarily use objects, and that craftsmen made pots for cooking, tables for eating from, rugs to walk on, blankets for sleeping under, or clothing to wear. Some of them also produced special or unusual goods for the well-to-do, or for use in ceremonies, religious or secular - beautiful objects of outstanding quality. But these were always a minority - though they did, to some extent, set the standards for the others.

Official promotion of good quality craftsmanship rooted in local traditions does, of course, have a role to play vis-à-vis the production of things that tourists buy. But the influx of tourists creates a much broader opportunity for craft promotion, in the possibilities that arise to revive the production of crafts for use in the first instance in those places which tourists visit during their stay - notably, of course, the hotels, restaurants and recreation facilities. Provided tourist comfort is safeguarded, craftsmanship (and craft-based manufacture) can base itself on local styles and local traditions, thus helping to create an atmosphere in which the tourist will be 'educated' towards an appreciation of local culture. The networks of state inns in Spain and Portugal are notable examples of this approach; there, indeed, the tourists 'from the moment they arrive at the chosen place ... perceive in it characteristics which express the local culture' (Ellis, p.7).<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup>See also Belt and Assocs., 1974 for similar views on tourism development in Fiji.

Ever since the Industrial Revolution craftsmanship has been retreating before manufacturing industry, as more and more people have been switching from craft products to mass produced goods. This process is primarily related to price, of course, but the often poor quality of craft production for popular use - pots that break easily and are awkwardly shaped; shoes that don't fit, chairs or stool which wobble and are uncomfortable - has contributed to consumer preference for factory produced goods. 'Hand-crafted' goods for the really wealthy are, in many places, the last stronghold of craftsmanship - hardly the basis for a thriving and vigorous sector. Use-products for the tourist industry (in itself a limited market) could provide the basis for a much wider revival of interest in craft products among the local and national population, and possibly even lead to exports.<sup>6</sup>

Quite a few countries have now instituted training and assistance schemes for the traditional crafts: our contributors mention them for Africa, Curaçao, Cyprus (Andronicou, p. ), and Tunisia (Smaoui, p. ), while Bagus speaks of their necessity for Bali (pp.20/21; 26). These training schools or schemes at times operate in conjunction with official retail outlets or museums, or - in the case of song and dance - with (national) dance theatres. The latter is particularly true for West Africa (Schaedler, p.15). Their aim is everywhere to preserve local cultural and craft traditions, to train new generations of craftsmen, and to maintain quality. They also need to prepare the craftsmen for creativity, so that they can produce new designs which prevent traditional patterns from rigidifying into repetitive derivations. Artisan centres or villages specialising in certain types of craft production will help keep such creativity alive. It is my impression, however, that such schemes have a tendency to emphasise the 'crafts for tourists' approach (Schaedler, p.15), giving rather too little attention to the integration of crafts and tourist environment.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup>The poorest groups will not be much affected by this: they will continue to buy what is cheapest - be it earthenware, plastic or aluminium!

<sup>7</sup>This appears certainly to have been the case with the 'Fundashon Obra di Man' in Curaçao, reported on by McClelland, which (despite liberal subsidies from Dutch development aid and UNDP) has helped fewer than a hundred persons to make a 'partial living'. All their efforts appear to be directed at the production of handicrafts for sale to the tourists(pp. ).



I believe that this is an important policy issue. It will be further highlighted in the discussion of integrated approaches to the physical environment, arts and crafts, towards the end of this chapter.

### 3. Marketing arrangements

Whether we are dealing with one of those revived traditional crafts, with a 'degenerate' form of curio production, with a new type of voluntary association that helps people earn a little bit on the side from the performance of traditional dances for the tourists, such as the 'seka' in Bali (Bagus, pp.21/2), or even with an entirely new cottage industry to cater (as in the Seychelles) to the 'rapidly expanding market for locally produced trinkets such as shell necklaces, coral artifacts, hats and bags made from palm leaves, raffia work, and coconut ornaments' (Wilson, p31), the income generating effect of tourism-stimulated demand for arts and crafts cannot be doubted. What is less clear, however, is how precisely this new income will be distributed, i.e. who will benefit (most) from it. The share of the payment made by the final consumer which goes to the craftsmen, the people making the artefacts or participating in the performance, differs greatly from one place to another, and different marketing arrangements may have a considerable influence on the outcome. Only Bagus goes into this question in some detail (pp.22/4).

In Bali, tourists tend to come on package tours which include visits to certain performances and to craft shops, or they join such tours once on the island. The guide, or the tour agency, has made arrangements with certain shops and certain 'sekas' (voluntary dance associations) for a visit, and in compensation a certain commission is paid on purchases made or entrance tickets sold.<sup>8</sup> Competition for the custom of the agencies exists between different craft shops or Sekas; especially for the latter this is said to lead on occasion to community conflicts. Agencies have a say in the production, and influence the content of the performance, its length and even the costumes of the dancers. In the case of

---

<sup>8</sup>See above, p.60

craft shops, these tend to have their regular suppliers or 'tukangs'. The majority of 'tukangs' appear to be wage labourers producing on the instructions of the owner of the shop; a minority free artisans, who sell their products to the craft shops, having bought the raw materials personally.<sup>9</sup> There is no information on the relative earnings of these two categories, on the mark-up of the shops, or on alternative arrangements (such as cooperatives) - which appear not to exist.

The few others among our contributors who discuss the issue of marketing even if only passing, suggest that cooperative sales organisations of the craftsmen, or state-run crafts centres, are preferable to alternative marketing arrangements, such as private craft shops or market stalls of middlemen. Schädler is most explicit in this respect, telling us that tourists who go to government promoted or approved 'artisan centres', which are typically found in the centre of town near the major hotel(s), 'need not bother with street vendors where they lose their precious time in endless price discussions': in the artisan centre 'shopping' seems "thrifty", 'is quick and without problems' (p.14). In Tunisia, Curaçao and Cyprus, too, government or co-operative marketing arrangements exist, which appear to be working well. Ellis, moreover, argues that private outlets usually are not in harmony with either the traditional environment (he is speaking of the Andean countries of Latin America) or with the products they sell, while official or cooperative stores try to preserve that unity to a greater extent (p.12).

---

<sup>9</sup>According to a survey conducted by the Udayaha University in Bali in 1972, some 55 per cent were wage labourers, while 45 per cent were free artisans (Bagus, p.23).



Intuitively one is inclined to agree with those who wish to see cooperative or state-run organisations take a major role in the marketing (and promotion) of handicrafts. And yet, our knowledge of the effects of these arrangements is extremely scanty. Personal experience in this may count for something: and I have been in 'official' craft shops in Africa, Asia and especially in Latin America whose goods were certainly of excellent quality, but whose prices were a fair deal above those which a discerning - yes, that is a problem! - buyer could bargain for at market stalls or even in private retail outlets. The costs of running such official organisations can be so high that the craftsman-producer receives no more for his product than he would from a private middleman; apart from the tourists, who are at least assured of quality, and the craft itself, which is saved from extinction or 'degeneration', the main gainers may be the organisation's officials, whose middle class living standards are supported by the enterprise. By the same token, cooperatives in developing countries have had at least as great a share of problems and failures as of successes, and organisationally they are far from easy to keep afloat. And how one best deals with distribution to the local market, to hotels, cafés or bars, for example, is yet another question. In any case, it does not appear from our contributors that the lessons of the different marketing arrangements have really been learned: simply too little is known about the actual mechanics. It should not require a great deal of sophisticated research to find out more on this important issue.

#### 4. People, things and places

There are many tourism areas where the authorities are aware of the importance of preserving the urban environment and its local characteristics, especially of course where these have come to be seen as part of the locality's attractiveness to tourists. Thus in Bermuda, for example, 'the central aim of planning is to retain the island's unique architectural style and overall image of British

colonial quaintness' (Manning, p.16). In Spain, too, in many places much attention is paid to this important asset for tourism. However, as Ellis stresses repeatedly in his paper, the urban environment is in considerable danger of change and deterioration insofar as it does not contain notable monuments or noble spaces. The more humble manifestations of material culture, especially popular architecture as expressed in simple dwelling houses, shops, minor squares, etc., are frequently left to decay if they are not simply removed for the sake of urban development. Though referring to rural areas, the Casamance experience is a notable exception in this respect, as the major achievement in one of the villages was precisely the revival of a near forgotten form of local architecture, the great round house with impluvium (Saglio, p. ). It is through these more popular aspects of material culture and the urban environment, and not through the cathedrals, mosques or palaces, that a genuine integration of the tourist, the urban environment, popular architecture and building forms, crafts, arts and other cultural manifestations can best be attempted (Ellis, pp.7 ff). Local craft products sold in local shops or markets, with a training school nearby; centres where tourists can learn about the local culture in all its aspects;<sup>10</sup> didactic, cultural and educational enterprises on a small and intimate scale; harmonisation of urban renewal with the traditional local culture; hotels that reflect local crafts and architectural style, possibly as demonstration models with aid from the authorities;<sup>11</sup> in short the aim should be 'to try and seek a unity between the local inhabitant, his traditions, his new ways of life, and the urban environment and the tourist flows'(p.16).

---

<sup>10</sup> Bouhdiba makes a similar suggestion when he speaks of transforming tourism into a cultural sector by organising talks, round tables, artistic manifestations, guided tours with high level guides, etc. (p. ). There is of course a danger that such programmes will fall flat if they are attempted on too ambitious a scale, and Ellis's call for pilot projects - but then lots of them! - is worth remembering in this context.

<sup>11</sup> Gaviria makes the same suggestion (p. ).



Ellis stresses that we do not know a great deal about the ways in which such experiences can best be set up, and he calls for research into the perception of tourists and local inhabitants as well as for more general investigations of these relationships. He is concerned that we should be more aware of the limitations that need to be placed on the numbers of tourists encouraged in such environments, as small places cannot adequately receive vast groups of people simultaneously (pp.15-18), and in general he calls for caution, believing that ambitious, expensive and large-scale projects have tended to fail because the plans were not backed up by realisations at the micro level (p.23).

The Casamance village guest houses do, of course, attempt to achieve precisely this sort of integration in the rural environment, also because the guest houses have been conceived as a kind of mini-museum of the local habitat and of local craftsmanship, in which 'the visitor can feel penetrated by a different environment and civilisation' (Saglio, p. ).

The integrated touristic environments sought by Ellis are best seen as part of a touristic circuit, an issue that has been touched upon before. Added to a resort holiday they could attract many tourists, and Ellis himself pleads for this kind of approach, giving the examples of Salvador da Bahia in Brazil and Cuzco/Macchu Pichu in Peru (p.7). In Tunisia such 'discovery circuits' appear also to have been instituted in recent years, leading to the preservation of certain types of traditional habitat which were in the process of disappearing, and drawing people away from the beaches for at least a short while (Groupe Huit, p. ). That there are problems in such an approach no-one would deny.

The Groupe Huit, for example, queries the reaction of the local population to the transformation of the fortified grain stores of Ksar Tathouine into hotel rooms, and in general seems to worry about local people's attitude towards the tourists' (strange) interest in their everyday activities and objects. But then that is querying the very process of social change. If tourism can help to stem the tide of increasing uniformity and cultural homogeneity in the world, through preserving (albeit in a different form and with different functions) cultural and craft traditions that would otherwise disappear, that

would not seem to be a bad result. But, as this section has tried to show, the difficulties should not be under-estimated, and success should not be taken for granted.