RETURN TO BANK ADMIN. & POLICY FILES

REVIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE ON TOURISM

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November 4, 1976.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. This report reviews the sociological literature on tourism. 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 that fact that tourism is multi-sectoral and requires a multi-disciplinary approach. For the sake of convenience, however, summaries of the literature that are annexed to this report 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 the concerns of the Bank. The division of chapter topics follows, as far as possible, those suggested by the Bank for the Seminar.

ii. Most taxonomies of tourists are limited by the fact that they are designed to serve a specific purpose: the particular study at hand. Thus for the travel agent the tourist is one category of persons; for the sociologist, another. Further, the sub-categories in every taxonomy overlap; they are not discrete classifications. More importantly, most taxonomies neglect to include perceptions held by a host population as to who is, and is not, a tourist. Local populations draw clear distinctions between who are members of the community and who are "outsiders". Outsiders include individuals who may be fellow-nationals. Even among outsiders a further distinction is drawn: between those who visited the area at the earliest stages of tourism development (and may continue to reside in the destination area) and those who pass through later, with increasing tourism. The latter group are generally stereotyped, though the host population at times distinguishes between imputed national characteristics of visitors.
Tourism does not appear to increase local awareness of tourist racial characteristics. What seems to happen is that where there are existing socioeconomic patterns of dominance by one racial group, tourists belonging to the dominant racial group fit into the existing patterns. Mass tourism is often viewed as a threat locally because increasing numbers of tourists widen the social distance between tourist and host.

iii. The factors in a destination area deemed necessary for tourism are climate, the people, political stability, physical and cultural features. Probably the only touristic universal here is the attitude of the host population to visitors. Curiously enough few writers, and these are economists, refer to an important resource for a developing country seeking to increase tourism: administrative capacity. This "resource" becomes even more important with the institutionalization in the literature of tourism, and is a lacuna that sociologists must attempt to remedy in future studies. Although a destination area may have all the factors necessary for tourism it is possible that tourism may, at most, play a negligible role in the country's economy. This is largely because the "demand" side of tourism is subject to factors beyond local control. Here it may be worthwhile to point out that countries which are far from areas from which tourists emanate and have only physical attractions should consider whether it is at all economic to develop tourism.

iv. An aspect of crucial importance in evaluating the social impact of tourism is the nature and depth of the "encounter" between tourist and host. It is this meeting which determines whether there will be a free exchange of ideas and the consequent growth of understanding among peoples from different geographical areas and cultures. It is necessary to draw a distinction between the "institutionalized" and the non-institutionalized tourist. The former 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 normal comfort with an image of fake-authentic color of the destination area. 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 the unfamiliar culture and people. Unfortunately, most of the literature examines the encounter between institutionalized tourist and host. Based on this literature the following conclusions about institutionalized tourism can be drawn: (i) The tourist generally meets members of the host population in formal roles. (ii) These economic hosts are drawn from the lower/strata of the local population. (iii) The tourist is led to believe that his carefully organized tour conducts him to all the important events and sights in the destination area. (iv) The resultant knowledge is a weak basis for understanding another people, and is more likely to lead to misunderstanding and confirm prejudice. 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. The whole tour, then, is objectively an exercise in futility with a subjective maximum of illusion. Here again, 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.

v. Particularly in institutionalized tourism the staging of events and places is important. Geographers have investigated this. Sociologists do not think that place is as important as human actors. And yet it should be realized that place does influence behavior. Here is another area where more
sociological research is required.

vi. An individual who plays an important role in mediating between host and tourist is the "culture broker". At the earliest stages of tourism development in a destination area, the culture broker is the initiator of change. However, this individual, who can be seen in the literature in a variety of roles, seems to wane in importance as tourism develops and reaches the stage of institutionalization. There is little evidence which will inform the student of tourism whether the role of the culture broker is transmuted; or whether he is replaced by organized agencies. More research is required in this area.

vii. An analysis of host perceptions of tourism through each stage of development show changing valuations of tourism — from welcoming tourism to annoyance and antipathy. At some stage in tourism development, increasing numbers of tourists are viewed as a threat to the way of life in the destination area; increasing resentment is the local expression of the perceived threat. But it is not numbers/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 mere agents 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 lie in the socioeconomic and cultural history of the area. Here again the tourist is the focus. Where there is local expression of resentment against tourists or tourism, it is verbalized by the elite (who usually do not come into contact with the institutionalized tourist) and is directed either against "mass" tourism or against "long-haired hippies". The reason for criticism of the former type appears to be the social distance that it creates and the fact that the forces of tourism demand lie beyond host population control. The attitude against the "hippie" can be
explained by reference to the fact that the "hippie" is an ambivalent symbol for developing nations who are attempting to imbue their populations with the so-called "Protestant ethic" which allegedly ushered Western nations into modernization. However, two points of importance should be noted: First, where there have been surveys of local attitudes towards tourism, the vast majority have wanted more tourism and tourists. Second, despite institutionalization, some peoples — the Balinese, the Maoris, the citizens of Leavenworth, are examples, have been unaffected and show no resentment. The reasons for this are the subject of hypotheses later.

viii. The final question in the encounter between tourist and host is whether the encounter results in a transfer of tourist values to the hosts. The term "demonstration effect" which is used to express this transfer has been invariably suggested as a definite consequence, without adequate data to back up such a hypothesis. With increasing evidence now it is obvious that as far as values are concerned, tourism does not directly influence local values. 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 re-assess 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?

ix. 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 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 by non-residents; the host population staffs the lower levels; expatriates, the managerial positions. (ii) Even at the lower level, the evidence of comparative wage scales in the hotel industry versus other sectors of the economy is mixed -- in some cases, as much as seven times what agriculturists earn; in others, hotel wages stand at the lowest level. It would appear that hotel wages are low in comparison with wages in other sectors where the destination area is relatively developed, economically. (iii) It is not certain whether hotel employment diverts employees from other sectors, or whether hotel employees are, on the average, better educated than most of their fellow nationals. Here again, the evidence does not permit of definite conclusions. (iv) 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. However, the growing popularity of tourism encourages more persons to come into the destination area in search of employment -- an estimate is 1.5 persons for each available job. (v) 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. (vi) The few studies available indicate that 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 background from employees. There is no evidence of relations between management and lower staff who are from the same nation and culture -- a lacuna in the literature that ought to be remedied. (vii) In other sectors -- for instance, the construction industry, agriculture, business -- most of the information on the socioeconomic impact of tourism is in the nature of "guesstimates", ...
with the exception of one study. That study shows that tourism not only strengthened traditional occupations but also led to the diversification of occupations. (viii) Tourism, particularly institutionalized tourism, requires adjustments to be made in the nature and rhythm of work. Further, since tourism is generally a seasonal occupation, 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. (ix) 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.

x. 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 view 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 combines with foreign interests to further drive up land prices, and price the local owner out of the market. However, this previous statement, and the fact that there are 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 net 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 and British Columbia. 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.

Institutionalized 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 more profitably (not only in an economic sense) spent on other sectors. Though these are mainly questions that should be answered by economists, from the point of view of the sociologist local attitudes and perceptions are influenced by these views of deprivation and sharing of resources. The answer 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.

Tourism does not have a uniform effect on the position of women. The effect varies with cultural valuations. Certainly, tourism does tend to allow women greater economic earnings, but this does not necessarily connote greater independence or freedom of decision.

Tourism does appear to decrease out-migration, and increase in-migration.
xiv. 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. While it is certain that some tourists avail themselves of the services of prostitutes, it is not certain whether increases in crime, delinquency, and prostitution can be solely attributed to the advent of tourism in an area. Journalists, the main protagonists of this view, do not clearly answer questions whether increase in crime, for instance, can be attributed to improved statistics, or to the influx of immigrants in search of jobs with a breakdown of previous methods of control, and who are the main victims of crime. 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 use by local residents and fellow nationals).

xv. The final part of the chapter on the socioeconomic impact of tourism covers the question of the distribution of benefits. Who gets what? Any student of society would deny reality if he could not see that it is not necessarily economic rationality that prevails in the growth and development of tourism within a nation. But it is one thing to admit reality, another to suggest that tourism freezes the existing socioeconomic strata in the destination area. For this charge to be proved it must be shown that tourism prevents those at the lowest levels of economic strata from opting for any other jobs (presumed to be available for them); and that employment in the tourism sector prevents those so employed from improving their status. Another implicit assumption in the argument is that persons
so employed have talents which could be more suitably be employed in another
sector. There is no evidence to permit of this generalization. Nor is there
evidence of the social impact of the systems of distribution, whether tourism
changes existing systems of distribution, and what tensions or conflicts result
from alterations in the system of distribution and social responsibility, if any.

xvi. 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. This is undoubtedly true, but it 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
pointed out 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.

xvii. But there is one 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 event loses
its spontaneity, its meaning for the local population is lost, and sometimes the
performance for tourists has the degrading implication of asking a host population
to portray what they were (really, or in the imaginations of the tour organizer)
rather than what they are. The evidence in support of this is not general. In
fact, there are more instances against such interpretations than for them. It is
true that a host population may feel degraded by the monetization of its
arts, which thereby implicitly challenge host population value systems. But the
causes do not appear to lie in the mere "commercialization" of culture, but elsewhere.

xviii. There is now enough evidence to suggest that the development of tourism in a destination area proceeds through three stages: from "discovery", through "local response and initiative", to "institutionalization". The difference between the second and third stages is not a mere matter of numbers of tourists. It appears to lie in that the second stage 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.

xix. Institutionalized tourism has the greatest impact on the host population irrespective of whether the tourists share the same cultural background as the hosts, or not. 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. This transition has economic, political, and social consequences which, 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. It is institutionalized tourism,
often equated with "mass" tourism, that most arouses local fears and resentment.

But even the most casual observer will notice that the impact of tourism differs with destination areas — whether they be at similar or different stages of tourism development. This is not the result of the destination area being 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. Inductive inferences from the literature lead to the hypotheses that there are three reasons why the deleterious impact of tourism, if any, is muted, and can be obviated totally even at the "institutionalized" stage of tourism. These reasons are: (i) The flexibility and differentiation of organisations and associations in the destination area which are related to the type of tourism prevalent; (ii) the quality of meanings for touristic events such that the event has one meaning for the host population and another for tourists, and the two meanings are independent; and (iii) purposive planning — not necessarily for tourism alone — with local participation. These hypotheses deserve further verification.

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 where the vast majority of the host population in a destination area are illiterate, or dispersed and the means of communication limited. It may take time; but careful planning can resolve participation and the methods by which it can be attained. It is here that sociologists have a role to play in defining the role and scope of traditional organisations and leadership, and the methods by which decisions are arrived at. Planning also involves the choice of social indices, on which very little work has been done by sociologists in the field of tourism; it involves an assessment of the differential social impact of alternative methods of economic
development, and of alternative types of tourism development (when tourism has been selected as the method of economic development). Sociologists should also concern themselves with the question of backward linkages and assist in determining the type of tourism which a country should foster. The question of the type of tourism leads to the final question about the pace of tourism development.

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 very nature 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 of investment and management of tourism facilities, type and location of visitor accommodation. However, it is believed that it would be useful to estimate the total number of visitors at any one point in time during the year in relation to the type of tourists and the extent of local skills and facilities. This exercise still awaits the intrepid sociologist.

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. Implicit in the recommendations is the view that the questions which sociologists are deemed capable of answering, whether in
sector surveys, project work, or supervision, are questions which the Bank should raise and answer.

xxiv. The Bank, and other international organisations, have a vital role to play in the employment by developing nations of tourism as a technique of economic development. If this role is played wisely, the ideals of tourism can be attained while at the same time promoting economic and social development with equity.
I. INTRODUCTION

1.00 Sociologists have recently turned their attention to the analysis of tourism. The earliest article on the subject dates back a little over twelve years. And it is only in the last three years that there is evidence of academic recognition of the importance of tourism as a subject of study.

1.01. It is difficult to explain this belated interest, particularly since tourism deals with social change and developing countries -- both major topics of sociological analysis over the past two decades. Several explanations come to mind:

Possibly, the fact that the sociologist in a tourist area is himself a "tourist" has blinded him to the importance of the phenomenon. It has also been suggested that since "leisure" had hitherto been treated as a residual category of human activity there was minimal academic interest in the subject. Another possible explanation could be the popular equation of tourism with hotels, catering, night clubs, and golf courses -- elements associated with hotel training schools, not academic usually objects of "serious"/study. Whatever the reason for past neglect, sociological analysis of tourism is now coming into its own.

1.02. Some evidence of this growing interest is to be found in the literature summarized in the Annexes to this review. The numbers of symposia now being held on the "impact of tourism" extend beyond the confines of the travel industry. It is now a "respectable" subject for academia -- the papers read at symposia organized at two Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association, the articles and dissertations, to mention a few, are sufficient indication of this.

1.03. But the intermittent and belated interest on the part of sociologists

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1/ Throughout this report the terms "sociologists"/"sociological" will include "anthropologists"/"anthropological".

has resulted in the failure to develop any accepted methodology for the analysis of the growth and impact of tourism. There has been little collection of "hard" data. Even when the data have been available, the goals of theory and the constraints of an academic audience have usually diminished their value. Few have broken free. However, despite these limitations there are numerous valuable insights. But these insights need to be supplemented with data from the other social disciplines: economics, geography, planning, and administration in particular.

1.04. There is another reason why the sociological literature requires to be supplemented by an analysis, however partial, of the findings of the other social disciplines: Tourism is multi-sectoral; it touches on various aspects of human life, it cuts across both the rural and urban sectors, it affects values, employment, social organisation, the arts and crafts, and contact between people. As a means of development there is an economic focus, which nevertheless has repercussions on the social, and the political. Therefore, it would be invalid, and indeed impossible, to assess the impact on groups without also considering the interconnections of the myriad facets of human life. In this instance, the reference to literature other than sociological, serves to indicate areas of interest and concern of non-sociological disciplines. It supplements, albeit sketchily, the work of other students of society, who often have realized the importance of tourism before sociologists. Again, sociologists tend to generalize from microstudies; other disciplines, particularly economics, pursue macrostudies, and then particularize. Both approaches are essential to an understanding of tourism. In the ensuing discussion of the literature, the insights of all these social disciplines will be employed. 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.
1.05. Finally, Annex II 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 concerns of the Bank. It should be noted that these interests have widened, and the reports referred to are not to be taken as representative of present concerns. Obviously, the sponsoring of a Seminar is adequate evidence of continuing Bank concern about the "social" impact of tourism projects.

1.06. The topics discussed in the chapters that follow have been grouped together in the manner suggested by the Bank for the Seminar, as far as has been possible. Undoubtedly, this results in some degree of repetition, and overlapping. However, repetition, in this relatively uncharted area of social impacts, may serve the desirable end of focussing attention on neglected aspects of an important phenomenon. At the outset, that rather nebulous and chameleon-like individual, the "tourist" is examined. Thereafter, the literature on touristic "resources" is surveyed. The next four chapters cover the "encounter" between tourist and host and the results of this encounter and of tourism in general. In chapter VII, "Development and Planning" there is also an attempt to set out the broad stages of tourism development and the implications of this development both for the local population and the tourist. The last chapter brings together the disparate findings with a view to discover, if possible, "touristic universals"; to point to further areas of research and to deduce the practical implications of the generalizations with particular reference to the needs and goals of the Bank. It should be emphasized that the division of topics and chapters is for analytical convenience only.
II. WHO IS A "TOURIST"?

2.00. The term "tourist" has taken on a complexity in the literature rivalling that of the classic "man in the street", the "average man": Who he is varies with the purpose of the study, the geographic location of the tourist, and the reason why he is in that place. For example, to the travel industry the tourist is one kind of animal (the "potential traveller"); to the host, another (the "foreigner" who temporarily uses local resources). This complexity is understandable since we are dealing with man. 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, each journey is usually undertaken for a combination of reasons. That is why it is so difficult to classify tourists under convenient labels. Tourists are usually classified under their major apparent purpose.

Who is a tourist?

2.01. Cohen (1971) has recently attempted to isolate the set of attributes that characterize a tourist. 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". (1971: 533) Cohen believes that the definitional components can then be placed on a continuum to distinguish between various sub-types with increasing (or decreasing) touristic elements. Take for example, "novelty and change" (the purpose of the trip). Here, Cohen points out one refers to institutionalized expectations (simply, what society considers one should expect), not the actual experience by 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.

2.02. Many will take issue with Cohen's definition, and its constituent elements. That he expects. His major aim is to turn attention away from an overconcentration on "mass tourism" to determine the elements of tourism and to re-examine the core elements of this phenomenon. Cohen also admits that his is a first step towards attaining conceptual clarity about tourism in its many forms.

Typologies

2.03. The aim in this section is to set out the various typologies of tourists with the underlying caution that there can be as many typologies as purposes for which they are constructed. Fortunately, the literature does not contain many examples of typologies.

2.04. Tourist typologies have also been one of Cohen's main concerns (1972a, 1973). He divides tourists into four main types on the basis of their willingness to exchange familiar surroundings for the strange: (1) the organized mass tourist; (2) the individual mass tourist; (3) the explorer; and (4) the drifter. The first is the least willing to give up the environment that reminds him of, or the

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1/ It is reported that Cohen is currently working on a book on tourism to be entitled, "Strangeness and familiarity: The varieties of travelling experience". See Current Anthropology, March 1976, 17, 49.
style of life to which he is accustomed in, his country of origin; the drifter immerses himself almost totally in the host country and its ways. A further criterion is the degree of "institutionalization", that is routinization of patterns of travel, routes, established agencies, and times. The organized mass tourist and the individual mass tourist are institutionalized; the explorer and the drifter are noninstitutionalized. "Mass", therefore, refers both to numbers and organization (see also Pi-Sunyer, 1971). Both Cohen and Forster (1964) 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.

2.05. In his later article, Cohen 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 only difference between the mass tourist and the drifter is how each views the host society. The former sees it through the babble 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.

2.06. The second example of a tourist typology is that of Nunez (n.d.). Nunez suggests a taxonomy of "ethnic" and environmental tourism; internal and international tourism; "packaged" and programmed tourism and individual tourism; resort tourism and off-the-beaten-track tourism; religious and secular 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.
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 fell 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. (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 be 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 may be a more important index of travel behavior than the frequency of travel.

2.09. A final example of typologies is the research conducted by Bennetts and Burak for Air Canada. This research was specifically directed to discovering the types of vacations that potential travellers desired. Questionnaires were constructed to determine life styles, activities desired on a vacation, the kinds of vacation experiences that the respondents wanted. Two cluster analyses

were conducted on the same respondent base of 3,000 adults. The first cluster related to general life styles and attitudes towards different kinds of vacation experiences. The second, related to the respondents' description of their ideal vacation. There were four different groups of people in the first cluster: (1) Extravagant consumers -- predominately female, of all ages, with above median incomes; for them, "an appealing vacation would emphasize luxury, service, pampering and clothes in places like Europe, Hawaii and the Caribbean." (2) Nature people -- generally young, unmarried, and well-educated; looking for new and different places, and willing to see them without much concern about usual comforts. (3) Playsters -- primarily young males involved in the active pursuit of sensual pleasure; desiring an inexpensive, swinging, modern and active vacation with "no social values other than fun". (4) Cautious homebodies -- generally older, less affluent, less well-educated, and more from rural areas. They emphasize safety, security, a predictable environment and do not seek new experiences. The four groups constituted 18, 20, 23, and 39 percent, respectively, of the population sampled. The second cluster produced six distinct types of groupings: (1) Peace and quiet -- generally middle-aged, less than average "discretionary income". (2) Aesthetic appreciation -- appeals mainly to the well-educated and those in professional and managerial positions. (3) Hot Winter -- generally appeals to luxury and fun seekers. (4) Grand hotel -- appeals to luxury and fun seekers with higher incomes. (5) Inexpensively active -- appeals mostly to males and young people. (6) Relatives and friends -- appeals mainly to the older vacationers who are not well-educated and have modest incomes. It should be noted that 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 of the total number of adult Canadians.

2.10. It is unnecessary to multiply 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.

2.11. The literature on local perceptions permits the following conclusions:

First, 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, 1974). Second, persons are considered outsiders even if they are fellow nationals (Nunez, 1963; Friedl, 1963; Fukunaga, n.d.; Hugill, 1975; Packer, 1974; Doxey, 1976). Even non-national resident immigrants are usually treated as outsiders (Packer, 1974) although in time they may come to be accepted as members of the community (Moore, 1970; Pi-Sunyer, 1974; Evans, 1976). Third, the host population draws a distinction among foreigners who are tourists and those who are not. Tourists are foreigners who, visiting the area temporarily, use local resources for which they are believed to make an adequate or inadequate contribution. Fourth, among persons considered as "tourists", the local population does distinguish between the earlier and the later visitors -- that is 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, 1974; Evans, 1976). Increasing numbers of tourists do not appear to increase awareness of racial differences among tourists (contrary to what appears to have been suggested by Forster, 1964). What seems to happen is that increasing numbers result in diminishing face-to-face contact with tourists and encourages stereotyping of tourists. For example, the Mexican villagers (Nunez, 1963)
saw the tourists as "Americans" because of their life styles, and called the tourist enclave "the American section". In Colpied and La Roche, the villagers also saw all tourists as belonging to one category (Reiter: 1973). Similar conclusions can also be drawn from Aerni's article (1972) and Greenwood's dissertation (1970). This also seems to be the case in Bali (Francillon, 1974/1975) 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, n.d.) one finds that 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, 1974; Aerni, 1972). Fifth, there is a widespread perception that all tourists are rich — a perception which is partly encouraged by national proclamations of the economic gains from tourism, the fact that tourist accommodation generally corresponds to the style adopted by the upper income brackets of the host country, and the fact that tourists usually spend more in their short sojourn than a large percentage of the host population receive as wages in a year. This is also, possibly, a reason why the low-spending "hippie" is often perceived as a fraud (see Francillon, 1974/1975) who drives away the bigger spenders while using the same services (Loukissas, 1975; Hoagland, 1976).

2.12. There are two other aspects of local perceptions of tourists that merit
separate attention: perceptions of race; and "mass" tourism. Although it has been pointed out earlier that increasing numbers of tourists do not seem to increase awareness of differences in tourist racial characteristics, 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, 1971) 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 (n.d.) also infers that this is possible in Fiji, and Kent (n.d.) suggests the same for Hawaii. The source of the suggestion is the Caribbean, and yet even there, as Blake (1974) on the Virgin Islands, and Doxey and Associates (n.d.) on Barbados point out, provided the tourist comes from another island/country and fits in with prevailing patterns of dominance which tend to reproduce an earlier abhorrent system, the tourist would receive the same treatment as a person from a different 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 seem to 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; tourism does not seem to increase racial awareness but to provide another example of economic dominance and a reminder of social patterns that are disliked. Tourism is a doubtful catalyst.

2.13. 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 (n.d.) 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..." (n.d. : 119). The organized mass tourist seems to fit into a local mental slot, to be dealt with conveniently, if inaccurately.

**The purposes of tourism**

2.14. 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 (1973), 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" (1973: 589). He is joined in this view by Horne who, after his package tour to Ayers Rock, recommends the development of a market strategy "for organized tourism would seem to call for anthropologists' reports on the disciplines of ceremony" (1976: 10). There are not too many who would agree with these analyses. However, Horne's other conclusion about package tourists deserves careful examination. He suggests that "tourists go on tours to meet other tourists". 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 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: 1972).
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/exotic cultures or historical and archaeological monuments.

3.02. Speaking of Mykonos, Loukissas (1975) says that it has a bracing climate, was clean, cheap, and its inhabitants were indifferently polite. This "indifferent politeness" was earlier remarked about by Packer (1974). Mykonos is also a boat-ride away from Delos. Kanellakis (1975) also speaking of Greece refers to the climate, the "hospitality of the people", accommodation, and adequate infrastructure as resources. Both Calvo (1974) and Kjellstrom (1974) refer to the "image" of the Caribbean and Morocco, respectively. With reference to Barbados, this "image", according to Doxey and Associates (n.d.), "stems from its delightful climate, its physical attractions, the friendliness and charm of its people, and its general stability" (n.d.:17). Tourism in The Gambia is marketed by specific factors according to Esh and Rosenblum (1975). These factors are: a pleasant climate during the European winter; the nearest place to Europe in which a 100% sunny climate can be guaranteed; sandy beaches; a stable government and a "friendly, tourist-minded people"; communication in English; and interesting excursions -- a "touch of Africa". This last aspect, the people, is important when the major purpose of tourism is ethnic/cultural tourism. Then, as Greenwood (1974) 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 as one of the factors — presumably since it 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, in referring to the stages of tourism development, sociologists have discussed the question of local competence to manage and control tourism development in the "institutionalized" stage. In Packer's (1974) comparative study, and in Forster (1964) and Greenwood (1974) the lack of local administrative and technical skills is viewed as a process under which it seems inevitable that the wider political authority will take over the control and management of tourism development. It is not examined as an existing resource, or the development of this resource traced. Evans (1976) mentions in passing that returning residents of Puerto Vallarta had developed both skills and accumulated finances abroad. There is no detailed discussion of how these skills fitted in with each stage of tourism development.

3.04. Administrative capacity is a subject touched upon by Mitchell (1971), Diamond (1974), and Kjellstrom (1974). Mitchell suggests that administrative capacity is a "resource whose scarcity is equal or more important" than

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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" (as in Kenya) "than the expansion of many other activities, this factor will tend to reduce the relative attractiveness of tourism for poor countries" (1971: 221). Kjellström has the same thing to say with regard to Morocco (1974: 29) 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" (1974: 29). Diamond (1974) doubts Turkey has the ability to coordinate and manage the dispersed and comparatively small units which characterize Turkish tourism. It would seem necessary for sociologists to pay more attention to the analysis and development of local skills and organizational capability in the future.

3.05. It is necessary to end this brief chapter with the caution that the factors referred to above are considered important in the host country — probably the only "universal" is the attitude of the people. However, they can in no way guarantee that tourism will develop in a particular place. The "demand" side of tourism is subject to factors often beyond the control of the host country: for example, the economic climate in the countries of tourist origin, the costs of transport, competitiveness between different host countries, and the "image" that is sold by the industry. In this regard Cohen's conclusions may be worth considering.

3.06. Cohen (1974) draws a distinction between the touristic role of "sightseer" and "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 in its train; he is exemplified by the habitué. The vacationer is "more oriented towards facilities and amenities" (1974: 545), for example, sun, sea, and sand. This does not, however, cast the sightseer in the role of an "activist" and the vacationer in that of a passive visitor -- the sightseer can become a completely passive object in an organized mass tourist visit! But in this ideal-type distinction 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 there 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" (1974: 546). This is hardly likely for, given the typology of tourists, it may attract only the "explorer" and persons with large purses -- a fraction of the tourist trade and hardly a basis for economic development through tourism.

IV. THE ENCOUNTER

4.00. The encounter -- the meeting between host and tourist -- is of crucial importance for two reasons: First, because theoretically one of the justifications of tourism is that it results in the exchange of ideas. Such cross-fertilization could form the basis both of progress and international understanding. Second, whether this in fact takes place depends on the
personalities of the parties to the meeting, their preconceptions, the type of contact (whom one meets, under what circumstances, and for how long), and the mediating parties. This chapter will, then, 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 tourists; and the impact, if any, on local values and attitudes (the demonstration effect — part I).

**Theoretical analysis of the encounter**

4.01. Cultural and personality constraints are the subject of Sutton's (1967) analysis. Sutton points out that the meeting between tourist and host has within it the seeds of both good- and ill-will (see also Nunez, 1974). A slight mistake can turn what was potentially a friendship in the making into disgust, contempt, and resentment. Sutton offers four characteristics of the meeting which might tilt the balance one way or the other: (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 assymetrical (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 decide and choose between alternative "attractions" with imperfect knowledge) and his host. Examples of the initial unfamiliarity of the tourist, and his consequent fears can be found in the contacts between Jews and their co-religionists in Iran (Loeb, 1974) and the humorous analysis of "exchange rate trauma" by Adams (1972).

**The encounter and the type of tourism**

4.02. An analysis of the elements set out by Sutton would lead to the
inferences 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 who 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.

4.03. It is necessary to return to tourist typologies. Cohen's typologies (1972a, 1973) drew a distinction between "mass" tourists on the one hand, and the explorer and drifter on the other. Nolan (1975) 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". At this stage, 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; they are more likely to mingle with the host population. 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.
4.04. 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 does not mean that the tourist does not believe that he is seeing "unique sights", or getting an "authentic feel" for the place he is visiting. It refers to the extent to which the itinerary, the timetable, the "sights" to be seen; the events to be participated in, are chosen for the tourist; the extent to which the tourist is a creature of a "tour" that has been chosen for him. The representative of this type is the "mass" tourist. This type of tourist, as Aerni (1972) points out, goes along a pre-set "migratory trail". He starts his wanderings preconditioned. 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). There is, in other words, an impersonality of contact, and a slanted view of each both by the tourist and the host. It is not people meeting people, but the 'packaged' culture that the tourist sees. The tourist, as Samy (n.d.) says, moves like a "registered parcel". This type of tourism has great potential for harm -- particularly since it fits in with the tourist's belief that he has seen and understood the most important aspects of an unfamiliar people and can, therefore, speak about them with authority. In the process, unfamiliar cultures lose their distinguishing characteristics; soon, one country is capable of being substituted for another. Esh and Rosenblum (1975) commenting on the charter tourist in The Gambia note that it does not really matter to the tourist in which country the factors of climate, beaches, sunshine, and a friendly tourist-minded people exist; it is the price and the factors, more than the country that matter. This type of tourism can easily become the basis for
strain and conflict. The discussion so far also means that it is the type of
tourism that is more important than the purpose of tourism in the effects on the
way in which tourist and host relate to each other. For example, "cultural" or
"ethnic" tourism can be devoid of all but minimal contact if it is
"institutionalized" — and, today, "package tours" can be arranged to suit every
need. To what extent does the literature bear out these conclusions?

4.05. The literature appears to uniformly support these conclusions. May (n,d.)
for example, in his article on arts in Papua New Guinea (PNG) points out that one
of the reasons why tourists have had little impact on the people is because
geographic limitations and minimal interest in the arts have generally resulted
in contact with few "natives". Samy (n.d.) says that the Fijian employee of the
hotels has to play a role built for him thousands of miles away — the care-free
childlike innocent who still dresses in grass skirts and performs war dances.
The 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 (1975) say that the
charter tourist in The Gambia generally has a very superficial interest in the
local population "since his contacts with the local population take the form of
curiosa" (1975 : 46). Further, most expatriate managers of the hotels had vague
ideas about Gambian culture, were "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" (1975 : 57).
Francillon (1974/1975) talking of 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.

4.06. Calvo (1974) 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. She suggested that "luxury type" accommodation had almost no impact locally; while the "first class" type of accommodation had a "high visibility because of absolute numbers and groups". In both these cases contacts with locals are limited — even though, in the case of the first class hotels there is high visibility. This argument has been independently extended by Robineau (n.d.) in the concept which Kent (n.d.) calls "total tourism". Robineau refers to the encouragement of international hotel chain building in Tahiti in order to speed up the development of tourism. The first two hotels brought with them travel bureaus, internal transport systems, and a local airline network. The old semi-family-style hotels of Polynesia, he points out, are not compatible with "mass international tourism". This type of 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" (n.d.: 67).

4.07. The implications of the last statement would seem to justify Horne's (1976) conclusion that "tourists go on tours to meet other tourists" — at least on package tours. There is another way of asking the same question. If one agrees
with MacCannell's view of dramaturgy (see also Nunez, 1974) then the question would be "how many tourists actually get back stage" and see the real, the authentic, rather than the fake-real? In other words, how many are able to strip away the many masks and face the host population as total persons? The answer so far, with reference to the "mass" tourist, would be "very few". Distance, time constraints, cultural differences, tourist agent conditioning, all add to the problems of the real exchange of ideas.

4.08. The evidence with regard to the type of contact (and its depth) between the individual non-institutionalized tourist and host is less clear; it is mainly inferential. Nearly all authors (see, for instance, Moore, 1970; Smith, 1974; Robineau, n.d.) 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 after 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 (1972), Cohen (1973) and Theroux (1976) 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 who patronizes small hotels, and the "budget" tourist often have a greater probability of contacting the host population as total persons than the mass tourist.

4.09. Finally, although it has been argued 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) 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 (1974) "vacationer" even though mainly interested in facilities is quite likely to make contact with the local population, particularly if he goes repeatedly to the resort.

The setting of the encounter

Tourism sociologists have tended to examine the encounter as a "play" (see, for instance, MacCannell, 1973; Nunez, 1974) 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's article (1975) is included to bring a more balanced perspective. Hugill, 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. 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. Further, the general character of the neighborhood limits visitors mainly to the lower economic strata who want a cheap week-end holiday. This example evidences that the influence of place is not to be discounted in analyzing tourism encounters.
Who does the tourist meet?

11. The evidence here is clearer with regard to the "mass" tourist than for the non-institutionalized tourist. In the earliest article annexed, Nunez (1963) points out that the contact between the tourist and host is primarily economic; when it is non-economic, the host stands on a lower plane than the tourist. This would seem to imply that contacts between tourist and host are mainly limited to hosts in service occupations -- vendors, boat owners, waiters. Cohen (1973) 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 seems to be confirmed by Theroux's article (1976). With regard to Leavenworth and Bodrum (Turkey) Packer says that the contact between tourist and host are mainly limited to service contacts. In Kotzebue and Nome, Smith (1971) 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 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 that 51 percent of the junior high school students interviewed had no contact whatsoever with tourists, and only 23 percent had some contact. Esh and Rosenblum (1975) state that the charter tourist has contacts mainly with locals in service occupations and with local boys who hang around the hotels offering to be guides. Kent (n.d.) 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.

1.12. This would be a depressing conclusion if it were entirely true. Fortunately, it is not. As Cohen (1971) suggests, there has been far too much concentration on the "mass" tourist, sociologists have tended to ignore the other types. Thus, the picture is slanted and incomplete. It is incomplete even with regard to the "mass" tourist who certainly comes into contact with guides, travel agents, and, at least, other representatives of the trade. But here, again, the greater the degree of institutionalization, the less likely that the tourist will meet members of the host population in any but formal roles. Whether these members of the host population are the "best" representatives of their societies is a moot point -- given the formal roles that they occupy it is doubtful whether they are. But, on the other hand, are tourists "representative" of their own societies? There is inadequate information about the types of persons in the host society with whom the non-institutionalized tourist comes into contact. It is possible to infer that these hosts are "more representative" both in status and variety. But this is a mere inference unsupported by data.

Mediators and mediums: the culture brokers

1.13. 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.

1.14. In Mexico he is the Guadalajara businessman (Nunez, 1963), the returning
resident, the resident American, the boy who conducts a tour for visiting optometrists (Evans, 1976). In Los Santos, they are the Swedes and the defrocked nuns (Moore, 1970). In Valloire, it is the mayor -- even though he fails (Hutson, 1971). In Eliat, they are the Arab boys (Cohen, 1972b); in Iran, they are the Jewish merchants (Loeb, 1971). In South-west U.S.A. there is Fred Harvey and Don Lorenzo Hubbell (Deitch, 1974). 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, 1974). In the Gambia, the boys who hang around hotels serve as culture brokers (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). Examples could be multiplied.

1.5. The motivations are wide. In Mykonos, the mere knowledge of a foreign language (particularly English or French) is a passport to a steady income (Packer, 1974). 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 (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). In Cajitilan and Puerto Vallarta, as also in Los Santos the skills of the culture brokers introduced social changes (Nunez, 1967; Evans, 1976; Moore, 1970). 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, 1974). This is an aspect that merits greater study.
There is another aspect, probably of interest only to sociologists, which deserves examination with regard to culture brokers: Does this marginal man have to become an "outsider" in his own society to serve as interpreter? The limited evidence would seem to suggest the contrary. Ritchie (n.d.), 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 ballards on a guitar, states he was still recognized as a Maori -- being "a Maori is an available role that is validated in its recognition by others" (n.d.: 52). The same can be said of the individual attached to the Secondary Teachers' Training College in Goroka (PNG).

Changing valuations of the encounter

4.17. Do host perceptions of tourists change? Is there a point in time in every tourist destination when, as Sutton (1967) put it, the strain of the relationship becomes too great and the relationship between tourist and host sours? This section will seek to offer some answers to these questions.

4.18. The villagers of Fuenterrabia, who first welcomed tourism, found it "unpleasant and conflictful" when the numbers of tourists increased. Their attitudes were ambivalent: On the one hand they sighed with relief when the tourist season was over; and yet, on the other, they dreaded the possibility that the tourists on whom they were economically dependent would not return (see Greenwood, 1972). This initial enthusiasm is remarked upon by Nash (1974) who points out that 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" (1974:14). But this enthusiasm does not seem to last. The Eskimo at Kotzebue who first welcomed visitors to their homes now resent intrusions into their privacy; they have erected barriers Screening their homes from the outsider; photography is no longer allowed (see Smith, 1974). In Mykonos too, the initial enthusiasm has waned and has been replaced by irritation with mass tourists, and hippies; and fears that the tourists of today are preventing bigger spenders from visiting the island thereby reducing income (see Hoagland, 1976; Loukissas, 1975).

4.19. Doxey (1973, 1976) 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 will be destructive of tourism in the long run unless recognized and controlled. Doxey's "irridex" 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. 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" (1976: 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" (1976:195).

4.20. Doxey's observations (1973, 1976) are important enough to warrant further analysis. They can be classified into five "principles": (1) There is no homogenous destination, 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, and the values ranked. (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.

4.21. Doxey applied his hypotheses to two tourist destinations: Barbados, and Niagara-on-the Lake, Ontario. In the former destination he concluded that further expansion of tourism would be dangerous because it would constitute a confirmation of the belief that the "charm" of the island was being irreparably

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The "planning" aspect of Doxey's articles is dealt with in greater detail in Chapter VII.
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.

It is obvious that mere numbers by themselves do not constitute the threat.
What increasing numbers of outsiders does is to heighten local issues and
problems. To return to the earlier examples (see para 4.18 above): In both
Fuerteventura and Mykonos, closer examination of the problem indicates that loss
of local control, the absence of the ability to plan, and the failure on the
part of the wider authorities to consult with the local groups enhanced the
belief that the local population and its resources were being "used"; that they
were mere pawns in an economic game which was being played without their knowledge
-- the fruits of the game being reaped by politically more powerful "outsiders" while
the local population was left in ignorant dependence. In these circumstances,
the "tourist" becomes a convenient focus for local fears. In Kotzebue too,
increasing numbers of tourists brought the issue of different cultural values to
the fore. What happened is that the organized tourist found Eskimo practices and
diet repugnant. The Eskimo believed that they were being ridiculed and their
customs scoffed at. This is probably the only example in the literature where
antagonism has resulted in a local desire for reduced contact with the tourist.

It would certainly appear that the opportunities for misinterpretation of
behavioral patterns, nuances of language and customs, resulting in changing
valuations of the encounter would be greater when the tourist and host come from
widely differing cultures at different levels of economic development. But the
literature provides us with no clear answers on this score. The villagers of Cajitilan were resentful against their government, not against the tourists who were upper-class, urban-based Mexicans (Nunez, 1963); the villagers of Los Santos did not resent tourists, nor did the villagers of Valloire, Colpied, La Roche, and Kippel (Moore, 1970; Hutson, 1971; Reiter, 1973; Friedl, 1973).

4.24. The instances cited in the preceding paragraph relate to areas where the tourists and hosts generally share the same cultural background -- Westerners visiting relatively underdeveloped areas within developed countries. Where tourists and hosts do not share the same cultural background, the evidence is mixed. Examples of antagonism in the Caribbean are most often cited (see Kent, n.d.). Even there, the majority is not against tourism. And when it comes to the vocal minority, it is far from clear whether the resentment is against the tourist per se, or against the tourist as a symbol of continuing national dependence on the foreigner (see G.V. Doxey and Associates, n.d.). As Galvo (1974) says the antagonism towards tourism in general and the analogy with the continuance of a plantation system is verbalized "almost exclusively by the intelligentsia, who do not normally depend for their living on working as a waiter" (1974: 5, fn 2).

In the Virgin Islands there would appear to be greater antagonism towards the resident alien (equated with "black alien") than the tourist (Blake: 1974). In Uganda, Aerni refers to local resentment. This seems to be the result of the type of tourism -- institutionalized impersonality, minimal contact with the host population. In Uganda, as also in the Gambia, the local population wants more contact with tourists (see Aerni, 1972; Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). There is no generalized resentment against foreigners. In Turkey, as also
in Guam, San Blas, and Puerto Vallarta, it is fears that there will be the loss of local control, or lack of it, that make the local populations wary of increased tourism (see Packer, 1974; Sanchez, n.d.; Swain, 1974; Evans, 1976).

4.25. Local fears, articulated by government officials and generally the "local elite" (who, as pointed out earlier, have little contact with tourists) take two forms: first, there is a fear of "mass" tourism which is never clearly defined but could be attributed to the fact that so many of the factors related to "demand" lie outside government control and to the impersonality that appears to characterize the contacts between the "institutionalized" tourist and the hosts. Second, there is antagonism (again expressed mainly by government officials and through customs procedures) towards a certain type of tourist: the "long-haired hippie". Cohen (1973) suggests that this antagonism stems from the ambivalence of developing countries towards the West. The 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" (1973: 102). Cohen could have also suggested that since the "Protestant ethic" -- with its emphasis on hard work as the basis of success and income -- has been preached as the forerunner of modernization in Western countries, the "hippie" presents a rather contradictory example to the populations of developing countries whose governments are striving to get their populations to modernize through emulation of the "ethic". Goldstein suggests another reason why local populations resent the influx of tourists en masse, if they do resent them at all: she suggests that since tourists have no social, emotional, and economic commitment to the places they visit, they do not have to learn local social cues and therefore overstep boundaries.

See the comments of Dr. Hibbert, Education Minister, Solomon Islands,
(Goldstein: n.d.). This is a mere variation of Smith's (1974) example.

To sum up: (1) Local valuations of tourism change -- human relationships are neither static nor ever reach perfect equilibrium. (2) The reconsideration of tourism is brought to the fore by increasing numbers of outsiders. These outsiders include fellow nationals who have come to a destination area for economic reasons. (3) But it is not mere numbers that would suffice to bring about this reconsideration. It is a type of tourist -- the "mass" tourist that seems to cause this reconsideration. (4) It could be hypothesized that where cultural differences between tourist and host are great there is greater likelihood for local resentment against tourists. However, with one exception (Smith, 1974), there is little evidence to support this hypothesis. (5) What appears to happen is that increasing numbers of tourists result in diminishing local control and participation in planning. (6) Increasing numbers of tourists of the "institutionalized" type extend the distance between the tourist and the local population. The increasing distance is resented by the local population. (7) The resentment is mainly articulated by government officials and the local "elite" and is directed against "mass" tourism and "the long-haired hippie". The resentment against the former type seems to express a vague unease that the forces that bring the influx of tourism are outside government control and also against the impersonality of mass tourism. The attitude against the "hippie" appears to be the result of the contradictory symbol this representative of modernized nations presents to developing countries trying to modernize. (8)

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Mitchell (1971) estimates that each potential job brings 1.5 persons to the area in search of it. Centre D'études du Tourisme, Aix-en-Provence, in its report "Impact of tourism on tourism" (April, 1975) quotes an unpublished work suggesting that each job brings 2 persons (p. 12).
There does not appear to be a generalized resentment against tourism. This is not
to deny the sporadic acts of violence (particularly in the Caribbean) or the
existence of local irritations against tourists. This violence and the irritations
seem to appear at a later stage in tourism development -- when "institutionalized"
tourists constitute the major proportion of all tourists visiting the destination.
Then the tourist and the tourism become the focus and target of all attacks (see
also Finney and Watson, n.d.: 145 - 146). Often the malaise lies deeper: its
roots can be found, in some cases, in the sociocultural history of the destination
area; they might, more often, lie in local inability to manage and control
tourism development and in the distribution of political (and economic) power
between local and the wider authorities. (9) When resentment is widespread,
only therapeutic planning seems possible.

4.27. There is still, however, a nagging question: Why is it that in some
destinations "institutionalized" tourism causes local resentment, but not in others?
For example, tourism has hardly affected the Maori way of life. As Fischer 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
tourists but 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..." (n.d. : 51). Balinese culture and the
Balinese way of life, as McKeen (1973, 1977) reports, have accommodated tourism
-- the "institutionalized" variety -- but not surrendered to it. The Balinese
distinguish carefully between various "audiences" at their performances -- the
divine, the local, and the tourist -- and tailor the performance to each; quietly
refusing to perform for insufficient numbers of tourists when the performance is
primarily for tourists. Is it because, as Fumillon (1977/1975) suggests for the
Balinese, the "institutionalized" tourist does not intrude on their way of life? This does not appear to be a general answer. Nor does it appear to be a valid explanation even in the case of the Balinese. Certainly a partial answer lies in the cultural history and values of a host population. Another possible explanation (which will be examined in greater detail in Chapters VII and VIII) lies in the fact that tourism is a supplementary income source and that touristic attractions serve a dual purpose -- they have independent meanings both for the host population and the tourist.

**Demonstration effects -- part I**

h.28. Like "tourist pollution", "demonstration effects" is one of the "buzz" words in the literature on tourism: it is comprehensively vague and arouses negative emotions with regard to 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 value system and attitudes of the host population -- 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 that the local population, so the argument runs, can ill afford. This section will be confined only to the first connotation, although it should be emphasized that both aspects of the term are interlinked.

h.29. 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 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, 1972). The imitation need not necessarily be voluntary -- for example, an employee housing project near a resort area might compel employees to live in nuclear families rather than extended families; concepts of leisure and hours of work might change (Forster, 1964; Packer, 1974; Kent, n.d.). Local valuations of time might have to be adjusted to meet the demands of tourists (Mitchell, 1971; Packer, 1974). It does not appear to be necessary to multiply examples.

1.30. There are several assumptions implicit in the proposition: (1) Tourists are "models" for the host population which the host population believes are worthy of emulation. (2) There are contacts between the host population and the tourists. (3) There is a nexus between the contacts (or example) and the changes that result. (4) The changes are unidirectional -- that they proceed from tourist to host only. (5) The impact of these changes is generally deleterious -- particularly when the contact is between tourists from a developed country and hosts in a developing country (see West, 1973, for a journalistic evaluation of this). It is necessary to examine the validity of these assumptions.

1.31. 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 political elite to accept the values he represents; and, finally, the values that the tourist induces must be consonant with existing local values. Is the tourist such a model? It does not appear to be so. The models are generally local (sometimes resident foreigners) and national modernizing leaders. The literature appears to support such a view.

In Mykonos, the host population imitates Athens (see Packer, 1974; Loukissas,
1975). In Morocco the tourist, usually wealthy, is hardly "a model for malleable young Moroccans" (Kjellstrom, 1974: 308). The examples of Eskimo youth looking down on their traditional values (Smith, 1971) and the local population in North Kohala with its increasing appetite for education and consumer goods is more an emulation of the general values in America, not an imitation of tourists. In Valloire, Cajitilan, and Kippel the changes were a local response brought about by local leaders (see Hutson, 1971; Nunez, 1963; and Friedl, 1973). 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, 1970; Packer, 1971; Evans, 1976). 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, even though tourists do form a pattern that is stereotyped. Packer has examined this question closely. He sums up what appears to be the most acceptable position in this regard: "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. These 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)" (177: 241).

1. 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. 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. As
MacCannell (1973) points out, the local people generally go about their own
business and tend (with the exception of a few hangers on) to avoid areas
frequented by tourists (see also, Cohen, 1972b, with regard to drifters). There
is meagre information about the contacts between the non-institutionalized tourist
and the host population. It could, however, be hypothesized that the contacts
here are greater and could influence local values. However, it is the resident
(whether foreigner, or fellow national) who has the most continuous contact.
This only serves to re-affirm Packer's conclusion.

4.33. 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
readily attributed to industrialization and urbanization which had already taken
root before the development of "mass" tourism (Greenwood: 1970). 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, 1972). This is
also the view of Ritchie (n.d.) 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 in the host populations; to suggest that that all changes are harmful involves a subjective judgement by the observer. Further, there is almost 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 or 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, the local population?

4.34. 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 of the host population; and on the organizational capabilities of the host population. The "demonstration effect", then, is at most indirect and mediated.

V. THE IMPACT OF TOURISM — PART I: SOCIOECONOMIC

5.00. This chapter will evaluate the literature relating to the socioeconomic impact of tourism on host populations, other than arts and crafts: employment, occupations, land, ownership, local resources, and social services. The chapter will also include a discussion of the distribution of the benefits of tourism.

Employment

5.01. A recurring theme of the literature is that tourism creates jobs for the
local population: directly, for instance in hotels; and indirectly. There was little evidence, however, of who got the jobs, at what level, what the skills of the employed were, where these employees came from, what the relationships were between employees inter se, and whether employment in the tourism sector resulted in a diversion of labor supply from other sectors. The evidence, such as it was till recently, mainly supported inferential conclusions.

5.02. The literature supports the view that 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, 1973). This is also often the case with the supervisory levels in hotels as well (see, for instance, Samy, n.d.; and Kent, n.d.). However, the predominance of expatriate or fellow non-resident nationals at the upper levels of hotel employment is not characteristic of the earliest stages of tourism development. It is a process that takes place with the gradual development of "institutionalized" tourism, with the recognition of tourism as a significant method of obtaining foreign exchange for development, and with increasing interest of national political authorities and powerful economic interests in the tourist destination (see, for instance, Robineau, n.d.; Kent, n.d.; Packer, 1974; and Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). At the earlier stage, hotels are generally locally-owned, and often managed by families.

5.03. 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 (1975), who examined both questions with regard to employees of charter hotels in the Gambia, found that 37% had no formal education, and that 53% had a secondary school education. In Fiji, Samy (n.d.) found that 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 that more than half the Fijian women employed had worked as nurses. In fact, on the whole, the Fijians were better educated than all other 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, 1974: 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.

5.04. 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 they young and relatively well educated people...who, from the outset, have a fair chance on the labor market..." (1975: 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, n.d.: 87 - 97) while in Tahiti, there has been a fairly
widespread movement away from traditional agriculture into the wage-earning
sectors (including tourism), as Finney (1975) points out. However, the evidence
is far from complete. With regard to Morocco, Kjellstrom says that tourist
"regions are not located in areas where there are a multitude of alternative
lucrative occupations available" (1974: 278) and that hotel and restaurant
business is preferred by unskilled employees. It is suggested that any
satisfactory answers to the questions 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, n.d.; Esh & Rosenblum, 1975) is capable of two interpretations: 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.

5.05. 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. It
has been reported earlier that it is estimated that each job brings 1.5 persons
in search of it (Mitchell, 1971), another estimate (Centre D'etudes du Tourisme,
1975: 12) is two persons in search of each job. These are general estimates.
The only data available are from the Esh and Rosenblum (1975) study of the Gambia.
There it was found that 43.4% of the employees of the four charter hotels were
born in areas proximate to the hotels. Of those born outside the proximate area 19.2% moved into the area before the hotels commenced business; of the 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 Mykonos, Loukissas (1975) found that most of the hotel employees were not natives of the island. This could not be attributed to the "negative mentality...which assimilates the profession to that of a 'servant' profession which is not held in high esteem" (Kanellakis, 1975: 68 - 69) since the employees were Greeks.

In North Kohala, as also in Guam and Truk, employees come from the areas surrounding the hotels. It might be inferred that potential employees are drawn from a wider geographical area when tourism increases and reaches the "institutionalized" stage. Before that, when standardization of services is not as important, and when hotels are small and generally family-owned, the vast majority of employees will come from areas closest to the hotels.

5.06. What patterns does the employment take? Do they reflect local political and economic strata? The clearest evidence available is in Samy's (n.d.) 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 the hotel management and tourist industry had of the different ethnic groups -- there was no evident 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, n.d.):

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, the lowest level, the Polynesians who constitute nearly 80 percent 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, comprising those who follow directions...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" is mainly comprised of native Chamorro-Guamanians (Sanchez, n.d.: 85). It has also been pointed out, with regard to Hawaii (see Kent, n.d.) that the tourism industry pays the lowest wage scales in comparison with construction, communications and utilities, manufacturing, and finance. This last comparison does 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, 1974: 279). This would also appear to be the case in Bali (Udayana University: 1974). A distinction should, in fact, be drawn between Hawaii's developed economy and other areas where the economy has not reached that level of development. In the latter case, it could be hypothesized that hotel employment generally results in wages higher than are available in other sectors for persons with like qualifications and ability.

5.07. 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 is data — the attitudes of each ethnic group to the other reflects 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
the Gambian is dishonest, lies, and cheats. 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 (n.d.) expresses forcefully: The skills learned in hotels (except,
perhaps in hotel maintenance) are not readily transferrable. Therefore to work
in a hotel at a lower level is to be condemned to a dreary, monotonous job, at
a young age, from which there is no escape. Carried to the extreme, his
argument is that because of the comparatively low wages, and the negligible
opportunities for promotion why should the poor, those on welfare, work in hotels
when comparative wages are low? Who will babysit for the poor. They do not
"want to be exploited...there is no dignity in earning enough money to starve upon"
(Kent, n.d.: 186). Here again, it would seem that 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.

5.08. The discussion has been so far confined to employment in hotels, largely
because the evidence in this regard is available. Tourism has an impact beyond
employment in hotels: mainly the construction industry, but also in agriculture,
business and trade. Most of the evidence in this regard is in the nature of
"guesstimates". The only clear evidence is to be found in Packer's (1974)

1/ See paras. 5.27 - 5.29 below.
study of Mykonos, Bodrum (Turkey) 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 wherewithal 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% of the labor force in Fiji is employed, directly and indirectly, in tourism (LeFevre, n.d.: 105); in Tahiti, it is 3% (see Robineau, n.d.); 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 (1974).

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 (1964) suggested that the character of work would change. This is not the only result. First, employment in the tourism industry is largely seasonal (Packer, 1974; Kjellstrom, 1974; Esh & Rosenblum, 1975; Greenwood, 1970, 1972). 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 the case and for many, the non-tourism season is also the "hungry" season. Second, 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 (1970, 1972)
Fuenterrabians. This is the likely condition of the Tahitian who now prefers wage labor (Finney, 1975). This is the fear of the Kykonian today (Loukissas, 1975; Hoagland, 1976). As Force says, tourism cycles can mean unemployment of many who have been attracted to urban areas by tourism. The unemployed 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..." (Force, 1975: 360). Third, a question raised by Nunez (1974) was that even though there is relative insecurity in tourism why it is that so many individuals leave their traditional occupations. 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 incomes received regularly: scarcity or loss of land, better opportunities for children, the greater availability of social services are some of the non-economic reasons (Force & Force, 1975). As Finney (1975) points out with reference to Tahitians, the transition to wage labor involved a change in values: Tahitians distinguish between farming work and money work. The former is considered "dull, dirty, and old-fashioned, while wage labor is exciting, clean, and modern way to earn one's living" (1975: 188). Fourth, there are adjustments of hours of work and methods of work (see Packer, 1974; Greenwood, 1970, 1972). These adjustments may take some time since they may involve adjusting values to the economic aspects of tourism. In both Kykonos 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 served 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, n.d.: 137) -- to the Micronesian, the concrete cottage is progress! Fifth, 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, 1975). It would seem that ties with the extended family are maintained notwithstanding migration to an urban environment (see Force & Force, 1975). 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. This separate living was accepted as a principle prior to the advent of tourism, economics prevented its attainment (see Packer, 1974). Greenwood's analysis can also be attributed to industrialization and does not appertain to tourism alone. Hence, it is not dealt with. So too in Colpied and La Roche, the breakdown of the extended family was as much the result of wider economic forces in addition to tourism (see Reiter, 1973) and the same can be said of Kippel (Friedl, 1973).

**Land**

5.10. The literature contains innumerable references to the increase in land prices largely through speculation, and the gradual loss of land by the local population; for instance a 2000% increase in value in Mykonos (Packer, 1974), and between 300% - 900% in Kailua, West Hawaii (Fukunaga, n.d.). This
prices land out of the reach of most local residents (Greenwood, 1972; Fukunaga, n.d.). 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.

Gradually, 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, usually in partnership with international hotel chains, demands land which drives prices up still higher. This process is not invariable, since at times the national government itself may enter into the tourism field at an early stage and acquire lands for a generally nominal compensation to the owners. What seems evident in the process is that fellow nationals themselves are the first to make the profit.

The principle behind the complaints is, then, not so much price, but deprivation of local owners through what is impliedly fraudulent dealing. LeFevre's example of land speculation in the Cook Islands (LeFevre, n.d.:93) crystallizes this argument. 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. It is when group tenures are involved, that sales affect a larger number of individuals. Further, group tenures are usually "traditional" tenures, and what takes place generally is a conflict between modern and traditional law with those following traditional law ignorant of the
intent and effect of the modern law (see also, Friedl, 1973).

5.11. This leads to the second aspect, the development of policy. It seems to be 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 mere dead letters when powerful interests can get around them -- through, for instance, ostensible purchases in the name of a local resident. In other words policy, without the means or will to enforce it, is hardly useful. Wealthy Athenians could construct, notwithstanding an order suspending building; Turkish economically powerful interests could do the same (Packer, 1974). What appears to be a feasible approach, particularly in the case of group tenures, is that suggested by McGrath (1975). 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" (McGrath, 1975: 139). These proposals were first made for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in 1946; are to be found in Fiji (where native land is controlled by the Native Land Board); and are being implemented in British Columbia.

Ownership

5.12. Closely linked 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 (Packer, 1974); the same can be said of Mykonos (Loukissas, 1975). In North Kohala, the supermarket
replaces the neighborhood store (Fukunaga, n.d.); in Tahiti, the small family hotel is replaced by international hotels (Robineau, n.d.) and the same takes place in the Gambia (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). 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 immigrant companies long before the development of tourism; in Leavenworth, the influx of outsiders into the field of business was related to community revival which only had tourism as one of its goals, and a minor goal at that.

**Competition for local resources**

5.13. There are three points in the literature that 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 and common use of social services by the host population and immigrants; and (3) diversion of resources for expenditure on the tourist industry rather than on other sectors.

5.14. 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, 1974). In the Gambia, the price of a bag of rice rises
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during the tourist season (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). 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, 1974; Loukissas, 1975). In Fuenterrabia, tourists get pride
of place at the Alarde (Greenwood, 1974); in Niagara-on-the-Lake, tourist cars
tend to crowd out the local residents (Doxey, 1976); and the same occurs in Puerto
Vallarta (Evans, 1976). In Hawaii, the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel has stopped local
access to the beach (Tong, n.d.) and 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, 1975). These
examples could be multiplied (see Aerni, 1972, with regard to game parks). They
point to the need for both careful planning and consistent execution of plans in the
light of national social and economic goals.

5.15. The influx of migrants leads to increased competition for local jobs.
This happens in the Caribbean (see Blake, 1974), in Hawaii (see Kent, n.d.)
to mention two examples. 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 -- and a burden on the tax
payer where social security schemes are in force (see Robineau, n.d.; Kent, n.d.).
In addition, migrants usually become the target of local frustrations and fears.
Force and Force (1975) point out that this competition between locals and migrants
could cause severe family disabilities.

5.16. It is often said that "it is not unusual to detect some bias toward
tourist-related facilities and away from the more general need" (LeFevre, n.d.: 105).
Fukunaga (n.d.), for instance, suggests that investment in agriculture
rather than tourism would better sustain development. Perez (1973-74) believes that expenditures to augment police forces, in 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. While these complaints have a grain of truth, it should 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, it is expenditure that may have to be undertaken independently of tourism. There are, undoubtedly, instances when this has not been the case (as, 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 — see, Loukissas, 1975). Second, in this regard, it might be worth considering the statement of Kjellstrom who terms the argument about the diversion of resources to provide tourists with goods and services not available to, or beyond the purchasing power of the local population "true, but irrelevant". According to him the "relevant criterion is instead in 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'. " (Kjellstrom, 1974: 390).

5.17. There is a final point in this discussion regarding competition for local resources: While it is true that most examples evidence the lack of planning and control, the point at which these complaints arise is significant. They usually become vocal at what Boxey (1976) calls the "annoyance" or " antagonism" stages of tourism development. This is also the stage of "institutionalized" tourism. Loss of local ability to control, or a belief that the local population no longer
controls, tourism together with increasing numbers of tourists who maintain a social distance, serves to focus local fears and to emphasize the element of deprivation. Aerni's example (1972) of the differences in meaning of game parks to local Ugandans and the tourists is apposite: Though the ostensible complaint was the prohibition of hunting by the local population in the game parks; the real reason was the lack of contact between the host population and the safari tourists. The Ugandans felt neglected, a mere object of curiosity; they had not been consulted, the meaning of safari tourism had not been explained to them; some one else made the arrangements and was making money on the tourists.

**Impact on women**

5.18. There is growing evidence in the literature on the impact of tourism on the position of women. Probably the most dramatic is Cottington's study referred to in Fukunaga (n.d.). Hotel employment gave women economic opportunity and consequent independence; while men often continued to work on the plantation, the women worked a forty-hour shift at the hotel; their styles of dress and their confidence improved. It has been suggested that tourism employment increased divorces. There does not seem to be a direct causal relationship between work in the hotel and divorce. 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. Husbands were the bread winners. 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, n.d.: 210). In Fiji, hotel
employment was usually the first wage employment for Indo-Fijian women (see Samy, n.d.). In the Gambia, women are not generally employed -- it is a matter left to the discretion of the departmental head (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975). What is interesting about the Gambia is that the average age of the women employees is lower than that of the male employees. In Kykonos, women went out and bargained with tourists who needed accommodation. Tourism also brought them weaving as a source of income, although it did mean the giving up of some traditional patterns of weaving (Packer, 1974). It does not seem that women were frequently employed either in Bodrum or in Morocco in hotels.

5.19. The preceding paragraph should indicate that tourism does not have the same impact on women in different countries. It is largely a matter of the culture of host populations, whether women gain directly from tourism. 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. What tourism did was to form 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 more evidence is needed on this.

Migration

5.20. One of the results of tourism is to slow down the gradual depletion of the labor force -- particularly the movement of the young (and often the best educated) away from towns and villages to urban centers. Examples of this abound: in Leavenworth, Kykonos, and Bodrum (Packer, 1974); in North Kohala (Fukunaga, n.d.) In Colpied and La Roche the same situation occurred (Reiter, 1973). It is of interest to note that a significant amount of tourism commences in relatively
economically underdeveloped areas. What tourism does is to provide additional opportunities for the local population and thereby to slow down the migration rate. This is one of the goals in the development of tourism in the Cook Islands (see LeFevre, n.d.: 87 - 97).

Nutrition, health, education, and welfare

5.21. The consensus of opinion is that nutrition standards are improved with tourism. There is unparallelled economic growth in Fuenterrabia (Greenwood, 1972); the intake of beef has increased in hykonian diet (Packer, 1974); in Antigua and Barbados diets have improved and the range of consumer goods available has increased (Joshi & Sharpston, 1973; Doxey & Associates, n.d.); the Tongans are eating better (Urbanowicz, 1974); both Fiji and Tahiti are able to import food stuffs (Robineau, n.d., LeFevre, n.d.). This capacity to increase dietary intakes is partly the result of a rising income and of the greater availability 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, n.d.).

5.22. Less is known about the impact of tourism on health. Joshi and Sharpston (1973) have suggested that tourism may have brought some strains of influenza not known to Antigua and some venereal disease. Journalists (notably West, 1973; and Turner & Ash, 1975) have indicated that tourism is linked with the decline in standards of health. The same is said of urbanisation. 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, 1970). Health facilities have increased in Puerto Vallarta (Evans, 1976). But the evidence
does not permit of any general conclusions.

5.23. The evidence relating to education is more indirect than direct. 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, 1975). But what tourism facilitates is the acquisition of an income which allows families to achieve some of their goals — education is one of the most important. Whether in Mykonos or Bodrum (Packer, 1974), North Kohala (Fukunaga) or Los Santos (Moore, 1970), education for the young is becoming a reality. Undoubtedly, 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.

5.24. Like data on health, data on other social services — water, electricity, roads, political access — are meagre and inferential. Improvements in sanitation and hygiene, originally made for tourists, have been used by local residents (Moore, 1970; Packer, 1974; Reiter, 1973; Evans, 1976). 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 (Packer, 1974).

5.25. One of the common charges against tourism is that it increases crime, delinquency, and prostitution. This is a complaint generally voiced by journalists (see Esh & Rosenblum, 1975; Turner & Ash, 1975). This is especially so, so the argument proceeds, 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 (as also Kent, n.d.) who repeat this charge against tourism present statistics which show a comparative decrease in crime with the growth of tourism — which Fukunaga attributes 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. Tourism brings to the area more people than there are jobs and another possibility, inadequately assessed, is that this increased population demands formal measures of control for which informal methods formerly sufficed (Forster, 1964).

With regard to prostitution, it is true that some tourists undoubtedly seek these services. However, there is a tenuous link between the creation of these centres and tourism in general. Authors who propound such a link do not assess the existence of these centres before tourism, determine whether it is the commercialization of a fairly widespread practice, or whether their growth is attributable to other factors — the local urban population, the military, for instance.

Demonstration effects -- Part II

5.26. The impact of tourism in the socioeconomic sphere is much more evident than in the realm of 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 (Packer, 1974) or technology in Los Santos, or house construction in Kippel and Colpied (Moore, 1970; Friedl, 1973; Reiter, 1973) 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 repetition is unnecessary. Suffice it to repeat that the demonstration effect of tourism is not as direct or inevitable as it is made out to be.

**Distribution of benefits**

5.27. It should be obvious that in the growth and development of tourism economic and political interests, not necessarily economic rationality, prevail quite often: Local initiative is supplanted in almost every phase by more powerful central political authorities and economic powers; land and businesses increasingly pass into the hands of non-residents; consultation with local authorities diminishes; more and more, as Finney (1975) expressed it, the local population becomes a wage proletariat with the resident (or original inhabitant as in the case of Guam or Tahiti) at the lowest levels. To deny economic and political interests that 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 (1974) points out with regard to Fez, the choice of this city was influenced by the need 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" (1974: 382). So also was the grant of a capital subsidy to the Rabat-Hilton in excess of the

1/ See paras. 4.28 - 4.34.
government's own standards. In Bodrum, the economically powerful in Izmir and foreign interests 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 derailing development to serve their own purposes is not to support the suggestion of Sanchez that tourism crystallizes, nay freezes, the existing layering of society. For this charge to be proved it must be shown that tourism prevents those at the lowest levels of economic strata from opting for any other jobs (presumed to be available for them); and that employment in the tourism sector prevents those so employed from improving their status. Another implicit assumption in the argument is that persons so employed have talents which could be more suitably employed in another sector. The evidence available does not permit of such generalization.

5.28. There is another aspect to this discussion: It is a matter of inference -- except, possibly, in the case of Hawaii -- that those employed in the tourism sector from the local population are generally unskilled or semi-skilled. It is therefore possible that, given the location of tourism destination areas, the employed are likely to be from the category of the unemployed/underemployed. However, this inference should be accepted with caution in the light of the evidence (Esh & Rosenblum, 1975) that those employed might have formal qualifications higher than those of the average fellow citizen.

5.29. The final aspect of this discussion is that the maldistribution of benefits, the competition with immigrants, does lead to conflicts and resentments. These generally surface at the "institutionalized" stage of tourism. There is extremely little evidence of the working of distributive mechanisms within the employed groups -- as both Esh & Rosenblum (1975) and Francillon (1974/1975)
point out. We know little how the dance association in Bali distributes the
income from a performance among the members of the village; we do not know
whether the kin of the hotel employee in the Gambia continue to have a claim
on him and his earnings. These are matters worth further investigation,
especially if the social impact of tourism is to be adequately assessed. In
Fuenterrabia, in Bodrum, and in Mykonos the evidence is that earnings encourage
inter-generational conflict. But these are cases where the primary obligation
is well-defined as the nuclear family.

VI. THE IMPACT OF TOURISM -- PART II: SOCIOCULTURAL

6.00. 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

6.01. 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 U.S.A. Deitch (1974) 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" (1974: 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 points out that the recent manufacture of handicrafts by two companies appears to have good prospects of sale to tourists. In Mykonos, Packer (1974) says that tourist demand for traditional sweaters and wool items originally produced for home consumption has now found a market outlet. 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, adds to their income. Kjellstrom says 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 Morroccan 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 Morrocco, several branches of handicrafts would have languished into relative obscurity instead of experiencing the rather buoyant demand of today..."(1974 : 281-283). The number of artisans is estimated at 41,203, most of them being carpet weavers. Nay (n.d.) tentatively agrees that tourism has helped to preserve traditional art in PNG.

6.02. 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" (McCrevy, 1975: 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, 1974). Nay (n.d.) 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" (n.d.: 125). In the second category, which includes the worst form -- 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. Hay 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 "bastardisation of traditional art" (n.d.: 127) -- the adaptation of traditional forms to meet foreign tastes or needs, for instance, the reduction of shields and houseboards to suitcase size. Hay finds both the tourist and the art dealer to blame in the introduction of pseudo traditional art. 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, Hay 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.

6.03. Although Hay 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 (1974) 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

6.04. The literature under review does not provide any instance of an architectural style being introduced as a result of tourism, except for Fuenterrabia. There, Greenwood (1972) says the city walls were renovated; and the fishermen's quarter, where most of the tourists congregate, has been rebuilt. In Leavenworth, the adoption of the Alpine theme in downtown architecture is more closely related to the town's attempt to revive itself than to tourism (Packer, 1974). In Mykonos, the models for imitation in architecture are to be found in Athens (Loukissas, 1975).

Archaeology

6.05. The growth of tourism in Mykonos can be partly attributed to the fact that the island of Delos is only three miles away. Archaeological finds -- Greek and Roman antiquities first 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.

The "commercialization" of culture

6.06. Forster (1964) and Cohen (1972a) speak of the "commercialization" of culture, Greenwood (1974) 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 may have 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".

6.07. Several consequences are said to flow from this commercialization and development of the phony-folk culture. First, it often transfers the ceremonial from the sacred to the secular realm, thereby debasing the value of 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, and to portray a narrower cultural base than actually exists. 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. The entire process becomes what MacCannell (1973) calls the "staged authentic" -- a false front presented as real. These processes are hardly conducive to comprehending cultures. They are more likely to present a "false picture" of a host population.
6.08. Greenwood, the leading protagonist 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 membership, a symbol of unity and common membership despite occupational differences. It was an event in which all Fuenterrabians joined in willingly, an event that emphasized that all Fuenterrabians were equal. With the advent of mass tourism, 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; that the outsiders did not understand the supreme importance of the event and viewed it as one more offering to induce tourists into the region. Greenwood (1974) 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 (n.d.) offers another example in support of Greenwood's view: May 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." (n.d.: 126).

6.09. However, other examples in the literature caution against acceptance of Greenwood's view as a generalization: McKean (1973) points out that the Balinese distinguish carefully between audiences; when there is primarily a tourist audience, a dance performance is cancelled if the audience does not turn up in sufficient numbers. The performance is not cancelled when performed primarily for
a sacred audience. Further, performing for tourists permits the Balinese to do what they have always enjoyed doing -- performing; the proceeds from tourism are then spent (at least partially) to strengthen their own cultural base (see also McKean, 1974). Deitch (1974) 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. 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 needs of collectors. Swain (1974) provides an example of how the "Mola" (a traditional blouse worn by the women) has become a focal point of ethnic identity, a rallying point, and a successful commercial product for sale to tourists, for the Cuna of San Blas. Evans (1976) 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" (1976: 196). The final example is taken from Micronesia. Ashman (n.d.) reports that when a woman objected to commercializing sacred dance 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" (Ashman, n.d.: 139). These are examples where tourism fostered self identity, where the sacred was not debased (or secularized) by tourism, where a distinction was maintained between the sacred and the secular.
6.10. How can a distinction be drawn between the examples of Greenwood and May, and those of McKean, Deitch, Swain, Evans, and Ashman? Is it because the Balinese, the Hopi, and the Cuna have a well-maintained sense of self-identity and a preservation of their cultures despite a history of "foreign" invasions? Or is it because these groups have organizational flexibility? Or, finally, because their cultural expressions have dual meanings -- one for the tourists, another for themselves -- which are independent? An answer will be attempted in the following chapter.

VII. DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING

7.00. This chapter is divided into two parts: In the first, the stages of tourism development will be traced and an attempt made to determine the essential elements in each stage. The second part deals with planning, the presence or absence of planning, the effects, and the factors taken into account in planning.

A. The Stages of Growth

Theoretical approaches

7.01. Sociologists usually distinguish between "organic" and "induced" tourism. The first develops spontaneously, and is unplanned initially; the second, is planned from the very commencement and is created ("artificial"?). An example of the first type is Florence; of the latter, Disneyland. It is necessary to maintain this distinction between the two types since each has important sociological consequences at every stage of tourism development. For example,
sociologists believe that "induced" tourism superimposes institutions which may have no local roots -- that is, are not linked with local organisational structures.

7.02. Forster (1964), Cohen (1972a), and Greenwood (1972) suggest that tourism development proceeds through three stages: (a) "discovery"; (b) "local response and initiative"; and (c) "institutionalized". It would seem that these three stages only refer to "spontaneous" tourism development, whereas the third stage alone characterizes "induced" tourism.

7.03. In stage I ("discovery") a new area is "found" by a few intrepid souls. In stage II the needs of the tourists are largely catered for out of local resources, and tourism facilities are constructed by local entrepreneurs. These facilities are usually locally owned and their growth is, as a rule, an unplanned response. The transition to the second stage, that of increased local response and initiative, appears to require a local catalyst. Stage III comes into being with "mass" tourism (although "institutionalized" tourism appears to be a preferable phrase). At this stage the control and further development of tourism passes out of local hands. It is difficult to distinguish between Stages II and III on the grounds of absolute numbers of tourists alone, or numbers of tourists in relation to the total local population. Stage II seems to be more peculiarly characterised by local ownership, and absence of standardization, of tourism facilities; the use primarily of local resources; and, most importantly, local decision-making and control of tourism. Relating these stages to Doxey's (1976) "irridex", the state of "Euphoria" would characterize both stage I and, only partially, Stage II; "Apathy" could cover both stages II and III, while "Annoyance" and "Antagonism" appear to be solely

1/ See para. 4.19, above.
confined to stage III.

7.04. Each of the stages has different consequences for both tourists and host populations. At stage I, the nature and extent of the impact of tourism depends to a large measure on the population density of the area and its resources. At this stage the relationship between local catalysts and local responses is significant. The effects at stage II are: increased employment, differentiation of occupations, a higher living standard, increased contact with the world outside the destination area, a desire for better education, a greater breadth of attitudes, and increased trends towards egalitarianism. Tourism development at stage II continues to be "organic" -- served and controlled by local institutions without any changes in social structure or breaks in values.

7.05. The effects of stage III, "institutionalized" tourism, have been analyzed most thoroughly. These effects are divided, for purposes of clarity only, into economic, social, and political effects:

(a) Economic: (i) standardization of tourism facilities; (ii) increased demand for goods and services; (iii) wider range of employment 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 immigrants into the area in search of employment; (ii) increasing impersonality of relations consequent on such growth; (iii) standardization of roles; (iv) decline of mutual help and cooperation with increasing isolation of the individual and family unit; (v) increased intergenerational conflict, particularly since the young are more easily employed
in the tourism industry than the old, come into contact with tourists, and
economic independence assists in the weakening of familial authority; (vi)
declining age at marriage, smaller family size; (vii) changes in social
stratification -- tourism can strengthen individuals or groups at the top of
the social order, or substitute new criteria for evaluating status (for example,
income substituting occupation); (viii) increased educational opportunities;
(ix) the infusion of new ideas, patterns, ways of life; (x) the commercial-
ization of culture; (xi) increased social deviance -- crime, suicide,
abortion, venereal disease; and (xii) increased monetization of relation-
ships. (c) Political: (i) loss of control over tourism growth and development;
(ii) consequent alterations in the power structure with residents in the
destination area playing the role of agents, not decision-makers; (iii) increased
 politicization of decisions through the development of factions, and parties;
and (iv) change of political decisions from consensus to majority.

7.06. The stage III "effects" set out above are subject to the following
qualifications: In the economic sphere, first, the tourist destination area will
benefit most if it can supply the increased demand for goods and services from
local resources. If not, the dependence of the local area on external sources
is increased, and the percentage of tourist expenditure retained locally is
reduced. Second, the creation of new or different types of employment will be
most beneficial only if there is a labor surplus (with adequate qualifications)
and there are no cultural constraints to occupational mobility or attitudes
against working in the tourism industry. Third, increases in the numbers of
tourists tend to coincide with lower transport costs (and increases in the number
of "packages" offered tourists). This permits lower income bracket tourists to visit the destination area. Lower income bracket tourists tend to spend less and the per capita expenditure is therefore lowered. Fourth, the greater the number of tourists, the greater is the need for expenditure on accommodation and infrastructure-building. Accommodation is usually constructed on anticipated demand. Accommodation cannot be "stored". This means that there must be an occupancy rate which will provide a reasonable return (or, at least, cover overhead costs). As a consequence, tourist establishments within the destination area soon compete with each other for tourists; those with more extensive contacts and financial resources push out the smaller. This will tend to change the nature of tourism in the destination area even further, apart from increasing dependence on external sources and decisions.

7.07. The degree of "institutionalization" has the same effects on the population in the destination area irrespective of whether the visitors share the same cultural background as their hosts, or have different cultural backgrounds. These effects are: loss of local control of tourism, decisions regarding tourism taken by groups or individuals external to the destination area (whether these groups or individuals are outside the country or are fellow citizens does not appear to matter much); increased dependency of the local group (in the destination area) on these outside groups or individuals, and resources; inability to influence these external factors; inability to plan; monetization; increasing distance between tourist and host; the necessity for routinization of organizational patterns in the destination area. Institutionalization has a greater impact on host societies than non-institutionalized (for example,
"explorer") tourism. It necessitates structural alterations in the host society.

7.08. Since the literature does not evaluate the decisional processes that result in the transition from the stage of local response and initiative (stage II) to that of institutionalization, or the connected sociological implications, this follows.

7.09. The type of tourists visiting the destination area in stages I and II would, following Cohen's (1972a, 1973, 1974) classifications, belong to the "explorer", "permanent tourist", "expatriate" categories, with, possibly, a few drifters. Their travel styles (see Nolan, 1975) would be leisurely, exploratory, or multi-purpose, multi-destinational. If tourism is disruptive of local societies, as it is alleged to be, tourists in the first two stages would be, if at all, minimally disruptive. From the point of view of the local population, services to cater to the tourists would increase but the rate of growth and the type of services offered would be a matter of local (mainly individual) decisions and subject to local constraints (for example, the absence of an infrastructure). In sociological terms, the growth would be "organic": a differentiation of existing resources, a re-assessment of the means of attaining ends (values), small-scale introduction of technological improvements. The encounter between tourist and host would be "face-to-face" (that is, as total persons) and the tourist will adapt 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.

7.10. What generally appears to take place at the end of stage II and in the
transition to stage III, is that with increasing numbers of visitors (a significant percentage of whom no longer belong to the categories mentioned in the preceding paragraph) local resources are deemed inadequate to cater to these numbers. The resources are thought to be inadequate in several respects: (i) the facilities are not standardized; (ii) there is no overall control and local planning (with likely concomitant/conflict as a result of competition for the tourist); (iii) the population in the destination area lacks the financial resources and skills to manage large numbers of persons; (iv) local sources of supply to cater to the basic needs of tourists may be inadequate necessitating economic links with external sources; and (v) political authorities wider than the local believe that their intervention is necessary.

7.11. Stage III involves both an economic and political decision. Economic in that the "demands" of tourists cannot be met by local resources. Political (used here in the widest sense) in that power blocs within the host country go through a decision-making process which includes the following elements: (1) it is desirable to encourage tourism and increase the number of visitors to the maximum extent possible (whatever the reason, though the most frequent justification is foreign exchange earnings). Implicit in this decision is that those in power "know" just how many tourists are desirable, and what types of tourists are likely to visit the destination area. (2) The local authorities are incapable of meeting the tourist demand. Here too there are several implicit assumptions: that the wider political authorities are (a) capable of forecasting

\[^{1/}\] In a materialistic environment it is unsurprising how rarely the justifications for expanded tourism are that tourism is a means of exchanging ideas, or that it is an educational experience for both tourist and host.
the numbers of tourists, and (b) are aware of tourist preferences (habits, tastes, patterns of expenditure). (3) It is necessary in the interests of planning, control, and construction of tourism facilities, that the wider political authorities intervene in further tourism development. Both the economic and political decision-making processes are closely intertwined. Further, it is fairly common that economic motivations and, more importantly, economic power blocs impel the wider political authorities to act. The imposition of political will may involve prior consultation with the people/local authorities in the tourist destination area. Usually it does not. 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. Tourism growth then ceases to be "organic", it is superimposed. The local entrepreneur becomes an agent, or functionary. There is, to paraphrase Doxey (1976), a structural alteration in the nature of tourism, not a mere dimensional change.

7.12. Stage III has important sociological consequences -- both for the tourist and host. From the tourists' viewpoint, increase in numbers necessitates standardization: of tourism facilities and itineraries. A minimum of permissible individuality has to be combined with a maximum of illusion: the tourist has to be "sold" the idea that he is seeing something "different", and that what he is shown is both "authentic" and conveys the essence of the place he is visiting (including the culture of the host population). Given the fact that there is no necessary congruence of goals between the tourist and those responsible for arranging the tour and, further, since the monetary interests of
of the tour organizer predominate, tourist views of the host population and the
geography of the place are partial and highlighted by those aspects whose
importance is stressed. One country soon becomes much like, and can be
substituted for, another. The type of tourist at this stage would, most often,
belong to Cohen's (1972a) category of the "mass/individual institutionalized"
tourist, including the "organized drifter" (Cohen, 1973). The travelling style
of these tourists would be "rapid movement" or "fast-paced" (Nolan, 1975) in
general. Sociologically, increasing numbers results in growing impersonality
of relations (increasing distance) 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".

Applications

7.13. The literature confirms the preceding analysis, with some
exceptions. Moore (1970) stops short at the third stage -- the
villagers of Los Santos are on the brink of seeing tourism pass out
of their hands into those of developers and interests outside the
island. The Guna of San Blas are in the same position as Moore's
villagers (Swain, 1974) -- they await development of the Los Gruyos
project. At Tajos, stage III has been reached (Fraser, 1975). In
Tahiti, stage III has also been reached (Robineau, n.d.). Smith's
Eskimo are at stage II (with the exception of Gambell) -- and it is

\[\text{An apt example of an "intermediate" relationship is that of purchaser and cashier at a supermarket counter, or room maid and hotel occupant in a large hotel.}\]
doubtful, given environmental conditions, whether tourism will ever develop beyond stage II/Alaska. Bodrum is entering stage III (Packer, 1974). Probably, the most interesting chronological survey of tourism over a long period is that on Mykonos (Packer, 1974; Loukissas, 1970; and Haagland, 1976). Packer's analysis traces the favorable first impact of tourism through stages I and II, thereafter, with the introduction of stage III, tourism passes out of the hands of local entrepreneurs. The transition has not been a mixed blessing. In fact, the type of tourism has changed (see Loukissas, 1975; Hoagland, 1976) and demands are made on the local administrative and social structure, the local skills, which the residents at the tourism destination are incapable of meeting.

**Analysis**

7.14. It will be noticed that the impact of tourism is not identical and that it varies between destinations that might be considered at the same stage of development (tourism development). For example, although Bali has entered stage III, tourism has had a lesser social impact than it has on Tahiti. Both islands. Again, tourism appears to have affected Bourum less than, say, Fuenterrabia (although it might be suggested that Fuenterrabia was affected more by industrialization than tourism). Colpied has changed more -- there is a greater loss of local control -- than La Hoche (Keiter, 1973, 1974). Finally, there is the exception, Leavenworth, where tourism does not seem to have affected social structure, values, or goals.
7.15. How can this differential impact be accounted for, when two destination areas are at the same stage in tourism development? Although it has been suggested that one of tests is whether the destination area is on an island, this is not necessarily the most fruitful test -- as the differential impact in the case of Bali, Tahiti, Antigua (Joshi & Sharpston, 1973), and Mykonos show. Nor do mere numbers of tourists in relation to the total population suffice as the most important test -- Hawaii, Washington, D.C., Fuenterrabia and Los Santos often have tourists far outnumbering their total resident population and the effects differ. A careful re-examination of the examples of Leavenworth, Bali, and Bodrum might provide the answer.

7.16. In Leavenworth, tourism was not the main goal of the LIFE project, tourism developed incidentally to the general development of the town. The LIFE project initiated change but though the improvements are used by both residents and tourists now, the residents still believe that the goals of the Life project have value and are as important as attracting tourists. Further, the community events, which are now attended by tourists as well, provide the greatest opportunity for contacts between residents. In Bali, as McKean points out, a performance has independent meanings for both tourists and the Balinese, and the two are kept perceptually separate. In Bodrum, the skills available are directed to serving a regional population, local demand is considered more important than tourism. The difference between La Roche and Colpied can be found in the greater differentiation of associations in the former village.
7.17. The four examples evidence that the common principles are 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 economic development, but the existence of socially differentiated organisations -- skills expressed in different associations. This is the case in Leavenworth, and, to a lesser extent, in Colpied and Bodrum. However, in Bali and Bodrum, these skills (and their representation in associations) do not extend very far beyond the traditional occupations. Thus, if in Bodrum and Bali, the numbers of tourists proceed at a pace beyond the capacities of the local population to manage them and/or are of a type different from those for whom present facilities and skills can cater, the management of tourism will pass out of local hands and the common effects of stage III will appear.

7.18. The second reason why Leavenworth is worth examining is that the LIFE project provided the population of the town with meanings independent of tourism. The events reaffirmed the identity of Leavenworth, separated the population from outsiders, and were linked to recognized social organisations within the town. In Bali too, dance and art have social roots expressed in organisations that are controlled by the wider village organisations and linked with both common village and temple membership. Similar linkages are also found among the Micronesians of whom Ashman (n.d.) wrote.

7.19. A third essential difference, to be found only in Leavenworth, is planning. In Leavenworth goals were set, the population took
part in both planning and execution. This aspect will be dealt with in greater detail below.

7.20. The points made in para 7.17 above have been differently expressed by Finney and Watson (n.d.: 145 - 146). They point out that many Pacific Island governments who want to imitate Hawaii's tourism development often forget that it 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 since very recent times) have caused problems.

B. Planning

7.21. Most authorities stress the need for planning, and point out its general absence. But they are limited in practical suggestions about the selection of goals, the type and levels of plans, the selection of indices and weights. For instance, Fox sets out the general conditions requisite for this purpose. He says 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 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 (see Fox, n.d.). Calvo (1974) 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.

7.22. There are several levels in planning and several stages as well. At the earliest stages, it would seem that the selection of goals is important (see Kjellstrom, 1974; Doxey, 1976). This would also involve the development of policy, and the selection and weighting of indices.

7.23. Local participation seems to be essential at all stages. There are two examples of such successful participation: at Leavenworth, and in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park Project (Falk & Brodie, 1976). It might be suggested that both these instances relate to developed countries. This is true. 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 no opinions and are incapable of involvement -- which failure to consult would imply -- is to deny their humanity.

7.24. Any plan must also clearly choose and weight social indices. An example of the factors to be considered here, since admittedly they are not indicators, is to be found in Doctoroff (1976). It is difficult to find literature relating to weighting of indices in tourism
since, in large measure, this would be linked to the goals and differ from country to country.

7.25. Planning involves a choice of alternatives -- not merely between tourism and other methods of development (see Kloke, n.d.) but also, assuming tourism is selected, in what areas local populations (and governments) should concentrate (see LeFevre, n.d.). However, it is difficult to agree with the statement of Gearing, Swart and Var (1976) who pay lip service to the necessity of considering the potential sociological consequences of tourism and then suggest that the "the question of tourism's sociological impact is essentially academic" when "the tourist industry may appear to be the only available alternative for development" (1976: 32). Both Calvo (1974) and Joshi and Sharpston (1973) who disagree with this view appear to be more accurate -- sociological consequences can be foreseen, monitored, and the negative impacts softened by careful investigation of the sociocultural patterns of the destination area.

7.26. Planning for tourism also raises the question of linkages. Kanellakis, for instance, suggests that tourism is not a viable method of economic development for Greece because tourism is mainly a service industry with no linkages (backward linkages) with the rest of the economy (see Kanellakis, 1973). Kjellstrom partially answers this by saying that while it is true that tourism is basically a service industry, this is "quite irrelevant" because "Basic industries with limited 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 helpful in enlarging the local markets for several products, sometimes even beyond the critical threshold level..." (126). It must, however, be pointed out that "institutionalized" tourism, as the literature presently evidences (see, for instance, Calvo, 1973), rarely provides such linkages and the absence of planning combined with import incentives continues the lack of backward linkages (see Esh & Rosenblum, 1975: Joshi & Sharpston, 1974).

7.27. Tourism plans should also determine the type of tourists that will be allowed to visit (see Doxey, 1976). This is essential since it is related to the type of facilities that will be necessary and the encounter that will take place between tourist and host. Institutionalized tourism may be a viable means of development where the main purpose of tourism is related to physical facilities (for example, beaches in the Gambia) and there is a minimal contact that can be maintained between tourist and host, and tourist "visibility" is low. It may also be necessary for some countries to consider this form when they are close to their markets (Cohen, 1974) -- Hawaii has been extremely successful in this. Yet, even here, as Aerni (1972) points out, local resentment because of lack of contact can become important.

7.28. Finally, there is the problem of the pace of development of tourism. Joshi and Sharpston (1973) and Greenwood (1972) suggest that the problems of Antigua and Fuenterrabia, respectively, are the
consequence of too rapid a pace of unplanned development. Another way of expressing this is that the absorptive capacity of the destination area was inadequate to meet the tourism demand. Yet another term is "carrying capacity" -- which environmentalists have popularized. Dasmann, Milton, and Freeman (1973) define this as "a measure of the number of individuals of any species that a particular environment can support" (1973: 33). They recognize that different/types of tourism demand different/types of facilities and an assessment, in each case, of the carrying capacity. Thus, for instance, the Center for Economic Research in Greece estimated that two million tourists during the peak month (July) was the optimum beyond which the Greek way of life would be threatened (see Kanellakis, 1973). Of this Dasmann, Milton, and Freeman say that it would be quite conservative compared to the densities "on Copacabana beaches on a peak Sunday" (1973: 132).

Probably the most reasonable observations on "carrying capacity" (and optimum numbers) were expressed by Belt Collins and Associates Limited and others (1973) 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 that this is not the most important factor. What, it is suggested, is important, and

1/ See para. 7.15 above.
should be estimated in plan formulation is the type of tourists, the extent of local skills and facilities, and the number of tourists in relation to the preceding two items. Carrying capacity will vary both with reference to the type of tourism, and the nature of the skills available.

VIII. AN END AND A BEGINNING

8.00. 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 projects.

A. General observations on the literature

8.01. 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, 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.

8.02. 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 (1973) 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.

8.03. 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.

8.04. 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 socioeconomic 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.

8.05. What appears to be really crucial is the process of the "institutionalization" of tourism that takes place when the destination area achieves a measure of popularity. First, it affects the type of tourists that visit the destination area. 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. Implicit in the term "institutionalized" are numbers. What the term "mass tourist" misses are the important elements of standardization and routinization. Second, institutionalization demands types of facilities, skills, and adaptive behavioral changes that are often beyond the capacities of the population in the destination area, and also affect the host population to a much greater degree than non-institutionalized tourism. Third, and most importantly, the nature of the encounter between tourist and host is entirely altered. It is not numbers of tourists per se that are the cause, nor is it the pace of increase in tourist visitors that has the greatest impact on the host population. It is the rapid increase of institutionalized tourists taken together with the lack of local
skills and facilities that is responsible for the prevalence of resentment, socially deviant behavior, and increasing impersonality of relations. Institutionalized tourism seems to develop a life of its own, with outsiders playing a major role. Institutionalized tourism has the same effect on destination areas irrespective of the stage of tourism development at which the destination area may be, and independent of the degree of cultural differences that may exist between tourist and host. Institutionalized tourism, therefore, is a qualitative, not merely a quantitative, change in the type of tourism. There is an extreme paucity of literature on the non-institutionalized tourist today, a gap that deserves to be closed.

8.06. It should be emphasized that where surveys of host populations have been conducted, most of the interviewees have expressed the view that tourism is desirable and desire more tourism. This is the case even when, on occasion, resentment has been expressed. This resentment is generally directed not so much at the tourist per se, but at the type of tourism. More often, it is an expression of frustration usually found at the institutionalized stage of tourism. At this stage, the host population participates in tourism as agents of decision-makers beyond local control who act without local consultation. The tourist, ever more distant, appears to be treated with greater favor than local residents; the local resident is often deprived of physical resources that he believes he is entitled to use; there is increasing competition for the goods he consumes and the employment he considers himself entitled to; the monetary rewards
slip out of local hands. 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 mass production, through economies of scale, and the substitution of achievement for ascription as a test of status. Although there is evidence that the greater economic opportunities that tourism brings does contribute to this egalitarianism, the evidence is not adequate.

8.07. What is more important, is the necessity for gathering evidence of the way in which tourism affects social structure as a result of changes in income distribution, and new opportunities that may result from it. Apparently few sociologists have ventured into this field. We also have little data about the impact of migration to the destination area on social patterns. Data on these two areas would usefully supplement hypotheses, presently untested, about the effect of tourism on social strata and occupational mobility.

8.08. 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 the immediately preceding chapter are hypotheses, in the nature of "hunches", based on the evaluation of the evidence contained in the literature. It has been postulated that there are three crucial elements which allow for balanced growth without radical changes in social structure, the possibility of social anomie,
and loss of local control (giving rise almost inevitably to resentment). They are: (i) organisational flexibility and differentiation; (ii) duality of purpose in events and activities -- so that tourism supplements, and also that each has meanings independent of the other; and (iii) planning with the affected people combined with consistent execution. The first element could be translated as "level of development", but what is implied here is not so much the level of economic development as the skills, and organisations expressing those skills, that are prevalent in the destination area. It is not, then, a question of whether the destination area is on an island or on a continent. The further growth of tourism would then be planned to develop consistently with the three elements. It would be desirable if these hypotheses were tested.

8.09. The preceding paragraph raises three interrelated questions: planning, linkages, and education. While it is generally accepted that the most effective plans are plans with, not for, people, there are remarkably few instances where this has occurred. There is an excellent example of what can happen where there is no planning and economic forces are left to work out without restraints: Mykonos. Of this island it has been said that it was "a sacrificial lamb to tourism". Tourism was permitted unfettered growth here, while restrictions were placed on tourism in other islands. Planning may be more

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1/ I am indebted to Basil Assimakopoulos for this apt phrase.
2/ Loukissas, commenting on Mykonos, said that when other Greek islands had alternatives other than tourism, they chose other alternatives for economic development.
difficult and time-consuming with economically underdeveloped societies, but it is not impossible. Plans tend too often only to determine the number of tourists desired, rarely do they define what kind of tourist and what kind of tourism a country needs and wants. Again, few plans directly link the development of other sectors -- education, land use patterns, and agriculture are the most important -- with tourism development. While the goals of most countries usually refer to increasing equitable distribution, raising living standards, providing for disadvantaged sections of the people, these goals are rarely effectuated in tourism plans. In effect, the benefits of tourism (usually expressed in terms of foreign exchange earnings) can only indirectly effect economic and social development. It would be desirable if sociologists, like economists, examine more often and with care, the relationship between expressed goals, and their social impact: who is benefitted, why, to what extent, what social changes occur.

8.10. Finally, a note on the definition of a "tourist". Some advance has now been made with Cohen's (1974) article. It is a first step. But it would seem that any operational definition of this species must take into account both the objective elements and the subjective perceptions of the host population. Undoubtedly, the term would have to be flexible, and would also change but it would appear for the time being to include three elements: (i) tourism is not the normal, everyday avocation of the person called a "tourist"; (ii) it is a journey undertaken for a variety of reasons -- "pleasure". Cohen's description of the purpose of the journey, appears to be both...
narrow and hedonistic; and (iii) some criticism could be levelled at the emphasis on distance ("a relatively long... "). It would seem that as long as the visitor stays temporarily, uses local resources, and is treated as an "outsider" by the host population on most occasions he would be classed as a "tourist" -- one is not dealing with cases, obviously, of invading armies or resident foreigners.

B. Topics for further investigation

8.11. This part briefly outlines some topics which are believed to be deserving of further study:

(1) Diachronic studies of tourism development: With few exceptions (Moore, 1970; Fraser, 1975; Packer, 1974) most studies do not analyze tourism development over time. Both Moore's (1970) and Bobineau's (n.d.) articles are too brief. Greenwood (1970, 1972, 1974, 1976) has attempted some long-range analysis. This suffers, however, from the fact that admittedly his data on tourism are extrapolated, and that he did not investigate the fishermens' quarter in Fuenterrabia where most of the tourists reside. Sociologists who often return to the area of original study could profitably use notes to analyze changes in tourism over a period of years (see Smith, 1974).

(11) A comparative study of the impact of tourism and another sector (for example, industry). The difficulties facing the researcher would mainly reside in the choice of an area with the same level of economic development and similar cultural background. But this would be an extremely useful study, if it could be carried out. Mexico is probably the most fruitful country for this purpose.
Turkey and Yugoslavia could also be considered.

(iii) Comparative studies of the impact of tourism on destination areas where there is organisational differentiation and/or tourism merely independent meanings for tourist and host. Supplements everyday activities which have./ This is mainly to test the hypotheses referred to in paras. 7.14-7.20, and 8.09 above.

(iv) The impact of tourism on emigration and immigration;

(v) The development of social indicators.

(vi) Analyses of mechanisms of distribution of tourism incomes, with particular reference to changes in social structure, patterns of health and nutrition, and changes in life styles.

(vii) Studies of non-institutionalized tourists. Comparison between non-institutionalized and institutionalized tourists.

(viii) Comparative studies of the differential impact of types of tourists on destination areas.

(ix) The impact of tourism on traditional land-use and marine exploitation patterns.

(x) The role of the culture broker. Changing status with the development of tourism through the various stages. Role formalization.

C. The role of the Bank in tourism

8.12. To date, the inclusion of the social aspects of tourism in Bank tourism projects has been intermittent. This has been mainly
due to the absence of a defined methodology for inclusion of the social aspects in Bank projects. The literature of sociology is replete with theorizing, but there is no 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.

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

8.14. 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. 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.

8.15. 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, organisational, 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) The organisational profile of 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 organisations where necessary, and strengthening existing organisations).

(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, 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.

(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. It is in this regard that the Bank has a vital role to play: In the assistance in 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; the assistance in creation of organisations 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.

8.16. Projects, the second major area of the Tourism Projects Department's work, generally goes 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: (1) 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. (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 organisations exist in the destination area. How effective are these. How can these traditional organisations be linked with project organisations. (x) What is the local value-profile. Is ranking of values possible. 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 provide for persons who migrate in search of employment. If not, what other 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.

8.17. Sociologists can assist in answering all the questions -- except, possibly, for (iii) which can only be partially answered. 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.

8.18. 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 prognostications at appraisal have been validated; (ii) the effectiveness of the organisations 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 tourism. It is here that the Bank, and other international organisations, 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 organisations capable of managing tourism. Then, it is likely that economic growth will be combined with the realization of the ideals of tourism: the exchange of ideas, and the spread of understanding between peoples.