

# The Theory and Management of Tourism Impacts

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*Better information on tourism impacts now exists to evolve a theory of development effects and some philosophy of management. This paper is an attempt to review some of the findings related to tourism development effects and suggest a modified dependency theory and to outline a philosophy of management which may be consistent with both theory and experience.*

When Columbus landed on the shores of the Bahamas, he had not been required to submit an environmental impact statement to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, citing the "unavoidable" or "unintended" consequences of his journey. Those consequences have been tremendous by any account and, as the first white tourist on this continent, his trip could not be construed as contributing to a peaceful world. As my Indian friend says, "We just had a lousy immigration policy; you give them an inch and they take a continent".

In this era of growing population and shrinking resources, greater efforts are being made to anticipate changes in society and to deal with their consequences. A plethora of laws and regulations are on the books to assist this effort. First World nations such as the U.S., Canada, New Zealand, Australia and others have passed a number of laws in recent years designed to improve the protection of environmental, social and cultural resources while fostering continued economic development. Apart from legal requirements, it has become common, even in the Third World, to perform social, political and economic feasibility studies for contemplated development projects. Most international development organizations conduct research to anticipate the effects of their activities (Horowitz 1988). The Agency for International Development (A.I.D.), in the U.S., for example, is required to develop a "social soundness analysis" as a guideline for projects in which the goals are to be full participation of expected beneficiaries and an equitable distribution of project benefits.

In short, development projects are receiving greater scrutiny than ever before and a greater body of research information has been a result. Both a theory of development effects and a philosophy of management

can be derived from such a body of knowledge. Some of this knowledge can be generalized from research on development projects in general—tourism, after all, is only one type of development among many. And some of this knowledge can be derived directly from studies of tourism development, since social scientists have been engaged in tourism research now for well over twenty years.

In this paper, I want first to review some general findings related to the effects of tourism development. Second, to review the prevalent theory related to tourism effects; third, on the basis of case examples, to suggest a modified dependency theory to account for many of the observed effects; and lastly, to outline a philosophy of management which is consistent with both theory and experience.

Part of the effort then will be to bridge somewhat the theoretical and the applied aspects of the research process. The difficulty in doing so is only offset by the importance of the effort, as I shall hope to show. It remains true today that much of the research performed by practising social scientists related to development projects goes unreported, for a number of different reasons. It is also the case that much of this research is atheoretical, or at least only implicitly theoretical, and so the benefits of generalizing across cases remain unrealized. The oft-repeated argument in favour of bridging basic and applied research has merit here: a theory refined through field testing can inform future research and can inform policy.

## Generally-Reported Effects of Tourism Development

Much of the literature which focuses on social and economic effects of tourism development revolves around debate as to the positive and negative effects of

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tourism (Nash 1981). The positive effects are commonly reported to be increased total income for the local economy, foreign exchange earnings for the nation hosting the guests, direct and indirect employment generation, and the stimulation of secondary economic growth (deKadt 1979, OECD 1986). Social benefits include the educational, scientific and aesthetic advantages of cross-cultural contact. McKean (1977), Boissovain (1977) and others report that tourism has served as a means of cultural revitalization as dying customs were rejuvenated for tourists, leading to increased cultural pride.

More often in the literature, it has been asserted that tourism development produces conditions of net negative effects at the local level. Economic dislocation and social tension, in one form or another, are frequently reported. Some research indicates that the industry tends to get taken over by outsiders when tourism receipts pass certain thresholds, draining capital away from a local area (Evans 1979). Some researchers have proposed stages of development, from discovery to take-over by outsiders, to describe this process, implying an inevitability to the process and a gradual loss of control and of economic benefits by local residents (Noronha 1977, Cowan 1987). The bulk of employment is mental, seasonal and low-paying (Britton 1982, Perez 1973). The major Oregon newspaper reports that "The American Dream" is fading for state residents as the economic shift continues from timber to tourism. Low-paying jobs and the necessity of multiple income-earners per family are two results (*The Oregonian* 5/29/88). In high poverty areas, tourism has been accused of draining away critical resources in favour of tourism infrastructure such as airports and roads. Wealth differences and class stratification are said to be promoted in a tourism-based economy.

Moreover, critics of tourism development point to the high import content of tourism expenditures—construction materials, furnishings, supplies, food and even workers are sometimes imported into the area. This is the commonly-reported "leakage" effect which results in lower foreign exchange earnings than is commonly reported (deKadt 1979, O'Grady 1982). Three of the better-known regional studies, those of Wood (1979), Perez (1975) and Bryden (1973), support these general conclusions.

Most studies of economic diversification related to tourism have made the case that natural resource economies (agriculture, timber, fishing) have been difficult to sustain in the face of tourism development (Bryden 1973, Farrell 1982, Pi-Sunyer 1973, Renaud 1972, deVries 1981), although significantly, most of these are island economies. Some studies, however, have indicated that tourism has stimulated local economic development and achieved a number of linkages with other

sectors (Greenwood 1972, Lin and Sung 1984, Loukissas 1982).

Socially and culturally, it has often been reported that, rather than act as a "Vital force for peace", tourism has often been the source of social tensions (Pi-Sunyer 1973). A "cultural zoo" effect is experienced in which local customs become reified and divorced from social meaning (Greenwood 1977). Displacement and other social problems are created (Britton 1983, Smith 1977, Gallagos and Preister 1981, Preister 1987, Urbanowicz 1977). Dependent and neo-colonial relationships are accentuated in some Third World areas where local residents derive few of the benefits from tourism, they have little control over the type and rate of development and so experience whatever negative effects are generated, and they experience the social tensions related to the wealth disparities between themselves and tourists (deVries 1981, Shivji 1975).

### Theoretical Treatment of Tourism Effects

Nash (1981) asserts that the "endless debate" as to positive and negative effects has not been productive and argues that it would be more scientific to view tourism as one factor of many in the maintenance and change of a society. He does not believe that researchers have been successful in developing a theory of tourism. Briefly, our theories have either been too global or too local, too macro or, too micro. Generally, the argument is made that the many global forces operating to produce "the tourist" as a mass phenomenon are difficult to incorporate into a single research paradigm.

At the macro level, tourism is said to be created by greater surplus income in the First World along with improved transportation technology and so on (OECD 1986). Dependency theory, to be addressed below, is also a global theory, stressing the workings of capitalism in explaining the economic and political motivation for tourism, as well as in explaining the resulting outcomes at the local level.

At the micro level, Smith (1977) has produced a typology of different types of tourism (ethnic, cultural, historical, environmental and recreational), and MacCannel (1976) attributes the presence of mass tourism to the search for "authenticity" by rootless moderns, but these theories have to do with individual motivation. The economic and systemic implications of these perspectives have yet to be developed.

Dependency theory has had the advantage of addressing both causes and effects of tourism development and has had the most success in accounting for effects. Yet two great weaknesses, the lack of local level refinement and the failure to address social and political relations as they influence development outcomes, have limited its utility. The argument is made below that modifi-

ications for future research would improve its explanatory potential.

Capitalist development is often treated theoretically by way of a political economy approach. The general notion is that political and economic activities are inextricably intertwined in a manner which drives social change. The dominant classes are thus dominant, not only because of access to and control of important sectors of economic activity, but because they can exert greater influence in the political institutions as well, including those which can promote their ideological "rationale" to the masses (for example, Reiter 1977). As a type of political economy analysis, dependency theory has been used most frequently in accounting for the negative effects of tourism. It is in fact the explicit framework used in the regional studies by Perez (1973, 1975) and Wood (1979). Dependency theorists maintain that capitalist ties between First World, core nations and Third World, peripheral nations, create under development in the latter.

On an empirical level, there are four ways in which the condition of dependency could be demonstrated in reference to tourism: 1) the surplus value is drained from the local area to core nations in the form of unequal exchange; 2) to the extent that tourism development relies on national and international markets, it represents an economic sector dependent on extra-local forces; 3) tourism may develop in such a way as to restrict managerial and business opportunities of local residents, either those directly associated with the development, or those secondary business opportunities generated by it; and, 4) tourism may reduce existing ownership and employment options because of conflict between these sectors and the tourist sector.

The first condition, the drain of surplus, is one of the central tenets of dependency and is reported in a number of cases. Wood (1979) investigated tourism in Southeast Asia and noted that 15 of the 33 countries listed as underdeveloped by the World Tourism Organization had a negative tourism balance; that is, government expenditures for the tourist industry exceeded tourist receipts. Similarly, Perez (1975) identified the American firms which received governmental contracts in the Caribbean for the construction of expensive infrastructure for the tourism industry; in a pattern characteristic of classic "enclave" economies, little economic activity locally was stimulated through this spending. Nonetheless, these figures do not account for local benefits that may be derived from such government spending, for instance, improved road and transportation systems. In addition, such synchronic evidence misses the point that the costs and benefits of tourism development will be experienced differently throughout the life cycle of a project. Among other examples, tourism development in Kenya was in the exclusive

control of expatriates, but over a ten year period, although they remained in control of international hotels, Africans increasingly controlled tour operations (Leys 1975). In short, although the drain of surplus may be important for national governments, it does not necessarily reflect what is happening in a local area.

The second possible condition of dependency, that on non-local economic forces, is dismissed since it is a condition of all non-subsistence economies. That is, dependence on extra-local resources and markets characterizes most economic activity in the world system and so does not distinguish tourism from other forms of economic activity.

The third and fourth possible conditions of dependency deal with possible restrictions on local control of the new touristic development, of its spin-off potential, and of the economic activity which existed prior to the tourism development. Let us examine some cases in which these dynamics have operated.

Because of the great success of the Vail Ski Area in Colorado from its inception in 1962, corporate management sought to expand its facilities in the early seventies. The nearby area with the best recreation potential would have involved the elimination of one town, Minturn, and the creation of significant impacts in two others, Gilman and Redcliff. These were Hispanic communities of descendants who had migrated with the railroads from northern New Mexico in the 1890's. Railroads, mining, some timber, and modest agriculture characterized the traditional economy prior to the opening of the resort. With the decline of these sectors, tourism was touted as the wave of the future, yet not many benefits were accruing to local residents. They had no training; education had not been a strong value in the past, and so they were not receiving the jobs. Their communities were undergoing much pressure from new residents and visitors. They experienced housing shortages, attributed to "hippies with their VW's and their dogs". Their recreation facilities were overcrowded with out-of-towners and fist fights and other forms of conflict were reported.

There were major cultural differences between groups of people. Hispanic settlement patterns were such that children would often put mobile homes next to the homes of their parents; this strategy enabled families to stay together even with modest incomes. Tourists and new residents tended to disparage these homes as ghetto-like, yet local cultural values stressed renovation on the inside which made sense given the severe winters. Local residents recreated in a dispersed fashion (hunting, cross-country skiing, fishing) which was of low cost and organization. Newcomers wore flashy clothing, and recreated in an organized, high cost way (downhill skiing).

How were the economic sectors affected by this upsurge in tourism? Railroading had been in decline since the fifties with the exception of a few workers and a large number of retirees. Mining early in this period supported much of the population, but by 1975 the Gilman mine had closed and 300 jobs were lost. These people were generally interested in the tourist sector but uninformed as to how to become involved; their disenfranchisement became increasingly obvious as their communities experienced many of the negative impacts but few of the benefits. Miners and their families gradually became the block of the "no growth, no tourism" sentiment that was developing.

Timber people complained increasingly about the difficulty conducting business with the numbers of visitors to the area. Visitors tended to have strong environmental values; they abhorred clear-cutting and made their views known; they bought vacation homes along logging roads and then complained about logging trucks coming by. As the economic weight of the county shifted to tourism, these views were responded to by local and federal officials. More restrictions resulted. Timber receipts declined. The last mill in the county closed in 1981. Undoubtedly, market factors played a significant role in the decline of timber—the quality of the timber was not competitive with that of other areas; increasing regulations at the federal level (U.S. Forest Service) made the smaller mills less competitive; and timber demand was down because of the recession. Yet the role of social tensions between these two sectors also clearly influenced the "development outcome".

Similarly, ranchers complained of the "hassle factor" in doing business. Visitors would tear down fences or leave gates unlatched. The volumes of people precluded traditional cattle drives through the valley, forcing a shift to trucking. The cost of living increases associated with tourism reduced the "margin of safety" for this group and higher land prices added incentives to sell and move on.

These sectors were affected not only in the immediate area but "down valley" as well, in the Lower Eagle Valley, some thirty miles from Vail. Communities in this area gradually have become bedroom communities for Vail. The lower cost of living and the warmer climate attracted the workers from Vail and eased the housing shortage there. At the same time, people in these communities talked about the increasing transiency in the population. Stability was reduced from former years since people did not stay long. Teacher turnover was 25% some years; business owners discussed the high cost of new employee training. Senior citizens and young families found it increasingly difficult to stay in the communities and migrated elsewhere. The informal caretaking, of which people were

so proud, gradually was being replaced by reliance on formal services, such as health, child-care, and home repair (Gallegos and Preister 1980, 1981, Preister 1987).

The plans by Vail to expand into the Upper Eagle Valley galvanized local communities. At first informally, and later formally, people began to organize in order to respond to these changes. Community organizers were called in, negotiations were begun with Vail Associates and with various local and federal officials, and national foundations were petitioned for financial support. Over a nine year period, some of the results are the following. Vail Associates decided not to expand into the Upper Eagle Valley (the town of Minturn) and chose a down-valley site near Avon. This development, the Beaver Creek Ski Area, was approved in 1976 and was opened in 1983. Its approval contained the first social mitigations in the nation linked to a Forest Service Special Use Permit. It required Vail Associates to construct employee housing and recreation facilities to ease demand in Minturn and elsewhere. A foundation supported a Career Conversion Programme which resulted in the creation of 18 minority businesses, some of which have become highly successful. In addition, a commitment to hire locally has meant more local jobs. Finally, a financial package was developed to purchase the land at the mouth of the Upper Eagle Valley and to deed it to the Forest Service. This land was thus protected from development, assured development along the freeway corridor and away from Minturn, Gilman and Redcliff, serving as a buffer to protect the three towns from development.

Three components are generally recognized in assessing a local economy: scale, structure and distribution. Scale refers to the amount of economic activity, and growth of overall activity, of course, is often the goal of development projects. Structure involves the number of economic sectors and their relationships. A diversified structure is typically fostered in policy formulations, since the economy is less susceptible to downturns in any one sector and local people have a number of options through which they can meet their goals. A diversified economic structure also has a synergistic effect, measured typically with so-called multipliers, because the turnover of dollars in the economy is strengthened when local purchases are maximized. Finally, an economy is assessed by its distribution: who benefits and who pays with development? Are these groups made vulnerable or put at risk with development?

The moral of the Minturn story is this: the scale of economic activity overall greatly increased and could be expected to contribute significantly to local quality of life. The changing structure of the economy was not given much attention by policy-makers and the

described social conflicts between different groups were real and contributed, at least in part, to the decline in some sectors. The economic distribution was miserable and were it not for the organizing potential of affected people and the availability of political mechanisms for redressing grievances, the outcome would have been very different.

One has only to review some of the many cases of social conflict in touristic areas to realize that conflict can reach the point where tourism is not possible. Witness the deaths of *haoles* (whites) in Hawaii where tensions related to tourism development have been endemic. Palmer (1977) reports similar occurrences on the Caribbean side of Costa Rica, while Andreatta and Whiteford (1986) describe an area on the Atlantic side where residents are forbidden to sell private property or to repair their homes in preparation for expropriation which keeps getting delayed.

In Mexico, the historic conflict between national development and the aspirations of native peoples has also characterized tourism development. The newest site slated for tourism development by the government, Santa Cruz Huautuco, is not viewed favourably by local residents who fear their interests will not be addressed and that they will lose fishing rights (Veronica Long, personal communication, 1988). As one resident states: "It isn't fair that we, the owners of this land, should have to become maids and waiters to survive" (Ross 1988 : 2). Particularly for the tourist industry, one could argue that a harmonious social environment is important for success.

The story of Minturn and the Upper Eagle Valley is not well documented (Kent and Bailey 1973), and yet it represents a true success story of tourism development. Another example is Hermans' research in Cambrils, Spain along the Mediterranean coast (1981). She shows that during a seventeen year period, the proportion of agricultural and fishing employment dropped significantly while building and services employment correspondingly rose: the amount of land under cultivation decreased over 30%. Hermans shows how, despite these figures, tourism stimulated the modernization and revitalization of the agricultural sector. For a number of historical reasons, nearly all farmers owned small pieces of coastal land which distributed fairly evenly the income generated from land sales to tourist developers. Farmers invested this capital and increased the productivity of their lands, switching to new crops and spreading out their labour more evenly. Although direct employment in tourism was incompatible with agricultural labour schedules, opportunities for indirect employment were utilized by farmers (as restaurateurs, shopkeepers, artisans), and especially by the adult children of farmers. The net result has been that farming employment in total numbers has not

declined much, a number of important linkages between these sectors has been developed, and generational continuity, a social goal of farmers, was sustained.

Hermans' case represents an integrated economy. Not only has the overall scale of economic activity been increased, but the structure of the economy has become more diversified with strong linkages between sectors. And there appears to be a fairly even distribution of benefits from tourism development.

### A Theoretical Critique and Refinement

In light of our growing body of knowledge about tourism development, dependency theory as it has been applied to such development must be critiqued and revised. The major critique which may be made is that dependency has been too global to apply at the local or regional level. This limitation has been demonstrated powerfully for Western Guatemala by C. Smith (1983) in a different development context, and it holds in the present analysis as well. The Colorado and Spanish examples reveal the importance of the third and fourth conditions of dependency. Existing economic activity was affected by new development, negatively in Colorado, positively in Spain, while new opportunities, both direct and secondary, were utilized by local groups with varying degrees of success. The examples, and the numerous other cases in which positive and negative effects are debated, clearly indicate there is nothing inevitable about the course of tourism development.

The lack of local level refinement has led to serious problems in the application of dependency theory to tourism research. It has led to an overgeneralization of tourism effects. As an extreme example, Lea (1983) analyzes tourism development in Papua, New Guinea and concludes that negative effects overwhelmingly outweigh the modest positive effects. However, from this case, and from a dependency standpoint, he proceeds to generalize about all tourism in the Third World without specifying the conditions under which the outcome might be different. Wood (1979) also is too global with his generalizations since government spending and policies vary significantly between nations.

Dependency theory has also been criticized for its operational reliance on economic data from which social and political relations are indirectly derived. In empirical studies, class and political relations are understressed or treated passively (Brenner 1977). Both Perez and Wood use econometric indices and the assumptions of dependency theory to draw their negative conclusions; social actors are difficult to find. Wood (1979) does point out that local ruling classes in Southeast Asia often take advantage of the speculative real-estate market which is fueled by tourism and that they have greater access to state capital which is made available

to promote the tourist trade. Wood's observations, however, do not go far enough in revealing the complexity of the social processes at work behind the statistics. Locally-affected people are not shaped passively by outside forces but react as well, at times even changing the conditions of the larger system; and it is not just elites who are capable of such action but the lower classes as well (C. Smith 1985, Davis 1986). The examples described here justify such caution in regard to tourism studies.

It seems more compelling to ask what the conditions are under which the outcomes of tourism development will be positive or negative. What factors will determine whether or not local residents are able to take advantage of new opportunities presented by tourism? What factors will determine if local residents are able to maintain their existing economic activities in the context of expanding tourism?

A refined dependency theory must include an assumption that there are two levels of causation in determining the outcome of tourism development, the structural level and the level of social and political relations. An often-reported structural variable is the type and rate of development. We know that with rapid growth, social systems such as informal caretaking begin to break down, formal governmental services begin to lag, and more opportunities go to outsiders. If tourism development is highly centralized, the results are different than if development is dispersed, so the *type* of development is important, and so on.

Another structural variable is the distribution of the factors of production. If some local groups are already in control of the bulk of economic activity and some groups are impoverished, tourism imposed on this social order is likely to exacerbate it (deVries 1981), while the presence of a strong middle class might indicate that opportunities would be more evenly distributed.

The structural variables are the cards, so to speak, that people are dealt. Within these constraints, individuals and social groups operate to meet their own interests and influence the outcome of development, historically up to and including the time of the research. The development outcome, then, is a *negotiated process* between social actors, a process negotiated from different positions of power to be sure, but one whose outcome cannot be assumed *a priori*.

Here is the way I see the process working. People in a natural resource economy (fishing, logging, agriculture) live in a rural setting with which they are linked by family and ethnic history and to which they have a commitment. Ethnographic description will reveal their daily routines, the manner in which they make a living, how they communicate and how prob-

lems are resolved; in short, their social and political relations can be assessed. Continued economic activity is dependent on a number of formal, political functions like the legal and regulatory structure, and the provisioning of certain inputs through government service agencies and so on. Also, informal support services based on reciprocity between local people are important in maintaining economic activity. The use of family labour and labour exchanges in agriculture are familiar examples. Informal child care in conditions of wage employment is another.

Changes are handled within this "social infrastructure". Shifting resource use, changing market conditions, and demographic shifts are some changes with which local people have to contend. With the emergence and development of tourism, a new and unique set of changes is introduced. People at first talk with others about the changes, reflecting their attitudes and general concerns. If change is persistent enough, some kind of action will be taken.

It may be that for agriculturalists and loggers, as in the Colorado example, the number of new people and visitors make the maintenance of their traditional economic activity more difficult. Fishing people may face increasingly restricted beach access in the case of coastal resort development. Cost of living increases associated with tourism may reach such a point that young people and senior citizens cannot afford to live in the local area; rising land prices may prohibit cost-effective farming operations.

People attempt to resolve such conflicts through their social and political relations which may be horizontal (local networks) or vertical (extra-local), formal (political parties) or informal (patron-client). If they are successful, they will be able to maintain the existing economic sectors and to take advantage of new opportunities presented by tourism: if they are not successful, the loss of an economic sector may result, displacement from the area may result, or an impoverished group may develop, disenfranchised from the benefits of tourism development.

Research methods must include both levels of analysis, the structural, global variables, as well as local social and political relations. Rather than assuming, as a dependency theorist might, that impoverishment is an inevitable condition of tourism development, a refined approach would be to assess the various structural variables and then to develop hypotheses on the basis of social and political relations. Some hypotheses which might be derived from this discussion are these:

1. Individuals of groups which are better organized and which have more ties to government officials will report more success in dealing with changes created by tourism.

2. If people do not have, or cannot develop, the social and political relations to resolve conflict generated by tourism, the economic sectors they represent are likely to decline.
3. If local elites have more intimate social ties with outsiders than with locals (as in Goldschmidt 1973), local non-elites will have more difficulty in resolving conflict since their social and political relations will be attenuated.
4. The more that local capital is used in tourism development, the more diverse will be the economic structure, since owners of local capital will have a stake in the continued vitality of existing sectors.
5. If the rate of population growth, no matter the source, exceeds 3% over a five year time period, new entrepreneurial opportunities will go to outsiders.

### **Towards a Philosophy of Management**

The theory and management of tourism impacts are inextricably intertwined. Theory would tell us that global forces operate to influence local events, and that local residents, in turn, organize in different ways to respond to the influence and achieve goals of their own. The results of this interaction are known as "the effects of tourism". A modified dependency theory indicates the key variables by which to observe and measure this interaction.

Policy formulated to promote tourism and to address its impacts should be directed not only to the scale of the new development but to the structure and distribution of the economy as well. Concern with structure would lead to policies designed to strengthen linkages between sectors (Hirschman 1977). Studies have consistently shown, for example, that the tourist sector does not purchase local agricultural commodities (Bryden 1973, Britton 1983). Similarly, light industry being encouraged in a touristic area could be related to tourism, such as the manufacture of recreation clothing. At the same time, effort could be made to

protect existing economic activity by anticipating and managing conflict which may emerge between sectors. Such conflict could be related to real competition over the factors of production (land, labour, capital) or it could be social in nature, reflecting differences in values and lifestyles.

With regard to distribution, policy could be directed to insuring local participation in tourism. One of the most important findings from development anthropology, and one supported in this analysis, is the "necessity of involving local populations in the planning, design, implementation, and evaluation of development activities intended for their benefit" (Horowitz 1983 : 2). The training of local residents to recognize and utilize new opportunities created by tourism development would be an obvious way to proceed. Such programmes have been implemented elsewhere at low cost and with good results. Tourism impacts are created when change cannot be managed. If local residents begin to feel that they are not able to predict, participate in, and control the changes in their environment, that is, if they are unempowered, the costs of development go up. These costs might be realized in welfare expenditures for disenfranchised groups, social tensions related to an impoverished group near tourism development, absenteeism and employee turnover, and sabotage.

Socially-responsive development is important to the publicity-sensitive tourism industry. It costs less to include people and to incorporate their interests into project planning. Experience indicates that early and direct contact with affected people is necessary to avoid disruption and surprise. Bureaucrats, government officials and corporate personnel are generally not trained in describing a community and discovering communication patterns, gathering places and informal leaders. Such a knowledge base permits strategies for managing impacts to be practical, culturally appropriate and politically feasible. These skills, rather, are those of trained anthropologists or community organizers and could be utilized by managers with a commitment to public involvement.

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