



HOST PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIOCULTURAL IMPACTS

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Abstract: This paper investigates community perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism and examines the extent to which they coincide with their classifications made by academic writers. A literature review revealed a range of sociocultural impacts related to tourism development, the tourist–host interaction, and resulting influences. A resident survey was undertaken which showed that perceived impacts reported by informants coincided with the majority of those identified in the literature. This suggested that the general analyses of the sociocultural impacts of tourism could be applied to the perceptions of residents of a small British coastal tourist resort. **Keywords:** Sociocultural impact, tourist–host interaction, qualitative community research. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

Résumé: Perceptions par la communauté d'accueil des impacts socioculturels. Le présent article examine des perceptions par la communauté d'accueil des impacts socioculturels du tourisme en comparant ces perceptions aux classifications qui ont été dressées par des auteurs académiques. Un bilan de la documentation a révélé une série d'impacts socioculturels touchant au développement du tourisme, à l'interaction entre touriste et lieu d'accueil et aux influences qui en résultent. On a entrepris une enquête des habitants, ce qui a montré que les perceptions des informateurs coïncident avec la majorité des perceptions identifiées dans la documentation. Ceci suggère que les analyses générales des impacts socioculturels du tourisme pourraient être appliquées aux perceptions des habitants d'une petite station touristique côtière britannique. **Mots-clés:** impact socioculturel, interaction touriste–habitant, recherche communautaire qualitative. © 1999 Elsevier Science Ltd. All rights reserved.

INTRODUCTION

Communities in many rural, coastal, and urban destinations in Britain are affected somewhat by tourism. Its sociocultural effects in these areas, however, are less well documented, as much of the academic literature concentrates on the impacts in developing countries, or else evaluates them at a more general level. This is despite the fact that, as Krippendorf (1987) argues, the social effects are so significant that they should be studied before anything

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else. Mathieson and Wall (1982) point out that although many studies make passing reference to the existence of social impacts, both positive and negative, most cast little light on their nature or the means for their investigation. They argue that research should be directed more explicitly at determining the perceptions and attitudes of the host population towards the presence and behavior of tourists; and unless local inhabitants are contacted, it may not be possible to identify the real significance of any change.

Sharpley (1994) points out that a considerable amount of research has been undertaken into the desires, motivation, and behavior of tourists in relation to their impact on host societies and Krippendorf (1987) also notes that the psychology and sociology of tourism have so far been largely concerned with the tourists' views and behavior. More recently, however, numerous studies have focused on residents' attitudes, tourists, and tourism development (Ap and Crompton 1993; Hernandez, Cohen and Garcia 1996; Johnson, Snepenger and Akis 1994; Lankford 1994; Lankford and Howard 1994; Lankford, Williams and Knowles-Lankford 1997; Lea, Kemp and Willetts 1994; McCool and Martin 1994; Schroeder 1996; Ross 1992; Ryan and Montgomery 1994).

Murphy (1985) defines tourism as a sociocultural event for both the guest and host. He suggests that more emphasis has been placed on the convenience of tourists, and any local disillusionment with the industry has been given less of a priority. Nevertheless, destinations have been inconvenienced by congestion and debased by certain staged events and attractions, and there is also growing concern over the acculturation process of tourism. Murphy argued, that "if tourism is to merit its pseudonym of being 'the hospitality industry', it must look beyond its own doors and employees to consider the social and cultural impacts it is having on the host community at large" (1985:133).

From a resource management point of view, social and cultural impacts of tourism should be considered throughout the planning process and in an environmental impact assessment procedure, so that benefits are optimized and problems minimized. An important general planning policy to reinforce positive and mitigate negative impacts is the involvement of communities so that residents understand tourism, have participated in its decision making, and receive benefits from the industry (Kavallinis and Pizam 1994; McIntyre, Hetherington and Inskip 1993). Likewise, Ap (1992) and Lankford (1994) point out that the perceptions and attitudes of residents towards the impacts of tourism are likely to be an important planning and policy consideration for the successful development, marketing, and operation of existing and future programs and projects. Therefore, the case study reported in this paper also has implications in terms of planning for tourism development and managing resources in rural and coastal locations.

Literature in this field acknowledges that from a social and cultural perspective, the rapid expansion of tourism in the latter half of the 20th century is important in two respects. First, within indi-

vidual destination areas or countries, its development has led to changes in the structure of society. Some of these may be welcome: improving income, education, employment opportunities, and local infrastructure and services (Lankford 1994; McCool and Martin 1994; Ross 1992). Others may be less welcome: social and family values challenged, new economically powerful groups emerging, and cultural practices adapted to suit the needs of tourists (Ap and Crompton 1993; Johnson, Snepenger and Akis 1994). Second, because "tourism is unique as an export industry in that consumers themselves travel to collect the goods" (Crick 1989:310) the expansion of international tourism has increased the contact among different societies and cultures. To some, this interaction threatens to destroy traditional cultures and societies and to others it represents an opportunity for peace, understanding and greater knowledge among different societies and nations. Such social impacts can be described as those which have a more immediate effect on both tourists and host communities in terms of their quality of life (Sharpley 1994). As Mathieson and Wall (1982) suggest, these

Table 1. Key Social Impacts of Tourism Development

Writer(s)	Issue/Impact
Mathieson and Wall (1982)	Tourism modifies the internal structure of the community, dividing it into those who have/have not a relationship with tourism/tourists.
Krippendorff (1987)	Tourism has colonialist characteristics robbing local populations of autonomous decision-making.
Allen et al (1988)	Lower/moderate levels of tourism development are more likely to be beneficial.
Crompton and Sanderson (1990)	Employment in tourism demands flexible working patterns which is eroding gender segregation.
Urry (1991)	There are more opportunities for women in tourism, which provides many with a greater degree of economic independence.
Harrison (1992)	Tourism provides new opportunities and instigates social changes.
McKercher (1993)	Preference for investment in profit centres (e.g., swimming pools) rather than cost centres (e.g., sewage systems).
Sharpley (1994)	Employment opportunities and the presence of visitors lure younger people to areas of tourism development. Conversion in retail sector to souvenir outlets. Tourism improves quality of life through improvements to infrastructure.
Burns and Holden (1995)	Tourism provides socioeconomic benefits at one extreme and dependency and reinforcement of social discrepancies at the other extreme. Biggest problem is congestion/overcrowding. Pressure for change is politically intracultural initiated by entrepreneurs or politicians in response to community pressure.

impacts can change through time in response to structural changes in the industry, and the extent and duration of the exposure of the host population to tourist development. For instance, Allen, Long, Perdue and Kieselbach (1988) argue that residents' attitudes towards tourism may be directly related to the degree or stage of development.

On the other hand, cultural impacts are those which lead to a longer-term, gradual change in a society's values, beliefs, and cultural practices. To an extent, this is caused by the demand of tourists for instant culture and authentic souvenirs, and at the extreme may result in the situation whereby the host society becomes culturally dependent on the tourism generating country (Sharpley 1994). In other situations, however, local communities can be quite ambivalent towards its development (Johnson, Snepenger and Akis 1994), even when the pace of growth is rapid (Hernandez et al 1996). The degree to which sociocultural impacts influence or are experienced by host communities may depend on a number of fac-

Table 2. Key Social Impacts of Tourist–host Interaction

Writer(s)	Issue/Impact
Doxey (1975)	Irridex model: worsening cumulative effect of host attitudes toward tourists
de Kadt (1979)	Nature of contact with tourists can influence attitudes/behavior/values towards tourism
Mathieson and Wall (1982)	Tourism is a source of revenue for the church Perceived safety and security maybe affected
Pizam et al (1982)	Tourism is a potential determinant of crime
Murphy (1985)	The young locals are most susceptible to the demonstration effect caused by tourism Languages are learnt through the demonstration effect
Krippendorf (1987)	Real understanding/communication is seldom produced by tourist–host interaction
Ryan (1991)	Erosion of the local language/dialect
McKercher (1993)	There is always likely to be a certain degree of conflict due to incompatible demands of tourists and hosts
Sharpley (1994)	Tourism instigates social interaction within host community Tourism contributes to the preservation of religious and historic buildings Hosts adopt foreign languages through necessity Hosts develop stereotypical attitudes towards tourists
Burns and Holden (1995)	Commoditization of religion and resulting conflict Hosts develop coping behaviors and avoid contact with tourists wherever possible
McIntosh et al (1995)	Mixing socially is the most favorable situation Resentment is generated by the economic gaps arising between the host and tourist Local resentment is generated by inflated prices

tors, including the number and type of tourists, the nature of tourism development in the area, and the pace of development.

Many commentators suggest that tourism often contributes to social and cultural change rather than being the cause of such change. However, because the industry is highly visual it has often become the scapegoat for sociocultural change (Crick 1989). The dynamic character of all societies and cultures should thus not be overlooked and the potential influences must be considered against this background (Sharpley 1994). These influences can be grouped into tourism development, tourist–host interaction and culture, with each allowing for specific impacts. Tables 1, 2 and 3 summarize some of the most salient impacts. For each case, an author has been attributed, but it should be acknowledged that there is overlap within this part of the literature and no single impact is the “preserve” of a particular author. To relate these impacts to the host, this paper examines the perceived social and cultural impacts of tourism on a small British coastal resort. In addition, the paper aims to evaluate how the impacts found in the case study compare with the general analyses reported in the literature.

HOST PERCEPTIONS

Dawlish, a small seaside resort in South Devon, United Kingdom, was selected for this exploratory case study. The reason for this choice was that Dawlish represents the archetype of a small English seaside resort, similar in many respects to numerous other destinations long associated with the tourism industry.

The earliest record of tourism in this seaside resort is from 1778, when it was reported that Dawlish was entertaining sea bathers, drawn there by its newly acquired reputation as a small health destination. Along with Exmouth, Teignmouth, and Sidmouth, Dawlish was one of the first resorts to develop on the coastline of South

Table 3. Key Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Writer(s)	Issue/Impact
White (1974)	Hotel accommodation is a greater sociocultural threat
de Kadt (1979)	Arts, crafts and local culture can be revitalized
Collins (1978)	Hosts behavior can be transformed temporarily
Murphy (1985)	Attitude changes are an indication of acculturation
Cohen (1988)	There are assumed negative impacts of commoditization
Nunez (1989)	Acculturation process of the two cultures taking on aspects of each other likely to occur
Browne (1993)	Tourism destroys the traditional British culture
Sharpley (1994)	True culture adapts over time to the needs of tourism Meaning/authenticity are not necessarily lost Acculturation is linked to the nature of the encounters
Burns and Holden (1995)	Culture is seen as a commercial resource

Devon. In 1846 the South Devon Railway was opened as far as Dawlish and Teignmouth, and by 1859, 350 people were traveling on the Sunday morning train from Exeter to bathe at Dawlish. Along with the other South Devon resorts, Dawlish maintained a select, sedate character throughout the period up to 1900. By 1921 the town had two large hotels and numerous small summer bungalows had been constructed. Cheap tickets were available for railway excursions and motor buses in the local area. The accommodation stock was greatly increased in 1950 by the opening of a holiday camp and tourism was now seen as the central part of the local economy. This trend continued and reached a peak in the late 70s; since then the number of visitors to Dawlish, and many other similar seaside resorts, has declined. This shift has been due to a growing trend away from the traditional domestic seaside holiday and an increase in the propensity to go abroad.

Study Method

From an ontological perspective, an exploratory investigation into the host perceptions of the sociocultural impacts of tourism would require a qualitative survey, as opposed to a quantitative one which would yield limited information, admittedly though, about a larger number of people. As Yin (1993) points out, qualitative data can be represented by perceptual and attitudinal dimensions, and real-life events not readily converted to numerical values. Having opted for a qualitative approach, a qualitative non-schedule-structured indepth personal interview, as defined by Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1992), was chosen as the research methodology.

According to Krippendorf (1987) opinions about and expectations from tourism can be very different depending on which population or occupational groups are considered. On this basis it was felt that the sample chosen should take account of this perspective. Sampling for a qualitative survey requires a different mindset than for quantitative studies. This is difficult, as term sampling is often associated with a logic derived from general laws of statistics and probability (Mason 1996). It is important to recognize that residents do not represent a homogeneous group, which is a major weakness of Doxey's (1975) model. Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) in a study of residents in Florida developed five categories based on the cluster analysis of attitude questions. In this case study, the four resident types defined by Krippendorf appeared to offer a common-sense classification system which enabled the conceptualization of certain characteristics, themes, and experiences.

Type one include people who are in continuous and direct contact with tourists, "because they depend on tourism and would perhaps be unemployed without it, they welcome visitors" (in subsequent tables termed "in direct contact"). Type two covers locals who are the proprietors of businesses which have no regular contact with tourists—"for them, even more than the first group, tourism is a purely commercial matter" (in subsequent tables termed "in unre-

lated business"). Type three represents locals who are in direct and frequent contact with tourists but who derive only part of their income from tourism—"members of this group do see the advantages resulting from tourism but they also feel more critical about it and point out its disadvantages" (in subsequent tables termed 'partial contact'). Type four include locals who have no contact with tourists or see them only in passing—"here a variety of attitudes is possible: approval, rejection, interest or indifference, the latter being the most common" (in subsequent tables called "no contact") (Krippendorf 1987:46-47).

Three respondents from each category were selected for interview. The selection of appropriate respondents was undertaken with the help of a local official to identify a diverse sample. Type one respondents included two shopkeepers and a publican. Of these one had lived all his life in the town, one for 20 years, and the other was a recent arrival. Type two respondents had also either spent all their lives in the town or in excess of 20 years and included a planning consultant, an estate agent, and a local builder. Type three respondents included a recreation assistant at the local leisure center, a garden center owner, and a lifeguard. With type four respondents, one was recently retired and new to the town, a business commuter, and a retired council administrator.

Justification of the sample size was based on pragmatic criteria suggested by Brunt (1997). In short, it was felt that this number would provide sufficient data given the method and in the context of an exploratory case study. Within the sample, though, it can be seen that various temporal, spatial, organizational, social, and cultural dimensions were reflected by the respondent's diverse back-

Table 4. Interview Questions

Do you feel that tourism has affected the opportunities for local people in any way?
Do you feel that family life is in any way affected by tourism?
Is the amount of time that you spend with your family altered in any way during the tourism season?
Why did you move to Dawlish?
Do you think that many people move to the town in order to find employment?
Do you feel that community life is in any way affected by tourism?
Do you feel that any resentment or stress exists between locals and tourists?
Do you believe that encounters between tourists and local people can lead to a change in the attitude of local people?
Do you feel that your way of life is temporarily altered in any way during the tourist season?
Do you feel, that as a result of tourism, development is more in the interest of visitors as opposed to locals?
Do you feel that local people alter their behavior in an attempt to emulate the behavior of tourists?
Are your feelings of safety and security in any way affected during the tourist season?

grounds centered on Krippendorff's (1987) resident classification system. Such categories were felt to represent meaningful classifications to facilitate useful themes, experiences, or instances from the data. In essence, the twelve respondents covered a wide range of backgrounds which was felt to be more important than an attempt to represent the population solely in terms of traditional characteristics (age, gender, social class, and ethnicity) more typical of a quantitative inquiry. Moreover, the quantities of these traditional sampling characteristics were not known.

As such the rationale behind the strategy for selecting the sample was to enable key comparisons or relevant experiences to be made and to evaluate the theoretical proposition of resident attitudes suggested by Krippendorff rather than to attempt selection on a quasi-statistical basis. The interviews were arranged in the respondent's homes and were tape recorded. A selection of the main question areas (without probing) is presented in Table 4. The method of data analysis adopted was the "framework" method as devised by

Table 5. Perceived Negative Impacts of Quality of Life (Research Questionnaire)^a

Respondent	Overcrowded Town Center	Congested Shops	Traffic Congestion	Noise and Pollution	Disturbance of Local Activities	More Vandalis/ Property Crime	More Litter
A							
Type 1	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
B							
Type 1	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Not sure	Disagree	Agree
C							
Type 1	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
D							
Type 2	Agree	Neither	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree	Agree
E							
Type 2	Agree	S. agree	S. agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
F							
Type 2	Neither	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
G							
Type 3	S. agree	Agree	S. agree	Neither	Neither	Agree	S. agree
H							
Type 3	Agree	Disagree	S. agree	Disagree	Disagree	Neither	S. agree
I							
Type 3	Agree	Agree	S. agree	Agree	Neither	Neither	Neither
J							
Type 4	Agree	Agree	Agree	Neither	Neither	Agree	Agree
K							
Type 4	Agree	Agree	S. agree	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
L							
Type 4	Agree	S. agree	S. agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Agree

^a Notes: Type 1 Direct Contact; Type 2 Unrelated Business; Type 3 Partial Contact; Type 4 No Contact.

Ritchie and Spencer (1994). This approach involved a systematic process of five key stages to qualitative data analysis involving familiarization, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, and mapping and interpretation. In this case study, the final stage essentially took the form of creating typologies and finding associations in order to build up matrixes to facilitate explanation and interpretation.

To study the results the data were displayed in conceptually clustered matrixes, as derived from Miles and Huberman (1994). These authors imply that such displays are particularly helpful in case studies, like the present one, where some clear conceptual themes have already been identified in literature. Tables 7 and 8 are all informant-by-variable matrixes, each with two or three research questions clustered to provide conceptual coherence. These display the relevant responses of all informants, thus allowing an initial comparison among responses and among informants. Each matrix also provides the basis for an overall discussion of the material. In each

Table 6. Perceived Positive Impacts on Quality of Life (Research Questionnaire)^a

Respondent	Improved Education Facilities	Improved Healthcare/ Medical Provision	Improved Social Services	Improved Leisure Facilities
A				
Type 1	Neither	Agree	Agree	Agree
B				
Type 1	Agree	Agree	Neither	Agree
C				
Type 1	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
D				
Type 2	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
E				
Type 2	Agree	Neither	Neither	Agree
F				
Type 2	Agree	Neither	Agree	Agree
G				
Type 3	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Neither
H				
Type 3	Disagree	Agree	Agree	Strongly agree
I				
Type 3	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Strongly agree
J				
Type 4	Agree	Disagree	Disagree	Agree
K				
Type 4	Strongly disagree	Neither	Strongly disagree	Neither
L				
Type 4	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree	Disagree

^a Notes: Type 1 Direct Contact; Type 2 Unrelated Business; Type 3 Partial Contact; Type 4 No Contact.

Table 7. Perceived Impacts of Tourism Development^a

Respondents	Development Initiated Through ...	More in the Interests of ...
A Type 1	<i>Tourism:</i> "I don't think they'd bother otherwise would they"	<i>Tourists:</i> "Spin off for locals ... facilities wouldn't be here if it wasn't for the visitors ..."
B Type 1	<i>Tourism:</i> "We wouldn't have the gardens that we have, we wouldn't have the town that we have"	<i>Tourists and locals:</i> "Without tourism the town would just die"
C Type 1	<i>Tourism:</i> "Its a shame we're losing the hotels, but tourists don't want hotels"	<i>Locals:</i> "There's no buildings made specifically for the tourists"
D Type 2	<i>Local need:</i> "They could do more to develop the area for tourism"	<i>Local:</i> "I don't think development in Dawlish caters for the visitor"
E Type 2	<i>Local need:</i> "The leisure center was built primarily for locals. The point is that the visitors are now the locals because they've retired here"	
F Type 2	<i>Local need:</i> "People down here are very regressive in their attitude and they stop things happening" <i>Tourism:</i> "A certain amount"	<i>Tourists and locals:</i> "A lot could well be symbiotic"
G Type 3	<i>Local need:</i> "The hotels have been knocked down ... there's more money in retirement homes"	<i>Locals:</i> "Development isn't attracting holiday makers"
H Type 3	<i>Local need:</i> "Developers and the council cater for local need"	
I Type 3	<i>Tourism:</i> "Road development is purely for visitors ... how many people have petitioned Dawlish Hill to be re-laid"	<i>Tourists:</i> "Concil development is primarily for the visitors"
J Type 4	<i>Tourism:</i> "Shops have suffered and don't give enough variety"	<i>Tourists and locals:</i> "Development benefits both"
K Type 4	<i>Tourism:</i> "The Warren ... Dawlish town ... but its a nice place because of it" <i>Local need:</i> "The leisure center"	<i>Tourists and locals:</i> "Its obviously a holiday town but it is a nice place"

(continued opposite)

Table (continued)

Respondents	Development Initiated Through ...	More in the Interests of ...
L		
Type 4	<i>Tourism:</i> "Instigated by the perceived need of the visitor as opposed to the local" <i>Local need:</i> "In many ways local government is working against tourism"	<i>Tourists:</i> "More for their benefit than it is for locals" <i>Locals:</i> "Mass transfer from catering for the elderly"

^aNotes: Type 1 Direct Contact; Type 2 Unrelated Business; Type 3 Partial Contact; Type 4 No Contact.

cell there are two types of entries, indexes (such as "enhanced") which set up comparisons, and quotations (such as "because you get more people coming to see you") which supply some grounded meaning to the material. Tables 5 and 6 are simplified versions of the same display to provide a "flavor" of the range of respondent opinion.

Study Results

Table 5 demonstrates that the range of negative impacts of tourism frequently cited within the literature are clearly evident in this study. What is also apparent is that there is a recognition of the impacts across the different respondent types. In the main, the biggest problems are traffic congestion, litter and overcrowding in the town. This concurs with Burns and Holden (1995) who report that overcrowding and congestion are often significant issues. However, this study also shows that most respondents do not believe that tourism disturbs local activities or creates more vandalism. It may well be that in Dawlish residents are able to adapt to the inconveniences caused by tourism as was found by Rothman (1978) in Delaware.

As far as the perceived positive impacts to quality of life are concerned Table 6, Sharpley (1994) appears to be only partially correct, suggesting that tourism should lead to greater investment in social services which benefit the community as a whole. The respondents are divided over whether the industry has led to a greater investment in education and, on balance, few perceive there to be improvements in health care and social services. There is, however, a recognition of the number of leisure facilities which are supported by tourism, which is also mentioned by Sharpley (1994) as frequently being the case. Further analysis of the interview transcripts suggest that it may well be that some respondents are not fully aware of the "spin offs" which tourism may have on social services, healthcare, and education.

The informants (Table 7) are split in terms of development in Dawlish being initiated through local need, as opposed to the view

that the needs of tourists is the primary motivation for development. Type one respondents (in direct contact with tourists) are of the view that tourism is at the root of development. Other respondents, however, believe that development is more likely to be initiated through local need. Burns and Holden (1995) assert that pressure for change is often politically intracultural—that is, initiated by entrepreneurs or locally elected politicians in response to community pressure, then planned and implemented by professional officers. Visitors do provide the incentive for some development, particularly in the maintenance and upkeep of the town center. Here Krippendorf's (1987) argument that tourism has colonialist characteristics does not appear to hold true. There are newcomers who come to invest in a tourism related business, but this could by no means be described as foreign infiltration. In fact, one informant's perception is that if newcomers do not undercut local bids or prices, they will quickly be accepted into the community, which is largely made up of in-migrants anyway. Another respondent pointed out that a transfer has taken place from catering for the tourist to catering for the elderly, with a decline in the town's hotel industry and a rise in the number of elderly care homes.

Harrison's (1992) stand that tourism creates new employment opportunities is not conclusive here. Table 8 shows that the four resident types have different views in respect to employment opportunities. Both Brougham and Butler (1981) and Sheldon and Var (1984) found that residents working in tourism have different attitudes from those hired elsewhere. Respondents' views are also divided over whether women are favored as employees in the industry. Crompton and Sanderson's (1990) suggestion that pressures towards flexible working are beginning to erode the employment gender segregation can thus not be discounted in this case. However, the perceived reasons why there might be more employment opportunities for women are related not only to the fact that they provide numerical flexibility as Urry (1991) points out, but also to the types of jobs and business opportunities that are available in the industry. Tourism in Dawlish certainly does represent socio-economic benefits. To complement the point made by Burns and Holden (1995), there is some evidence of a dependence upon the industry, primarily among those few who come to the shores of South Devon looking for seasonal work. One informant asserts this among some of the younger members of the community, stating that tourism employment "gives local people a false sense of security, in the winter everyone is let down and forgotten about".

The study findings also suggest a range of other perspectives, including perceptions of migration, the benefits of tourism, attitudes towards tourists, crime, language, the church, cultural change, tourist–host interaction, and more generally in terms of the effects on the respondents' way of life. Respondents are, however, split on the effects tourism has on family life, both in general terms and in respect to the time the family has together during the tourism season. Therefore, the effect of tourism on the resident family

Table 8. Perceived Impacts on Local Employment^a

Respondent	Opportunities for Local People	Opportunities for Women in Particular
A Type 1	<i>More facilities:</i> "A lot wouldn't be here if it wasn't for tourist money"	<i>Women favored:</i> "Part time employment . . . on balance more opportunities for women"
B Type 1	<i>Economically essential:</i> "The town would die, there would be more unemployment"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "Most jobs are for both male and female"
C Type 1	<i>Employment:</i> "It affords work for people who are unemployed"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "It can be done by men or women"
D Type 2	<i>Employment:</i> "Prospects are improved, that is the main aim of tourism promotion"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "Casual labor can apply quite equally to men and women"
E Type 2	<i>Population increased:</i> "People come down and get an impression . . . and they come here to live" <i>Employment:</i> "Used to provide jobs I'm not so sure now"	<i>Women favored:</i> "A lot of boutiques owned by women" <i>Structural change:</i> "Cleaning jobs have mushroomed"
F Type 2	<i>Economically essential:</i> "It's the South West's main industry, without it many of us wouldn't survive"	<i>Women favored:</i> "A greater percentage of women in tourism"
G Type 3	<i>Employment:</i> "Plenty of opportunities they're earning good wages" <i>False sense of security:</i> "In winter everyone is let down"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "I don't think its any different"
H Type 3	<i>Employment:</i> "More jobs for local people"	<i>Women favored:</i> "Possibly more jobs for women in the tourist trade"
I Type 3	<i>Employment:</i> "Seasonal jobs"	<i>Women favored:</i> "The type of job rather than the amount of jobs" <i>Safety:</i> "Busier . . . women just have to be that much more aware"
J Type 4	<i>Employment:</i> "It gives them more jobs"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "Low paid work for both men and women" <i>(continued on next page)</i>

Table (continued)

Respondent	Opportunities for Local People	Opportunities for Women in Particular
K Type 4	<i>Employment:</i> "Its good in the respect that it provides more local employment"	<i>Gender irrelevant:</i> "I don't think it matters ... there's enough unemployment around"
L Type 4	<i>Overuse of facilities:</i> "By visitors ... reduced residents ability to use"	<i>Women favoured:</i> "More opportunities than there would be otherwise"

^aNotes: Type 1 Direct Contact; Type 2 Unrelated Business; Type 3 Partial Contact; Type 4 No Contact.

would appear to relate more to personal circumstances and to the presence of children than any particular relationship connected to resident typology.

In terms of the effect tourism has on migration, two informants perceive that employment in the industry attracts outsiders to the area, and three out of the twelve believe that tourism related business opportunities are an attraction. The main reasons for the in-migration to Dawlish that has taken place appears to be the high quality of life that the area offers those entering retirement and people bringing up children, and the fact that its central location makes it a good dormitory town. An important phenomenon which has been made apparent by this study, and which is not widely mentioned by contemporary writers, is the fact that many tourists have now become hosts, their decision to migrate to Dawlish having been initially instigated by coming on holiday to the resort. This has apparently been the case for many of the retired as well as the economically active and the process seems to have altered the structure of the community quite significantly. However, there is no evidence of a new, younger, more prosperous, group having been created as is suggested by Sharpley (1994). There is a perception here, though, that the demonstration effect may possibly exist. Five informants feel that the younger generation tries to emulate visitor behavior, but none are able to provide any solid examples. Murphy (1985) points out that those most susceptible to the pressures of the demonstration effect are young people. This could be illustrated by the fact that there has been an out-migration of young, educated people who are not satisfied with the limited employment prospects offered by tourism in Dawlish.

In relation to the perceived advantages of tourism, the respondents feel that, on balance, the industry is beneficial. A frequently mentioned example is the carnival week, which not only provides activities for locals and tourists alike, but also is felt to strengthen community spirit by bringing people together. This is in line with Allen et al (1988) who found that tourism is often considered beneficial in areas of lower to moderate levels of development.

Lankford and Howard (1994), however, noted that the membership of community organizations is an important predictor of overall support for tourism.

In terms of respondents' attitudes towards tourists, McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie (1995) note that often resentment and stress exist, a position to which the majority in this case study can relate. However, in this situation, because the gap in economic circumstances between tourist and host is not significant, neither appears to exhibit feelings of superiority. Nevertheless, there is evidence as McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie contend that inflated prices can cause bad feelings towards visitors. Here, three informants perceive this to be the case and one gave a detailed account. These findings coincide strongly with McKercher's (1993) argument that conflicts are likely to arise when incompatible demands are placed on common assets. Overcrowding and congestion are the most commonly perceived sources of resentment and stress in this study. To quote one informant, "Traffic . . . I think that's a dominant factor on the stress levels of locals." This finding concurs with an early study by Pizam (1978) where high concentration of tourists tended to attract negative attitudes.

An unusual factor which is raised by four informants, and which does not appear to be widely mentioned in the literature, is that of local attitudes stimulating resentment, less connected to the presence of the visitor, and more to the indigenous characteristics of the host. One informant stated freely that "people are quite reserved down here." To quote another, "people are smug about living by the sea." Perhaps this is a characteristic of the South Devon host, but it is interesting to note that another informant born and brought up in Dawlish feels that one of the main reasons why tourists are beneficial to the community is because they "open up the eyes" of the indigenous population "who tend to be quite regressive in their attitudes."

In some other respects, the findings of this study coincided strongly with those of Mathieson and Wall (1982) in concluding that tourism contributes to a perception of an increase in crime. Here ten out of the twelve informants believe this to be the case. The general perception is that of an increase in petty theft, stimulated by the higher population over the tourism season in comparison to the level of policing which remains fairly constant. Whether this industry could be considered a potential determinant of crime as is suggested by Pizam, Reichel and Stein (1982), however, is debatable. Informants do not perceive it to negatively affect the quality of the environment any more during the tourism season than at other times of the year. To quote one informant, "there's always the possibility of being broken into." In answer to a question posed by Mathieson and Wall (1982), tourism does not appear to have a major effect on the perceived safety and security of residents in this case study. Seven out of the twelve informants perceive no effect; of those who did, women's safety in the evenings and car security are commonly cited as concerns.

As to another proposition argued in the literature, this study does not suggest that hosts learn foreign languages through commercial necessity. This is because not only many of the tourists to Dawlish are British, but also it appears that the decline of serviced accommodation is influential. One older respondent records learning German out of necessity while working in one of the town's former hotels. White (1974) claims that certain forms of tourism based on hotel accommodation pose a greater threat to the sociocultural outlook and life of the host community than other forms of lower grade provision. Here, though, there is no evidence of local people wanting to learn the language of tourists, as is shown in other studies (Murphy 1985; Sharpley 1994). Another side of language change is the question of whether the local dialect is eroded as a result of tourism (Ryan 1991). Here, some informants return to the fact that many tourists have now become residents through in-migration, and this way they have diluted the local dialect. It is not perceived that this has significant implications for the host society.

In this case study it would seem that informants who are familiar with the churches in the town agree that they act as attractions during the tourism season. However, for this South Devon resort, Sharpley's (1994) argument that religion has become a commodity resulting in conflict between locals and tourists appears to be irrelevant. On the contrary, informants perceive that attracting visitors through holding festivals and events in the church is actually good for the regularly attending community. As one informant said, "we do try to cater for our visitors." These findings coincide with Mathieson and Wall's (1982) argument that tourism is often used as a source of revenue for the church, a view held by all attending informants. Therefore, Sharpley's (1994) suggestion that tourism can contribute towards the preservation of religious buildings agrees with findings of this case study.

Browne's (1993) proposition that some British people believe that the price of tourism is too high because it alters and destroys traditional British culture does not appear to coincide with the perceptions of the respondents in this study. Only three out of the twelve informants feel that aspects of the South Devon culture have become too commercialized by tourism, while two feel that the culture could be exploited more to attract tourists. Informants do feel, though, that culture is seen by tourism as a commercial resource, as is cited by Burns and Holden (1995). To quote one, "Devonshire Fudge, Devonshire Clotted Cream teas, it's all part of the culture." A factor pointed out by four of the twelve informants (one of each type) is the presence of the amusement arcade; they feel it to be too intrusive, although recognizing that it is there to satisfy tourist demand. As Sharpley (1994) points out, the true culture of a society refers to its values and norms and its way of life. Here, one informant perceives that the presence of the amusement arcade is related to the lower grade of self-catering accommodation located just outside Dawlish and is not in keeping with its current location.

There is certainly the perception among some informants that the change away from serviced accommodation has resulted in a lowering of trading standards in the town and the conversion of some of the town center shops to "tacky" souvenir outlets. The findings of this study coincide with those of de Kadt (1979) who argues that the demands of tourists for cultural souvenirs can result in local arts and crafts being revitalized. Three informants who have good knowledge of local artists and crafts people perceive this to be the case, and as Sharpley (1994) points out, such commoditization does not necessarily lead to a loss of meaning or authenticity. Therefore, there is evidence here to suggest that Cohen's (1988) interest in stimulating research on the subject from the point of view of the host society is meaningful. He argues that progress in this research area would avoid blanket condemnation of the assumed negative impacts of cultural commoditization.

Sharpley's (1994) view that tourism is a social process which brings people together in the form of social interaction is not strongly upheld by this study. One informant states "they don't really want to mix, the make up of the town doesn't lend itself to it." The three contact situations of de Kadt (1979) can be identified in Dawlish: when the tourist purchases a good or service from a resident, when the tourist and resident find themselves side by side at an attraction, and when the two parties come face to face with the objective of exchanging information and ideas. However, in this study it appears that only the former situation has an influence on local values and attitudes. Two informants suggest that this is the case, and both deal with tourists frequently in their work.

It is debatable whether acculturation in terms of a stronger culture dominating another as argued by Murphy (1985) occurs in Dawlish. Rather, this study suggests that informants who perceived an impact on local attitudes, view it as a kind of "borrowing" process. This finds accord with Nunez's (1989) definition of acculturation in that when two different cultures come into contact they will become more like each other through a process of borrowing over time. But as Sharpley points out, acculturation is directly linked to the nature of tourist-host encounters in that it is only those who find themselves in a position to engage in meaningful conversation with tourists who perceive an impact which could be likened to the theory of acculturation. This study does not uphold this contention as at least one representative of each type of resident suggests some degree of influence without the need for meaningful conversations.

All informants feel that tourism has an impact on their way of life during the tourism season. Collins' (1978) position holds true in this study that the host's behavior can be transformed temporarily. However, it could be argued that the change in behavior is not related to any specific relationship between the host and guest but is in fact more akin to what Burns and Holden (1995) describe as "coping behaviors". Some respondents do alter their shopping patterns so as to avoid the tourist crowds and some of the older infor-

mants do indulge in a sort of self-imposed hibernation on weekends. There appears to be a marked difference in the perceptions of younger and older informants, the former perceiving the behavioral changes to be much more positive, "more lively around town and having more money to spend." Similarly, Lankford and Howard (1994) found age to be an important predictor of resident attitudes in the Columbia River Gorge study.

CONCLUSION

This case study has examined host perceptions of the sociocultural impact of tourism in Dawlish in relation to contemporary literature. The literature review identified three main themes: tourism development, tourist–host interaction, and culture (with various more specific impacts related to each). A qualitative survey, consisting of in-depth interviews with local residents, was carried out in order to determine the perceived sociocultural influences of tourism on this host community. The key issues noted from the literature review were developed into questions to examine the extent to which they coincided with residents' own views.

Four main conclusions can be drawn from the results of the study. First, tourism has altered the structure of the town's community, with consequential effects on the attitudes of the residents. The results in this study are best described as "mixed" with both positive and negative attitudes apparently having little relation to the type of respondent. There appears to be little other empirical research to support this conclusion. Typically, variables such as the length of residence are shown to be influential, with several studies suggesting that the longer people live in a community the more negative their attitudes to tourism become (Allen et al 1988; Brougham and Butler 1981; Davis, Allen and Cosenza 1988; Lankford 1994; Lankford and Howard 1994; McCool and Martin 1994; Ryan and Montgomery 1994; Sheldon and Var 1984; Um and Crompton 1987). Other studies suggest that newer residents may have negative attitudes to tourism and tourists (Ayers and Potter 1989; Patton and Stabler 1979). Moreover, there is evidence that birthplace can influence attitudes toward tourism (Brougham and Butler 1981; Davis, Allen and Cosenza 1988; Um and Crompton 1987). The fact that the Dawlish case study found a mixed response in attitudes in this respect is perhaps unusual. It may well be that the distinction between the type of resident based on Krippendorff's (1987) classification, used as a sampling frame in this study, has thus a less marked effect than was originally anticipated. While those directly involved in the industry are always quick to recognize the economic benefits, they seem equally aware of the sociocultural impacts as those without direct contact with tourists. Recent work by Lankford, Williams and Knowles-Lankford (1997) suggests that a classification based on the residents' perception on the effects of tourism on their recreation opportunities (as well as other issues

relating to quality of life) may well be more discriminating and a useful framework for future studies.

The second conclusion relates to the change in emphasis from hotel based (serviced) accommodation to self catering having a significant bearing on the host perception of tourism impacts. The finding here is that this change has effectively reduced the sociocultural impact of tourism on Dawlish's host community. The reason for this seems to be the reduction in employment opportunities and a consequent reduction in the community's economic dependence on tourism. Several studies have shown that residents who are highly dependent on tourism-based employment are more likely to exhibit favorable attitudes towards the industry (Allen et al 1988; Davis, Allen and Cosenza 1988; Lankford 1994; Lankford and Howard 1994; Milman and Pizam 1988; Pizam and Pokela 1985; Ryan and Montgomery 1994). This shift has also led to a change on the geography of the resort, with much of the accommodation now on the outskirts of the town. Within the literature, there are differing views about how influential the residents' home in relation to the tourism center is on their attitudes. Some suggest that the farther the two are apart the more apathetic towards tourism the resident becomes (Murphy and Andressen 1988). However, another study (Belisle and Hoy 1980) concluded that the farther apart, the more negative the attitudes become.

This leads to a third conclusion, that the cultural impacts of tourism in Dawlish are not perceived as being of any great importance. This may well be a reflection of the fact that South Devon culture is not perceived as being particularly strong anyway, but can also be attributed to the fact that tourism development is still only perceived as being moderate, and in the interests in of local arts and crafts. While this result exists in this study there is no evidence here to dispute the fact that tourism development has the potential of dramatically affecting residents' lifestyles as other studies have shown (Pizam 1978). This finding must, however, be viewed in the context of the inevitable difficulty that exists in separating tourism-induced changes from those which are the result of other processes of modernization. As Mathieson and Wall (1982) point out, increases in mobility and urbanization, for example, are but a few of the factors contributing to the breakdown of cultural barriers. It cannot be overlooked that had the study been carried out where the level of tourism development is considerably higher, these conclusions may well have been different. Indeed, recent research has shown that this development can significantly change residents' relationships with one another as well as to their community (Huang and Stewart 1996). Finally, it can be seen that the perceived sociocultural impacts of tourism identified by the informants who took part in the study coincided with many of the key impacts which were identified at the outset. While there are some specific differences, the general analyses of the sociocultural impacts of tourism can be applied to the perceptions of residents of a small British coastal tourist.

Inevitably any exploratory research of this type raises issues for future research directions, and several aspects can be determined from this study. There are, perhaps, two broad areas, the first relates to the type of resident and the second to the location of the study. Considering potential respondents, Krippendorff's categories of residents could be further explored, to identify, for example, the extent to which attitudes towards tourism and tourists by entrepreneurs influences the economic aspects of their businesses (turnover, business hours, marketing strategies). The nature of the in-migration process to tourism areas and the effects this has on the host community also warrant further investigation. Of particular importance could be the impacts of second homes and the influx of residents from urban-based lifestyles. Moreover, a more detailed examination of the backgrounds of residents in terms of their own travel experiences, may prove to be an influential factor in relation to their attitudes to tourists in their home area. Given this case study was based in an essentially rural and coastal location, comparison of resident attitudes in other location types (inland or urban) would also seem a fruitful line of inquiry based on sampling criteria used in this study. Research of this type could be integrated into an agenda for sustainable tourism in coastal areas, assuming that increasingly development must pay due regard to its local community. ■

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Submitted 31 January 1997. Resubmitted 22 October 1997. Resubmitted 23 March 1998. Accepted 2 July 1998. Refereed anonymously. Coordinating Editor: Abraham Pizam.