
SOCIAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM

Host Perceptions

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Abstract: This study investigates the perceptions of the residents of Nadi, Fiji, towards the impacts of tourism. A survey of 199 households revealed that residents (most of whom were dependent on the industry for their livelihood) supported the current magnitude of tourism and favored its expansion. Despite this very clear and generally positive view, the respondents identified specific negative and positive impacts that, in their view, affected the community. The results suggest that residents of communities dependent on tourism can clearly differentiate between its economic benefits and the social costs, and that awareness of certain negative consequences does not lead to opposition towards further tourism development.

Keywords: social impacts, host community.

Résumé: Les impacts sociaux du tourisme: la perception de la communauté d'accueil. Le présent article examine les perceptions des habitants de Nadi, aux îles Fidji, envers les impacts du tourisme. Une enquête de 199 foyers a révélé que les habitants (dont la plupart dépendait du tourisme pour gagner leur vie) étaient favorables au niveau actuel du tourisme et même à son expansion. Malgré cette attitude positive, les personnes interrogées ont identifié certains impacts spécifiques, négatifs et positifs, qui, selon eux, avaient un effet dans la communauté. Les résultats suggèrent que les habitants des communautés qui dépendent du tourisme savent distinguer entre les bénéfices économiques et les coûts sociaux du tourisme et qu'une conscience de certaines conséquences négatives ne mène pas à une opposition envers plus de développement. **Mots-clés:** impacts sociaux, communauté d'accueil.

INTRODUCTION

The responses of local residents to tourism development and to the impacts of tourism have been extensively studied over the last two decades. Most research has focused on how various sections of the

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community have differed in their reactions to the impacts of tourism and most have concentrated on either a single or else a small number of neighboring communities.

Perdue, Patrick and Allen (1990) examined the relationship between what residents perceived to be the positive and negative impacts of tourism and the extent to which they supported tourism development in 16 rural communities in the state of Colorado, USA. They concluded that where the variable of personal benefits was controlled (i.e., ensuring that respondents did not have a direct and pecuniary interest in tourism development), perceptions of tourism impacts were unrelated to sociodemographic characteristics. Furthermore, support for additional development was positively related in the case of those who perceived positive impacts to dominate, and negatively correlated in the case of those who perceived negative impacts to dominate.

Dogan's review (1989) of the consequences of international tourism concluded that in many "touristic countries" sociocultural structures have changed considerably under the influence of tourism. In addition, a previously homogenous community characterized by a particular response to tourism becomes diversified as a result of the presence of tourism, and groups exhibiting different responses to tourism emerge within the community as a result of touristic developments. Husbands (1989) investigated the perception of tourism by residents who live near the world-famous Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. Analysis of the data revealed that, broadly speaking, respondents do not have an enthusiastic view towards tourism. Differences of opinion on the subject that are evident within the community are associated with social status and with differences in social class. Schluter and Var's study of residents attitudes toward tourism in Argentina (1988) indicated that while local residents did not have a strong perception of the economic benefits of tourism, they recognized a number of positive sociocultural benefits brought about by tourism. The study also identified a strong relationship between the level of economic dependency on tourism and the extent to which perceptions of the economic effects of tourism were positive.

Ross's (1992) study of residents in an Australian city indicated that residents recognized the existence of major positive impacts of tourism on the economy and major negative impacts on housing and crime levels. The major concern for residents concerning personal impacts was the fact that local residents appeared to be less friendly than previously. A study of residents and entrepreneurs in a South Dakota community by Caneday and Zeiger (1991) concluded that while respondents acknowledged the importance of tourism, they were concerned with the potential impacts caused by the reintroduction of gambling into the community.

According to some other studies, intervening variables, such as participation in formal tourism education and participation in outdoor recreation, are believed to result in perceptual differences among local residents. Brayley, Var and Sheldon (1990) examined the results of exposure to tourism education on student perceptions towards the influence of tourism on four social issues. The study identified a generally positive view towards the influence of tourism on both economic

and social conditions. It also highlighted major perceptual differences between separate groups of students with and without tourism education. Brayley and Var (1989) suggested that the strongest held view by students was as a positive economic influence. The positive social and cultural influence was acknowledged but regarded as being of secondary significance. The study examined both French and English speaking Canadian students and observed some differences between the subsamples. Perdue, Long and Allen (1987) examined the influence of participation in outdoor recreation on the tourism perceptions and attitudes of rural residents of Colorado, USA. They found that there were no significant differences identifiable between the tourism perceptions and attitudes of the participants and non-participants in outdoor recreation activities.

Allen, Long, Perdue and Kieselbach (1988) investigated the extent to which residents perceived satisfaction levels with life in their particular neighborhood varied according to the extent of tourism development in their community. They found that the relationship between the two issues was generally nonlinear. Issues such as the extent to which respondents were involved in community activities, public service, and environmental issues were identified as being most sensitive to tourism development.

A number of studies have identified quite specific and measurable impacts of tourism (Ross 1992). Others have proposed models that attempt to cluster and summarize such impacts. Davis, Allen and Consenza (1988) identified five clusters of attitudes towards tourism development in Florida, USA. A strong antitourism cluster was identified as a source of concern and it was suggested that the state government should direct increased promotion effort towards raising resident awareness of the positive multiplier effects of tourism. A broad overview of tourism social impact studies was undertaken by Ap (1990) and included a comparison of four studies by (Belisle and Hoy 1980; Liu and Var 1986; Milman and Pizam 1988; and Pizam 1978).

Other studies have involved the development of new research methodologies. Ritchie's research on residents of Alberta, Canada (1988) attempted to draw up a methodology capable of providing an operational basis for consensus policy formulation in tourism. To underpin such a process, it sought to recognize and identify the significant differences that exist within the host population. Maddox (1986) used the critical incident technique to study residents' satisfaction with local tourism programs in Halifax, Canada. His analysis concluded that local residents expressed a great interest in tourists to the area as individuals. Respondents wanted tourists to be well treated. A survey by Andressen and Murphy (1986) investigated the reaction of residents to possible future tourism development in British Columbia, Canada. Resident input to the tourism planning process in two travel corridors within the province was the focus of a second study (Andressen and Murphy 1986).

Recently, an attempt has been made to compare the social impact of tourism in various geographical locations. Jafari, Pizam and Przelawski (1990) reported on a preliminary study by the Vienna Center on the social impact of tourism in several countries. Countries selected

for study were Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Spain, the United Kingdom, the United States, and former Yugoslavia.

Studies on the social dimensions of tourism in Fiji have noted the warm welcome extended to tourists by ethnic-Fijian natives who make up just over 50% of the population (Plange 1984; Vusoniwailala 1980). Referring specifically to the ethnic population, Vusoniwailala has stated that "although Fijian hospitality has changed, the tourist still receives a degree of friendliness not found in a metropolitan area" (1980:104). While Samy (1980) pointed to disenchantment among both racial populations, particularly the Indians, a study by Plange found a high level of support for tourism by both the Fijian and Indian populations. He stated that "within the country and amongst the various races and ethnic groups, there exists an overwhelming feeling of friendliness and receptivity towards tourists" (1984:46). He did, however, identify a major concern among residents that tourism was leading to a commercialization of culture. Britton (1982) identified resentment by sections of the resident population to the predominance of expatriate staff in the higher status tourism management positions. He likened both industry structure and local attitudes to a form of neocolonialism. Varley (1978) identified some of the social problems encountered in Fiji due to the impact of relatively wealthier overseas tourists on a developing country with a relatively lower standard of living.

Tourism Development in Fiji

Fiji is a republic of approximately 725,000 people (mid-1990 estimate), located just West of the International Dateline, 15-22° South of the Equator and 177° west and 175° east of the Greenwich Meridian. It consists of 332 islands, of which one-third are inhabited. Of the total land mass of 18,272 square kilometres, the two largest islands Viti Levu (10,429 square kilometres) and Vanu Levu (5,556 square kilometres) make up the bulk. Situated in the South West Pacific, Fiji developed historically as a significant refueling stop for air and sea transport between North America, Australia, and New Zealand though the advent of nonstop flights from North America to Australasia has reduced such traffic (Main 1990). The bulk of air travelers enter the country through the international airport at Nadi in the West of Viti Levu. A much smaller number enter through Nausori airport, which serves the national capital of Suva. The population is made up of two major ethnic groups, namely Fijians and Indians, with smaller numbers of Chinese, Europeans, and other Pacific islanders.

Tourism is the principal foreign exchange earner for Fiji, followed by sugar. Fiji attracted 278,996 international visitors in 1990, accounting for 43% of total arrivals to the 12 countries in the region (Tourism Council of the South Pacific 1991). Its nearest competitor in terms of volume was French Polynesia with 132,361. In 1990, tourism receipts totalled 335.9 million Fiji dollars (approximately AUS\$314 million). Tourism policy and development is the responsibility of the Ministry of Tourism and marketing of the country is directed by the Fiji Visitors' Bureau (FVB).

The main resort zones are located within easy reach of Nadi. The largest integrated resort (a large village-like area consisting of accommodations, food and beverage, recreation, entertainment, sports, and shopping facilities) in Fiji is Denarau, which is a few kilometres from the town. The popular Mamanuca Islands and Coral Coast are located between 30 minutes and 2 hours from Nadi airport by sea or by land transfer. Nadi, the Coral Coast and the Mamanucas were identified as key areas for development in Fiji's first Tourism Master Plan (Belt and Collins 1973) and remain the country's most developed tourist zones. According to FVB, the Nadi area accounted for 31.4% of the country's room capacity in 1991, with the Mamanucas and the Coral Coast making up a further 10.86% and 22.14%, respectively. Apart from the nearby Denarau complex (which is included in the Nadi figure), Nadi functions as a tourist transit town. Most visitors stay for a night and then head off to the resorts. Local residents have a high level of exposure to tourists though the typical encounter is fleeting in view of the short average length of stay by visitors.

Study Methodology

The questionnaire used to investigate perceptions held by residents of Nadi was based on a similar instrument developed for a tourism research on Central Florida several years ago (Milman and Pizam 1988). The revised questionnaire included the distinct Fijian cultural and environmental settings. The study was exploratory in nature and no formal hypotheses were developed.

This questionnaire was used to survey the residents of the immediate Nadi area. Interviews (199, one per household) were conducted from a total population of approximately 7,500, constituting a sample size of 2.65%. The nature of the local community demanded that a cluster sample be undertaken, since the town consists of a central business area, a number of adjoining communities, and some villages located at some distance from the main town, mainly in the vicinity of the airport. The sample selection allowed for an equal split between three areas. These were the town center, the adjoining localities of Namotomoto and Navoce villages and the more detached communities near Nadi airport. The dispersal of the sample between the three areas ensured a balance between localities at varying distances from the main tourism shopping area and the airport; different income earners; occupants of traditional and modern housing; and between Fijians (approximately 60%) and ethnic Indians (40%).

Interviews were conducted by experienced interviewers who were part-time students at the University of the South Pacific, where one of the authors of this article was on sabbatical leave. The interviewers, half of whom were Indians and half Fijians, were both English and Fijian language speakers, thereby minimizing any language difficulties. The interviewers introduced themselves as working for the University of the South Pacific at Suva, Fiji. Calls were made to households between 3 and 9 in the afternoon, with a view to obtaining a balance between day and night workers. Interviewers asked to speak with adult male or female households. Where such a person was not

available at the time, an appointment was made to return later. Respondents were prompted with the assistance of visual aids identifying the scales being used for each question. Each third property on one side only of each street was incorporated into the sample, in order to achieve a representative group within the relevant communities. The interviewers sketched out target households, prior to the commencement of fieldwork.

Several limitations in the research methodology should, however, be noted. The practice of interviewing only willing respondents may have created problems of representation. There was no control over who participated in the study and the results could have been biased by either favorable or unfavorable responses.

Furthermore, Nadi and its surrounding villages benefit financially from the Fijian tourism industry through the payment of direct royalties (i.e., commission on sales) by tourism enterprises to the local communities. It is possible that respondents' opinions have been positively biased and less inclined to express dissatisfaction with various aspects of tourism development in the area.

The initial purpose of this study was to examine the attitudes of Nadi residents towards tourism. In practice, an extremely high proportion of sample respondents were found to be either employed in or associated with the tourism industry. One might then suggest, that this study is representative only of those residents who are employed in or associated with the tourism industry.

As another research shortcoming, due to an unintentional oversight, the interviewers did not mark the ethnic origin of the respondents. Consequently, it was impossible to do any detailed analyses distinguishing between the attitudes of ethnic Fijians and ethnic Indians. Hence, this study is representative of the sample population as a whole and may not be representative of each separate ethnic group.

STUDY FINDINGS

General Profile of Respondents

Most of the respondents (97%) have residence in the Nadi area over 10 years, possess a secondary school certificate (72%), and are aged between 40 and 50 years (median figure). Most were married (83%) and had children under 18 living at home (79%). Of those reporting dependents, the average number of children was 3.3.

Almost all of the respondents (99%) were either employed or self-employed on a full-time basis. Of those respondents who were employed, 94% declared themselves as being employed by or associated with the tourism industry. Since the above proportion represented an extremely high number of people, the interviewers were questioned as to its validity. It transpired that those respondents who were employed in occupations serving tourists, defined themselves as part of the industry. For example, tailors and grocers who engaged in a significant volume of selling merchandise to tourists declared themselves as being associated with tourism. About 67% of the respondents also indicated that at least one family member was employed in the industry. The

Table 1. Attitude Towards Tourists in Nadi^a

Attitude Towards Tourism	Percentage
Strongly oppose the presence of tourism	0.0
Oppose somewhat the presence of tourists	0.0
Neither oppose nor favor	19.9
Favor somewhat	22.0
Strongly favor	58.2
Total percentage	100.0
Mean: 4.3	
Std. Dev: 0.6	

^a“What are your feelings about the presence of tourists in Nadi?”

reported median annual income of respondents was in the range of F\$5,000–7,000 (AUS\$4,673–6,542). The demographic profile of this sample represents the population of the Nadi and its surrounding villages as attested by demographers at the University of the South Pacific Department of Sociology.

Overall Attitude Towards Tourism in Nadi

In general, respondents expressed a very positive attitude towards tourism. About 80% of the respondents favored somewhat or strongly favored the presence of tourism in Nadi (Table 1). A very large proportion (90.7%) also stated that the image of Nadi improved somewhat or significantly improved as a result of tourism activities (Table 2).

Respondents were asked to express opinions about the impact of tourism on a variety of social and economic activities and concerns. Sixteen areas (variables) were evaluated with regard to the impact of tourism, where 1 indicated that the variable had been “significantly worsened” as a result of the presence of tourism and 5 “significantly improved.”

Table 2. Perceptions about the Impact of the Presence of Tourism on the Image of Nadi^a

Attitude Towards Tourism	Percentage
Significantly worsen	0.0
Worsen somewhat	0.0
Not make any difference	9.3
Improve somewhat	45.0
Significantly improve	45.7
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 4.4	
Std. Dev: 0.6	

^a“What impact do you think the increased presence of tourism would have on the image of Nadi?”

As Table 3 shows, a number of improvements were identified as having been brought about by tourism. These included the town's overall tax revenue, income, and standard of living, work attitudes, quality of life, courtesy and hospitality to strangers, and confidence among people. A number of negative effects were also recognized. These were the increased incidence of alcoholism, individual crime, drug addictions, organized crime, openness to sex, and traffic conditions.

In the case of the remaining variables, the mean of around 3.0 may indicate that residents perceived the current level of tourism as having no significant impact. These variables included morality, politeness, and manners, and people's honesty.

When asked whether local residents would willingly take jobs in the tourism hospitality industry, 97% of the respondents said they would do so. About 90% of the respondents said that they would suggest to their friends or relatives to take jobs in the tourism industry. This result was of no surprise once it was found that practically all respondents were employed in or associated with the tourism industry.

The survey set out to also investigate attitudes to tourism employment. Respondents were asked to choose their preferred occupation from a limited list that included one category of work clearly identified as being within the tourism industry, namely hotel worker, which was chosen by 67%. The other notable categories were shop owner for 11%, office clerk for 4%, and factory foreman for 1% (Table 4). One

Table 3. Tourism Impacts^a

Benefits of Tourism	Mean ^b	Std. Dev
Employment Opportunities	4.4	0.7
Town's Overall Tax Revenue	4.2	0.8
Income and Standard of Living	4.1	0.9
Attitude toward Work	3.9	0.9
Quality of Life in General	3.7	0.6
Courtesy and Hospitality toward Strangers	3.7	0.5
Mutual Confidence among People	3.6	0.5
Politeness and Good Manners	3.1	0.9
Morality	2.9	1.2
People's honesty	2.8	1.2
Traffic Conditions	2.4	1.0
Sexual Permissiveness	2.3	1.2
Organized Crime (crimes that are the products of groups or organizations)	2.2	1.0
Drug Addiction	2.1	1.0
Individual Crimes (planned and conducted by individuals)	2.1	1.0
Alcoholism	1.9	0.9
Grand Mean	3.1	

^aWhat impact do you think the current level of tourism would have on the following issues?"

^b1 = Significantly worsen; 2 = Worsen somewhat; 3 = Not make any difference; 4 = Improve somewhat; 5 = Significantly improve.

Table 4. Preferred Occupation^a

Preferred Occupation	Percentage
Hotel Worker	67.4
Shop Owner	11.3
Office Worker	4.3
Field Worker	0.7
Foreman in a Factory	0.7
Other	15.6
Total Percentage	100.0

^a"If you were to select for yourself an occupation from the following, which one would you select?"

can surmise that Nadi residents regard hotel occupations as being relatively more desirable than the other four listed occupations, though it should be acknowledged that the range of occupations offered to respondents in the questionnaire was limited.

General Attitude toward Tourists

A number of questions attempted to gauge the perceptions of residents towards tourists. A majority of respondents described tourists in general and overseas tourists in particular as being very different from Fijians. About three quarters of respondents stated that tourists to the Nadi area were very different from people in their locality (Table 5). Almost three quarters also described international tourists as being very different from domestic tourists (Table 6).

Respondents were asked about the extent to which they had developed social relationships with tourists. A majority (about 88%) indicated that they had contact with tourists (Table 7). Furthermore, more than half of the respondents (about 58%) claimed that they or their families maintained correspondence with tourists. Given that an overwhelming proportion of tourists to Nadi are residents of foreign countries, this is a remarkably high figure. Several alternative explanations

Table 5. Difference between Tourists and Locals^a

Perceptions of Tourists	Percentage
Very Different	75.9
Somewhat Different	7.8
In Some Ways Different and in Others Similar	1.4
Somewhat Similar	0.7
Very Similar	14.2
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 1.7	
Std. Dev: 1.4	

^a"Do you think that tourists visiting your area are different from people in your locality?"

Table 6. Difference between International and Domestic Tourists^a

Domestic vs. International Tourists	Percentage
Very Different	73.8
Somewhat Different	22.7
In Some Ways Different and in Others Similar	2.8
Somewhat Similar	0.7
Very Similar	0.0
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 1.3	
Std. Dev: 0.6	

^a“How would you regard tourists from other countries compared to Fijian tourists?”

can be given. The issue of “social desirability,” namely a tendency to answer questions in a “proper” or “socially desirable” manner is one possible explanation. The much publicized friendliness of the people of Fiji and the consequent interest that they share in people from other places is a second possibility. Finally, a third possibility might be correspondence with tourists who are friends or relatives and reside in foreign countries, such as India.

Current Attitudes towards Tourism in Nadi

Respondents were asked to express their overall attitude towards tourism activity in Nadi and its immediate vicinity. Some 77% stated that they either favored or strongly favored tourism (Table 8). Only about 3% of the respondents were opposed to the existence of tourism in Nadi. Most respondents were supportive of an expansion of tourism in the area. Approximately 82% answered that the number of tourists visiting the area should increase, with 13% saying that it should not change, and 5% that the number of tourists should decrease (Table 9).

Table 7. Social Contacts between Locals and Tourists^a

Contact with Tourists	Percentage
Have No Contact with Tourists	12.1
Have Some Contact with Tourists	23.4
Have Constant Contact with Tourists	64.5
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 2.5	
Std. Dev: 0.7	

^a“What kind of social relationships do you have with tourists?”

Table 8. Overall Opinion about the Nadi Tourism Industry^a

Attitude Towards Tourism	Percentage
Strongly Oppose It	1.4
Oppose Somewhat	1.4
Neither Oppose nor Favor It	19.9
Favor It	32.6
Strongly Favor It	<u>44.7</u>
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 4.2	
Std. Dev: 0.9	

^a“What is your overall opinion of the tourism industry in Nadi and vicinity?”

VARIANTS RELATIONSHIPS ANALYZED

The Relationship between Respondents' Demographic Characteristics and their Level of Support for the Tourism Industry

A series of one-way analyses of variance, *t*-tests, and Pearson correlations were conducted. Such tests were undertaken to isolate any significant differences that might be evident between the socioeconomic characteristics of respondents and their level of support for tourism.

The results indicated only a limited statistical difference between the various demographic groups in their attitude towards tourism. The results indicated that residents in the 51-61 age group had a more positive opinion about tourism in the Nadi area (mean = 4.6) than respondents in the 29-39 age group (mean = 4.1); that the higher the number of children under 18 living in the household, the less the support for tourism ($r = -0.42$); and that respondents who had children under 18 living in their household were disposed more favorably to tourism in the Nadi area (mean = 4.3) than respondents who did

Table 9. Perceptions about the Volume of Tourists Visiting the Nadi Area^a

Volume of Tourism	Percentage
Should Significantly Decrease	0.7
Should Decrease Somewhat	4.3
Not Change	12.8
Should Increase Somewhat	42.6
Should Significantly Increase	<u>39.7</u>
Total Percentage	100.0
Mean: 4.2	
Std. Dev: 0.9	

^a“How do you feel about the volume of tourists visiting this area?”

Table 10. Correlation Matrix between Variables Explaining Overall Opinion of Tourism in Nadi

	Q4	Q9	
Q1	0.25	0.22	Q1 = Feeling about Presence of Tourists (Table 1)
Q4	—	0.34	Q4 = Controlling Number of Tourists (Table 9)
Q9		—	Q9 = Overall Opinion of Tourism Industry (Table 8)

not have children under the age of 18 in their household (mean = 3.6).

Respondents' Support for Nadi Tourism

A stepwise multiple regression was conducted to determine what factors affect expressed support by residents for tourism in Nadi. The dependent variable was "overall opinion about the tourism industry in Nadi" (Table 8). As shown in Table 10, and unlike a number of earlier studies (Milman and Pizam 1988), this variable was not highly correlated with two other key ones, namely "feeling about the presence of tourists in Nadi" (Table 1) and "feelings about the volume of tourists" (Table 9). In the light of this apparent inconsistency, it was decided to use it as the sole dependent variable without combining the three into an index.

Twenty-three independent variables were included in the regression: four tourism impact variables; eight sociodemographic variables; eight describing the issues of perceptions of tourists, social relations with tourists, and willingness to work in tourism; and three impact indexes.

The 16 impact variables were identified as being highly intercorrelated. Three indexes were created: (a) *Legal/Environmental Impacts*—consisting of the variables used to measure the impacts of tourism on crime, organized crime, alcoholism, drug addiction, and traffic conditions; (b) *Social Conduct Impacts*—consisting of the variables of politeness and good manners, openness to sex, honesty, and confidence among people; and (c) *Economic Impacts*—consisting of the variables of income and standard of living, employment opportunities, and the town's tax revenue.

Table 11 shows the results of the multiple regression with "overall opinion of the tourism industry" as the dependent variable. As can be seen from the above, 9 out of the 23 independent variables were significant in explaining 69% of the variance in respondent attitudes towards the tourism industry in Nadi.

Residents whose overall opinion of tourism in Nadi was positive were found to have a number of personal characteristics and perceptions of tourism. They believed that tourism was having a negative impact on morality; that tourism was creating a negative impact on work attitudes; that local residents were willing to take work in the tourism industry; that tourism was improving the image of their com-

Table 11. Multiple Regression of Level of Support for Nadi's Tourism on Specific Opinions and Personal Characteristics

Variable	Standardized Regression Coefficient	F	Zero Order Correlation Coefficient	Cum R ²
Morality	-.57	71.4 ^a	-.55	.30
Work Attitudes	-.14	57.9 ^a	-.20	.37
Inhabitants Willing to Work in Tourism	.26	53.4	.23	.50
Town Image	.28	54.0 ^a	.45	.57
Difference between Tourists and Residents	-.34	50.0 ^a	-.10	.61
Quality of Life	-.33	48.0 ^a	.01	.64
Children under 18 at Home	.34	42.6 ^a	.29	.66
Legal Factors Index	-.31	41.6	-.13	.68
Family Employed in Tourism	-.14	38.3 ^a	.09	.69

$N = 165.$

$R^2 = 0.69.$

^a $p < .001.$

munity; that tourists were different from themselves; that tourism was impacting negatively on their quality of life; had more children under the age of 18 living in their households; that tourism was having a negative impact on legal/environmental factors; and that they did not have family members employed in the tourism industry.

One might have expected that in a population highly dependent on the tourism industry, and where most of the residents are employed in it, support for tourism would be associated with the belief that it causes only positive impacts or benefits. The results of this study suggest something different. In Nadi, tourism was not thought of as an activity whose impacts are positive in all respects, and was not perceived as "manna from heaven." On the contrary, though most respondents were highly dependent on tourism for employment, they recognized its shortcomings and negative impacts. Awareness of the negatives did not lead to reduced support. This is an important finding that suggests that residents of communities that are dependent on tourism can be highly discriminating in their opinions towards tourism and can differentiate between economic benefits and social/legal costs, while still remaining predominantly supportive of tourism.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of the study have indicated that support for the tourism industry in Nadi is strong among its residents. Residents were not opposed to tourism at its current levels and even favored its expansion.

Residents of Nadi regarded tourists as being very different from themselves, but expressed no negative feelings towards them. They demonstrated a predominantly positive feeling towards tourists and towards the industry. Despite this, they were able to point out some

specific negative impacts that, in their opinion, were brought about by tourism. Such negative impacts were alcoholism, drug addictions, individual crimes, organized crimes, openness to sex, and traffic conditions. The positive impacts that they pointed out were predominantly economic, but included a few social factors. The positive impacts were employment opportunities, town's overall tax revenue, income, and standard of living, work attitudes, quality of life, hospitality to strangers, and confidence among people.

This study has attempted to contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the perceptions of local residents, particularly those employed in or associated with the tourism industry, towards the presence of tourism. Until now, it was commonly believed that resident perceptions of such impacts were subjective, inconsistent, and affected by some factors more than others. A typical view has been that residents who benefit economically from tourism are supportive of it and that such support is associated with a belief that tourism causes *mostly* positive benefits. Following the same logic, those without a pecuniary interest in tourism would tend to regard its impacts in a negative light. Residents who expressed the view that tourism causes drug addiction or attracts organized crimes, for example, would almost automatically be opposed to tourism, so the argument goes.

The results of this study suggests that this state of affairs is not always the case and that support for tourism can be associated with a belief that it induces negative as well as positive impacts. Should the results noted above be confirmed in studies in other geographical areas, then these observations may form the foundation of some new hypotheses in the development of a theory of the social impacts of tourism.

In the past, tourism leaders have strongly denied the negative impacts that the industry can bring about in host communities. This denial has been based on a belief that if such an admission were to be made, then tourism would lose its vital support from residents, employees, and politicians. This study, if confirmed by others, suggests that even the industry's "best friends" are aware of its negative impacts and that support for tourism is not based on a belief that it causes *only* positive impacts on host communities. In the light of these findings, it would be wise for the private and public officials and leaders, worldwide, to admit candidly that the industry *can* cause negative impacts. Such an admission should allow industry members to work side by side with other concerned citizens to minimize the negative impacts. □ □

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