TOURISM FOR DEVELOPMENT AND THE NECESSARY

PROCESS OF ADAPTATION

By

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As the world becomes more globalized, tourism has gained significant prominence in low income countries engaged in conscious development efforts. While tourism is seen as a viable growth and development strategy, its impacts on local communities are not always apparent.

Tourism leads to an inevitable process of change. With tourism the flood of rapid globalization and influences from people from across the globe are introduced to what before may have been isolated communities. This intense increase in access to the global marketplace is challenging for the local population. Foreign culture and ideology are inconsistent with local experience. As tourism increases there will be exposure to foreign dress, foreign languages and foreign customs, some which may be adopted by certain community members and opposed by others. A demand for modern comforts will be created and many in the community will aspire to also enjoy these luxuries. The community will be exposed to different belief systems which may at times be confusing or offensive. Foreigners may want to move to the community to benefit from the new economic opportunities available as the tourism industry grows and often large international corporations may enter the market. Some of the impacts (like an importance on higher education) will be seen as positive and helpful to local residents; others (such as access to illegal drugs and illicit activities) may be negative and confusing. Whatever the community reaction may be, there is no denying that there will be exposure to what was previously unknown. Exposure to too much unknown can generate great cultural conflict. However, this conflict is not inevitably related to tourism.

Through the integration and collaboration of all parties involved in tourism, the conflict associated with the process of adaptation can be avoided. The tourism industry can

be advantageous when the fragility of the situation is understood and embraced. It can have a

positive influence on the country if the local population is prepared to understand the value it

can bring while not allowing it to dominate or eliminate original cultures. The key

participants to insure success include the local population and local organizations, the

international community (tourists from abroad and also foreign investors and businesses

entering the market), and an outside consultant who can be an ambassador to both the local

and international components.

The importance of fostering understanding and comprehension regarding the global

society will lead to quicker acceptance among community members. This can be aided by

providing the local population an increased amount of power. Local participation will create

an ownership of the development process that should extend to every member of the

community. Through this ownership the projects become a part of the community and

residents strive to make collective projects a success. The people will also have greater

understanding of the process through their involvement, thus they will experience less fear

and quicker adaptation.

The role of the tourist to the community is also significant. Visitors must appreciate

and be conscientious toward the culture of the community. They must acknowledge the

residual impact their involvement is going to leave. Both their physical presence and their

cultural differences will bring new challenges to the residents. Through appreciation of their

impact the tourist can help rather than hinder the host society. As Erve Chambers describes,

"a truly culturally sensitive and potentially enriching travel experience has its foundations in

recognizing rather than trying to disassociate ourselves from the tourism consequences."

Chambers's suggests the traveler can be more considerate and sympathetic.

A knowledgeable outside partner can be a vital asset to developing communities. Because this person is educated regarding both the local cultural nuances and the international systems he can take on the role of facilitator and collaborator. "Tourism projects are conscious capitalistic development" (Douglass, 2005). As such the project coordinators are first and foremost concerned with the bottom line. A consultant can benefit community well-being and project profits through careful coordination of goals. The reason most travelers want to visit developing countries stems from their unique cultural and environmental richness. If not carefully managed the differences will be quickly destroyed and so will the tourist draw. Maintenance of the environment and culture should be key objectives of all tourism development projects.

The primary purpose of this paper is to identify the process of adaptation when converting from a localized self-sustaining economic platform to a society integrated in the global market. This process is often characterized by an excessive amount of anxiety and conflict that stems from the ambiguity and volatility of international systems. Through careful cooperation of all involved, adjustment can take place while successfully maintaining local culture and resources. Primary objectives should require an increased understanding of the process of adaptation that a community experiences. Through this understanding and decreasing of the necessary process of adaptation, cultural stresses can be lessened, negative externalities can be prevented, and community ties maintained.

Impact of tourism

Today there are different classifications for the different kinds of tourism. Each requires specific needs from both the host community and the traveler. In its

Recommendations on Tourism Statistics from 1994 the United Nations divided tourism into three main categories: domestic tourism, in which residents of a given country travel within their country; inbound tourism, non-residents traveling in the given country; and outbound tourism, residents of the country traveling to another country. This paper will focus mainly on the impacts from inbound tourism from abroad. With inbound tourism the cultural, economic and moral clashes are most prominent.

The tourist industry is rapidly expanding. The following statistics from the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) emphasize this growth. From 1950 to 2005, international tourism arrivals expanded at an annual rate of 6.5%, growing from 25 million travelers in 1950 to 842 million in 2006. Revenues generated by the tourism industry grew more than tourism itself and even more than the world economy as a whole, at a growth rate of 11.2%, producing an income of around US$ 680 billion in 2005. Tourism is also becoming more diversified. In 1950 the top fifteen destinations absorbed 88% of international arrivals, while in 2005 it had decreased to 57%. The previous statistic emphasizes that as the world has become more globalized, developing countries have emerged as popular tourist destinations and are beginning to receive a larger portion of visitors, even when they may not be prepared to handle the multiplication. UNWTO predicts the long-term forecast of international tourist arrivals to grow 4.1% through 2020. Meaning that by 2020 international arrivals are expected to surpass 1.5 billion people a year. This will create an opportunity for every country in the world to partake in the process of tourism and optimistically also benefit from the income it generates.

Tourism is vital for many countries. Due to the large increase of foreign currency that tourism brings, many countries are turning to the tourism industry as a primary source of

income. In fact the amount of money traded in tourism activities was more than US$ 575

billion in 2000- making tourism the world's number one export earner, ahead of even

petroleum and food. (UNEP, 2002). The opportunity for new businesses such as hotels,

airlines, restaurants, guide services and more, greatly increase the employment opportunities

in the service industries that are associated with advanced nations. These are established

almost immediately. There is also potential for great influx of foreign capital. If managed

well, the increase in wealth can create new occupational opportunities for citizens from all

social classes and all levels of education.

However, it is not always possible for everyone to benefit from the tourism industry.

There are some basic requirements that must be in place to stimulate travel from both the

traveler and the local populace in the host country. People who choose to travel must have

free time away from work and extra income to make considering the trip possible. This is

why, until recently, the great majority of travel has been performed by those in advanced

Western countries. A major consequence of this is the globalization of Western ideologies

and culture which is often seen as harming local characteristics. Those traveling must have a

curiosity surrounding some aspect of the location to visit; often this curiosity surrounds the

very characteristic of the location that is subject to disappearing.

The community receiving the tourists must also fulfill a number of prerequisites

before becoming a possible vacation spot. Safety is usually the number one condition that

must be realized before opening borders to tourism. Freedom from armed conflict,

transparency in the government, a stable economy and a well preserved infrastructure are all

essential components to safety. There also must be something worth visiting. This is often

tied into the exotic environments and cultures that one can experience while traveling. The

governments of the developing travel destinations must recognize the importance of creating a

welcoming environment with out losing sight of local needs and while preserving local

cultures and customs.

In the modern world, organizations have been created to promote travel and meet the

ever increasing needs of an international tourism industry. The United Nations, for example,

has been committed to the advancement of tourism since its inauguration. In 1946 the First

International Congress of National Tourism met in London, and decided to create a new

international non-governmental organization to replace the pre-existing International Union of

Official Tourist Propaganda Organizations (IUOTPO). Two years later the new institute, the

International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) that would later become the

World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), established its connection with the United Nations.

The UNWTO is now self-described on their website as a "specialized agency of the United

Nations and the leading international organization in the field of tourism. It serves as a global

forum for tourism policy issues and a practical source of tourism know-how." The

organization seeks to promote and develop the tourism industry "with a view to contributing

to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity, and universal

respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all" with special

emphasis on promoting sustainable tourism in developing countries. The international

community places much emphasis on tourism because of the many benefits possible, and

because of the great risks involved if not integrated properly. Through its involvement the

UNWTO hopes to assuage these risks.

It seems that the tourism industry is soon going to infiltrate all corners of the world,

and it is only natural for the developing world to harvest the human tendency to travel into a

successful income earner. The following case studies provide a detailed analysis of how tourism has been integrated into economically developing communities and the perceived effects and changes.

Austrian case study

The many evils of tourism are also documented in studies by practicing anthropologists and social scientists. Case studies concerning the expansion of tourism in other developing countries reveal similar situations to the one described above. In an article titled **"**Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism in the Austrian Alps" Herbert G. Kariel depicts how tourism altered four mountain communities in the Austrian Alps. Prior to the introduction of the tourist industry the livelihood of the communities was based on agriculture. Tourism was initially driven by small local establishments, but at the time of the study the community had been overrun by "large international luxury class hotels, each with the capacity to displace several smaller entrepreneurs […] furthering the trend away from local ownership and control." The undesirable consequences of turning the primary industry of these communities to tourism "centered on changes in traditional family life, with less time spent by parents with each other and their children […] diminishing cooperation among community members" (Kariel 1989). Also mentioned was the necessity to maintain local control over growth, the greatly increased prices of products with disproportionate increase in income, and increased competition due to stagnation in the number of visitors paired with continued rise of new residents hoping to profit from the tourist industry. There was also great concern among community members that the village would grow too large, they would lose sight of distinct cultural characteristics, and the town would no longer be recognizable.

Although negative aspects are often highlighted, these communities are also experiencing benefits. More jobs have been created, better education facilities have been built and maintained, more women are now working outside the home, there have been improvements in infrastructure, and in general there has been a rise in the standard of living. There have also been large changes in influences from the outside world which affect local customs and routines. It is unclear to what extent, if at all, the benefits outweigh the shortcomings.

Upon returning to these same villages ten years later, the communities seem to have adjusted to the inconsistencies of tourism. Once the community members acclimated to their new way of life they became comfortable as neighbors and once again more engaged in the lives of others. "Significant elements which have appeared are increasing acculturation to tourism and the desire to control growth. Residents have come to accept tourism as the economic foundation of their community and tourists as an integral part of their lives rather than outsiders." (Kariel, 1989). This suggests that there is an important adjustment period to the life of a tourist destination. Favorable reception and acceptance may result after residents realize that they are able to compete with foreign capital and maintain their own way of life. The process of adaptation, as I have called it, can not always be witnessed first hand. Often it is only after returning many years later that the changes of opinion become obvious.

Belize Case Study

A second case study reveals similar findings. Dr. Patrick Tierney of San Francisco State University studied the impact of a 131% increase in the number of visitors, between 1988 and 1994 on Belize's natural and cultural resources. The study compares two

communities, San Pedro, the country's largest and better established tourist destination with extensive hotel and resort development, and Cay Caulker, a quieter village on a very small island, with recently expanded tourism and no large resorts. The study was based on observations and judgments of those living and traveling to the communities.

There was a great difference of opinion between the two areas. The dissimilar negative effects of tourism identified suggest a large disparity between the two communities. "Problems in the local community related to tourism, showed significant differences between the two study communities […] In rapidly expanding San Pedro problems were most likely to be pollution, shortages, inadequate infrastructure and lack of control over growth. While in Cay Caulker resident merchants were more likely to cite social problems, like loss of sense-of-community and crime." (Tierney, 1999). The differences in how residents of each community viewed the negative externalities of tourism could originate from differing values between populations, different styles of tourism and different types of guests that each attracts, or a difference of timing, one being further developed and more accustomed to the industry or in other words farther along in the process of adaptation. In the third possibility, San Pedro could be seen as focused on environmental and infrastructure problems because the community members have already gone through an acculturation to their new way of life and thus no longer feel a loss of kinship or cooperation with their neighbors.

Tourism and Cultural Integration

The case studies identify both positives and negatives associated with the integration of the tourist industry into a developing community. The benefits tourism produces must be nourished and the damages reduced. We don't know why the inner processes of tourism are

embedded in such conflict. However, it is possible that the lack of enthusiasm and general

pessimism do not necessarily indicate negativity toward tourism itself, but stem more from

the unknown of becoming part of the vast global system that often appears intimidating and

unmanageable. Local citizens may not understand if they will be able to compete with large

multinational organizations in the global market. With the quick flood of change that the

tourism industry brings to communities there is not an adequate adjustment period causing

members in the community to feel the need to resist the changes. Their inability to adapt

quickly to the new market leads to confusion and distortion, which in turn is expressed as

disapproval toward tourism. The community begins to blame all problems, whether they

existed before or not, on tourism and tourists. The game of accountability often overshadows

the search for ways to make the new system work in their favor.

        The atmosphere of apprehension and confusion is most likely not exclusively related

to tourism. The increases of foreign influence based in other sectors may be just as likely to

induce similar uncertainty concealed as negativity; tourism, on the other hand, brings all

members of a host community in direct contact with the global scene. There is no hiding

from rapid globalization when your livelihood directly depends on the amount of satisfied

visitors from abroad, on making them feel as welcome and as at home as possible. Since the

promises of the benefits of tourism cannot be denied, the question that must be asked is how

can we ameliorate the cultural conflicts that arise? The negatives associated with tourism

must be diminished so that developing countries can harness the positives for their own

benefit. This is where the role of a third outside party can aid the community. Through

external knowledge and understanding a third party guide can help focus the ownership of

development to the local community giving them more control and thus lessening the anxiety.

Until recently, tourism was viewed fundamentally destructive as an "intrusion on largely passive host communities" (Chambers, 2005). There is an unconscious bias that anthropologists experience as they study and reflect on tourism, especially tourism as a development tactic for communities with "untouched," "pristine" cultures. Tourism researcher Edward Bruner even goes as far as to say that anthropologists ignore the actual presence of international tourism as a viable industry and many are resistant to the anthropology of tourism as a legitimate object of study. It is suggested that the reason many anthropologists have trouble addressing tourism is due to the way it is a component of their academic careers. (Lanfant, 1995). The deep-rooted stereotypes of tourism that plague the anthropologist must be discarded before he can realize his responsibility and help the community benefit from the tourist industry.

We cannot stop tourism from expanding and we cannot deprive communities of tourism as a viable development tactic. Tourism is going to occur and there will be some members of the community driving it. This creates an important role for the social scientist – the role of guide. In our increasingly interconnected world, the old-fashioned anthropologist attitude that the best way to maintain a culture is to seclude it, cannot be sustained. To shelter and hide a community from the rest of the world is not only unfair to community members, it is nearly impossible. "The concerned anthropologist simply no longer has the luxury of dismissing tourism out of hand by either ignoring or condemning it." (Douglas, 2005.) Instead of allowing an integrated culture to become overrun or ruined by the outside world an anthropologist can help the culture maintain its unique attributes. It is the anthropologists' duty to help the culture understand the changes that modernization and foreign influence like

tourism will bring. Hopefully through this guide the importance of preserving cultural

identity will be understood by all players.

Furthermore, given that "tourism is in its own right one of the most powerful cultural

forces of our time" (Chambers 2005) anthropologists have the important responsibility of

documenting and understanding the phenomenon as an agent of change that is currently acting

to transform and integrate virtually all cultures. The role of the cultural social scientist must

change if he is to continue to provide information. No longer are the days of "becoming

native" to share with the world the way "the other" lives. Soon there will be no other. As

globalization continues to reach out and connect even the most remote communities, the

various societies will gain access to a broader global culture as they are increasingly exposed

to one another. Cultural studies must grasp this global culture, must recognize it as the

irreversible trend that it is, and must play its part to harness and control the negative aspects

while increasing the maintenance of individual cultural differences.

Recently, there has been collective action for anthropologists to become players in the

development of tourism and especially cultural based tourism. It is difficult to address how

the commoditization of one's cultural beliefs marketed to foreigners for monetary gains can

be beneficial, but in a 2005 article from the NAPA Bulletin, Susan C Stonich makes

compelling arguments in favor of integrated community based tourism guided by an

anthropological presence. "Effective community participation essentially is based on an

understanding of extant social relations." The anthropologist can help facilitate the fifteen

principles that Stonich emphasizes. These principles include acting as an ambassador for the

local community while understanding the objectives of outside players, bringing to light a

realistic understanding of the role of the community, identifying weaknesses and calling out

ignorance of the larger systems to which the community must adapt, establishing new

institutions and means to resolve conflict where necessary, insuring that local people have real

representation and are able to benefit socially and economically from the projects. The costs

of ignoring the cultural landscape can be incurable. Analyses by the World Bank and USAID

highlight that "the average economic rate of return for rural development projects which have

incorporated sociocultural analysis was more than double that for projects which had been

poorly appraised from a sociocultural viewpoint" (Cernea 1992). International development

organizations recommend that all players involved communicate and interact to collectively

discover the best way to benefit all.

       Of course this will be a very difficult undertaking. The guide will not be able to

preserve all aspects of the culture, however preservation of some is better than the alternative

loss of all. According to Douglas and Lacy the anthropologist can make "positive

contributions to such [tourism development] projects…her linguistic and cultural fluency

might well facilitate communication and thereby minimize misunderstanding among all

parties." The social guide can also "infuse knowledge of what has worked (and failed)

elsewhere" through his access to the academic discourse that has come before. In brief,

tourism development plans that do not rely on the expertise of an anthropologist or other

cultural consultant have far greater flaws than a program incorporating such a professional.

The negative effects are further intensified when the program is designed and implemented by

outside organizations with no knowledge base of the local community.

Costa Rica Case Study

My own research also emphasizes these claims. Costa Rica is one of the developing countries that has been most successful creating a development plan based around tourism. When people think of eco-tourism Costa Rica is often the tropical paradise that comes to mind. With its beautiful beaches, lush jungles, and reputation for peace this Central American country was ideally positioned to break into the tourism market.

Based on an ethnographic research project funded by an Undergraduate Research Grant through the University of Arizona Honors College I am able to describe how one town has been affected by an increased tourism industry. The study consists of eighteen personal interviews of citizens of the town of Puerto Viejo de Talamanca, Costa Rica. In addition to the interviews, I also observed the proceedings and customs of the town on a daily basis for two weeks. My study was limited due to time constraints, gender and age differences, and in some cases a language barrier.

This research identified a number of reoccurring themes and issues. The town has grown very quickly (in both population and new construction activity) over the past fifty years due to its popularity as a tourist destination. One main issue is that the many changes that have occurred in the community have affected people's relationships with their neighbors. Many informants identified that it is now much more difficult to stay acquainted with their neighbors, let alone the people who live across town. There is a destructive cycle stemming from the lack of a personal connection. It has affected the amount of support people see themselves receiving from the community and on the flip side also the amount of support they are willing to provide to their neighbors and the rest of the community in general. Both antagonize the effects of the other.

Other main concerns for informants were addressing children's needs emphasizing education, community betterment (beach clean ups was the most frequently mentioned), and the lack of community meetings and organizations. One informant in particular was upset about the reduced government support for the school systems, "What's important is educating the mind of these children…but we need something to educate and that, that is money." (Informant 1.) Without government support for vital social services such as the education system, the growing communities are often not able to handle the added stresses; this was the case I observed in Puerto Viejo. Citizens did not feel that the community as a whole was attending to collective issues mainly due to the lack of support and funds that the government was allocating for these projects. The "corruption," "greed" and "dishonesty" of community leaders was mentioned as a major factor affecting community betterment projects, as was the increasing number of tourists and expatriates who were settling in Puerto Viejo.

Corruption in the government was the main scapegoat for the ills of the community. Community members blamed the government for the changes taking place. "It [getting involved in politics and trying to find worthy politicians] is like sitting on an ant's nest. You are not moving anywhere and you get all bit up." (Informant 2).   Citizens worried that with the great influx of foreign influence in the country leaders were being more and more influenced by the needs and desires of the outside companies and investors, and were no longer looking out for what was best for its own people. Officials at all levels were accused of taking bribes from global companies and of letting these companies devastate important issues like the environment, social services, and cultural identity. In view of the opinion that the large international corporations and foreigners were doing so much damage the local people could not understand what good it would do for them to persevere to protect these

assets. Regardless of whether or not these statements were true, they shaped the way the community members thought about their new lifestyle and the many issues involved.

Since tourism became the leading source of income, people have been relocating to Puerto Viejo from both abroad and other communities in the country to capitalize on the growing industry. Although locals try to keep up with the influx of foreigners and foreign capital, they find it hard to compete. Thus, in this study, informants mentioned immigration as a negative. Immigrants are making it difficult for locals to maintain successful businesses and also taking money they earn out of the community. These people think that the expatriates don't care about the community. However, the one expatriate I spoke with painted a different picture. She cares very much about the local people and the community and, possibly because she is foreign, she still has the drive to make it better, to hold the government accountable for its promises and to make a difference. Community residents who mentioned all immigrants as a negative need to be exposed to people like her and like the many outsiders who are able to help ease the process of adaptation to a tourism driven community. Through these types of people, residents will be offered a different perspective of foreigners so that they can utilize the plethora of outside experience and untapped knowledge that these players can bring to the table.

The tourism industry has had great effects on the amount of time citizens had to spend together. Compared to the old farming lifestyle, introducing tourism was a twenty-four hour a day, seven days a week business. "The people used to do simple things. Now most people are very concerned with money and are caught up in the competition tourism has brought to the community." (Informant 4.) The local people do not have the time to spend in their community due to the fact that tourism occupies the majority of time and energy. According

to citizens, the current service driven lifestyle is the most different than their old lives as farmers because the life of a farming community was much more collective. People remember having time to sit on the porch and share a beer. When it was time to work neighbors were more than willing to lend a hand, knowing that next month when their crop was ready, the favor would be returned.

In Puerto Viejo, one observes that the increased tourist industry has created a situation in which it is extremely difficult to justify taking time away from work, which will mean losing business to competition, to maintain or advance the community. Residents, themselves, feel they are no longer able to do the time consuming work to support social services. Rather they prefer to blame the decline of these services on flawed government officials, even though there are officials struggling to help. The people need to do more to support the leaders who are trying to help rather than continually look over their shoulders and complain. An outside guide would be a beneficial partner in identifying worthy officials and garnering support for those individuals.

The tourist industry has created a large difference in the community where there was not a difference before. Those who are lucky enough to have opened successful businesses of their own are much more profitable than those who must depend on other people for their livelihoods. In the twenty-four hour a day tourist industry there is less time for relaxing and getting to know your neighbors leading to increased competition even among friends. The flood of foreigners moving to the community has weakened the emphasis on collective accomplishments.

The majority of informants were nostalgic for their old way of life as a farming community. The hustle and bustle of the new town brought added stress and disorder to their

lives. In addition to not spending as much time together, many people were moving out of town while strangers were moving in. The younger population seemed to feel more comfortable with the tourism industry. As they matured so did their town and because of this mutual transformation they seem to better understand and accept the ills of tourism. The process of adaptation is more accepted by younger generations because their minds are open to the thought of globalization. Teenagers and young adults across the globe are excited about many of the same international phenomenon and trends

Where to go from here

Tourism can be a vital development tool when initiated with the aid of knowledgeable people. However, it must be noted that as a development strategy tourism comes with inherent negative hegemonic relationships. "Whoever controls the imagery of tourism also controls in many respects the ways in which a country is represented, how its symbols are valued, and how its various constituencies and ethnic components are recognized or not recognized." (Chambers, 2005). People involved must understand the local community and culture and also the objectives of large international aid organizations and multinational corporations. The anthropologist is perfectly positioned as a connection between the two levels of tourism as a tool for development.

According to Valene L Smith of California State University at Chico, "Globalization is having a major effect on the world, and tourism is one of the main agents of this process." She goes on to later describe the role of the anthropologist, "as a tourism anthropologist…our awareness of cross-cultural variation and our expertise in cultural relativism provide a wealth of skills that are directly applicable to the world's growing travel industry." Without the

anthropologist as key player, understanding will be abandoned and anthropological goals will

be demoralized. "As anthropologists we potentially build a more peaceful world when we

contribute to better travel experience for both hosts and guests of all social classes, cultures,

and backgrounds." (Smith, 2005). This more peaceful and more understanding world is only

possible through the interconnectivity of anthropological ideals and tourism development

tactics.

Stemming from the concept that the outside social guide can be a vital player in

introducing tourism to developing communities, Erve Chambers expands to include another

important outside player, the tourist himself. The tourist has a critical responsibility to the

communities in which tourism is introduced, what he does while visiting will not only affect

the people with whom he specifically interacts but will have overarching affects on the

community in general and on the discipline of tourism in general. Chambers attests that most

tourists do not understand the consequences of their choices and that if they were better

informed they might be less of a liability to the image of tourism in general. Therefore, he

sees an integral role of the cultural consultant as teacher and guide to these international

tourists. Chamber's outlines ten specific tips for travelers.

> One: Understand that when you travel you are a consumer or precious goods and places.
> Two: Recognize that in many of the places you travel, your relationships to the local population is primarily economic and is broadly influences by dramatic differences in wealth.
> Three: Learn to recognize local customs regarding dress and behavior but don't overdo it.
> Four: There are subtleties concerning the uses and conventions of 'foreign' language exchanges that you can't find in a phrase book.
> Five: Learn to appreciate the elusive nature of authenticity.
> Six: Make an effort to understand how tourism operates in the places you visit.
> Seven: Consider tourism experiences that are community-based.
> Eight: Be wary of overly simplified distinctions between 'mass' tourism and the 'new' tourism.

Nine: Be aware of the inner 'child' that travels with you.
Ten: Strive to be a good host.

The way Chambers emphasizes the roles of all players in the tourism encounter creates an integrated partnership. This partnership includes members of the local community, tourists themselves, multinational corporations and aid organizations, and a social scientist perspective. By means of equal interactions and increased understanding between these four partners it is possible to reduce apprehension and negativity toward tourism as a development tactic. By reducing the anxiety, it is my opinion that the process of adaptation will be quickly advanced for all involved.

This paper has analyzed the effects of the implementation of tourism as a development strategy. Through the analysis of Herbert G. Kariel's research in the Austrian Alps, Dr. Patrick Tierny's research from Belize and my own ethnographic research in Coast Rica it became apparent that there is a predictable period of adaptation. This adaptation process is often characterized in the local population by conflict and anxiety surrounding ambiguity of the outside world. This generally lessens after the process of adaptation is fulfilled. Once I identified the process of adaptation, I arranged a literary analysis of the existing discourse related to the effects of tourism and the study of tourism and development. I hoped to connect the existing knowledge with my ideas to discover a possible system which would speed the process of adaptation and move the citizens through the phase of apprehension.

A key concept that was shown throughout the discourse was the importance placed on integration and communication of all actors involved in the tourism and development projects. The local community must take responsibility for the development, the international community must recognize the significance of preservation of the local cultures and environments, and there is an important role for an individual to be able to connect and bring

all factors together. All involved must realize that success for one includes success for all and in the long run they cannot be separated.

The main objective in describing the role of an outside guide, as I have labeled this person, was to address the question of how to ensure a participatory development plan that benefited the local community while still addressing the goals of the international community. However, the framework that I establish cannot become a success without a collective call for action to change the way the tourism industry and development in general have been addressed. It was established that the cultural unrest and anxiety impairing local communities stems from the way tourism is currently implemented. If the process of tourism is not changed, local cultures and environments will continue to be subject to hegemonic influences from the outside. Through a collective development plan aided by a knowledgeable and educated outside guide, the communities will be able to harness the benefits of tourism and avoid the cultural disharmony and disruption that often accompanies tourism.

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