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Local Residents' Responses to Tourism as a Framework to Understand Hosts' Responses to Short-Term Missions

Abstract

The research on the perspectives of the hosts in short-term missions is beginning to gain a stronger presence in the literature on short-term missions. To analyze the hosts' point of view in short-term missions, this article uses four theoretical frameworks from the anthropology of tourism that measure hosts' attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions of tourism, its development and impacts. The result is that the hosts may show advocacy, concession, contention, or resignation towards short-term missions.

Keywords: Short-term missions, anthropology, theory, tourism, hosts

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Introduction

Tourism is the world's largest industry, touching almost every corner of the globe. Researchers have been interested for decades in studying tourism and its impacts. Initially, anthropologists avoided studying tourism because it was thought to be a frivolous pursuit, not worthy of scholarly attention (Burns 2004; Nash et. al. 1981). A few anthropologists realized that tourism affected not only markets and economics but it also affected the host community in multifaceted ways. In 1963, the first anthropological study of tourism was published by Theron Nunez (1963). He described the economic, environmental, social, and cultural changes caused by tourism in a rural area of Mexico.

Tourism researchers in the mid-1970s began to look at local residents' attitudes, perceptions and behaviors towards tourism (Doxey 1975; Butler 1975). What the locals think and how they behave towards tourism is significant because they play a vital role in planning and policymaking, tourism marketing, and the successful growth of the industry. Some descriptive works brought an initial understanding of local residents' attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors towards tourism and its impacts (Allen, Long, Perdue, and Kieselbach 1988; Boissevain 1979; Murphy 1983; Sheldon and Var 1984). Even though these works sought the emic voice, they lacked theoretical orientation with limited reliability and validity measures (Ap 1993). Other studies are more than descriptive, proposing a theory and framework to understand the residents' responses to tourism (Doxy 1975; Butler 1974; Dogan 1989; Ap and Crompton 1993). Stronza states, "Although a vast literature exists on the subject of local responses to social changes wrought by tourists, relatively few studies have explored the attitudes and ideas of local residents toward outsiders" (Stronza 2001:272).

The purpose of this paper is to use local residents' responses to tourism found within the anthropology of tourism to develop a framework to understand the hosts' perspectives in short-term missions. Short-term missions, for the most part, do not have the same magnitude of effects in the areas of economics, cultural change, population growth, and environmental change as tourism. Nevertheless, the frameworks in tourism measuring hosts' attitudes and behaviors of tourism can correlate with the hosts' attitudes and behaviors towards short-term missions. To accomplish this goal I provide the following. First, an overview is given of the attitudes and behaviors of the hosts of short-term missions. Second, a brief summary of the main areas of research in tourism scholarship is provided. Third, I demonstrate the similarities between tourism and short-term missions. Last, I look at the theories and frameworks of the local residents' views of tourism, for the purposes of developing a possible new way of classifying the attitudes and behaviors of the hosts' of short-term missions.

Short-Term Missions

The research on the perspectives of the local hosts of short-term missions is thin, yet beginning to gain a small presence in literature (Barr 2003; Birth 2006; Brown 2003; Livermore 2001, 2006; Reese 2007; Terry 2002; Van Engen 2000; Ver Beek 2006; Wood 1998). Three dissertations are solely devoted to the hosts' point of view (Barber 2010; Palmatier 2007; Raines 2008). Robert Priest noted that Americans have studied short-term missions from the perspective of what short-term missions can accomplish for themselves and have ignored the insider's voice. The short-termers have been central in the analysis, instead of the locals who receive the groups (Priest 2007). His findings and other perspectives are in the *Journal of Latin American Theology* (Cerron 2007; Eitzen 2007; Maslucan 2007).

In Ghana and Rwanda, Corrie Baar (2003) interviewed nationals and then residential missionaries (seven people in ministry and six lay people) who were involved with short-term missions. The interviewees were mostly positive in their views of short-term missions because teams helped the local churches by bringing exposure and attention to them. Seeing the short-termers working hard and sacrificing to travel were inspiring and some of the hosts built strong relationships with them. Yet some hosts had negative views, in that they would prefer short-termers to spend more time and build stronger relationships with the nationals instead of with fellow short-termers in their group. The hosts thought most of the short-termers' evangelism was unhelpful because they did not understand the local cultural context. Their teaching methods and illustrations, many times, were misunderstood by the locals. Their appeals for people to make salvation decisions, of which many locals appeared to do, were judged to be inauthentic by the locals. Locals were attracted to events mainly because of the short-termers' white skin and because they thought they could access resources through them.

Ronald Barber (2010) looked at hosts of short-term missions in Japan and found that they have a generally positive view of short-term missions, yet their views are still ambiguous (2010:174). Some hosts report of the many failings of short-term missions, while others report of the benefits of short-term missions in their ministry, outweighing the problems. Often, the hosts experienced cultural tensions with the short-termers in their home and to deal with this, the hosts developed "an understanding tolerance for inappropriate behavior, but they were still painfully aware of what that behavior looked like to most other Japanese" (2010:146). Hosts found that if they corrected the short-termers or the group's behavior, they usually responded appropriately. The hosts utilized the cultural foreignness of short-termers as a way to evangelize, creating access points for Japanese Christians within Japanese culture. When native English speakers are present often times the Japanese church was granted access to people and places they would

not usually be allowed to access. Barber calls for a host directed approach to short-term missions, which includes careful listening, long-term thinking, cultural awareness, and a focus on relationships. His work also highlights the work of culture brokers. He says, "One of the significant findings from this study is that the Japanese mediators are vital to the work of short-term missions because of the many roles they must fulfill. Without culture brokers, short-term missions becomes a case of the blind leading the blind" (2010:153).

Lary Brown's (2003) research focused on the participants' and receivers' perspectives of a short-term mission trip and program in 1999 from Seventh-day Adventist churches in Oregon who traveled to India for a collaborative evangelistic campaign. He interviewed two Indian ordained ministers and three Indian section administrators. The administrators thought that the wealth of the foreign short-termers in the eyes of the locals was a problem because many Indians were baptized hoping that material prosperity would happen and when it does not, they turn away from the faith (2001:180). Some of the short-termers gave their e-mail addresses and home addresses to local Indian pastors who later wrote to them asking for financial help. The host thought that this act should be discouraged because it creates divisions among the people. The campaign was viewed as something done to the locals, instead of with the locals. Brown says, "This discredits the local believers in the eyes of their neighbors and the new members. The local believers and leaders are somehow inferior to believers from elsewhere" (2001:191-192). Some thought the short-termers did everything possible to make the gospel understandable to the Indians, while others advised the short-termers to not preach from manuscripts, which was confusing for the locals (2001:182).

David Livermore (2001, 2006) found what he calls "conflicting images", which are images held by North American short-termers that are completely different than the perceptions of the Christians who hosts these teams. For instance, one American displayed urgency, saying "We've got to do something. The window of opportunity is now! The time for change is ripe. We must seize this opportunity." The nationals' thought, "You too quickly get into the action without thinking through the implications on our churches long after you go home" (2006:59).

Aaron Palmatier (2007) is a long-term career missionary having been involved in short-term mission work for twenty-five years and interviewed thirty-nine pastors in Mexican cities. The positive experiences the Mexican pastors reported were getting to know foreign Christians, working and worshipping together, benefits to the ministry of the church, economic help, evangelism assistance, teaching and training seminars, fulfilling medical needs, and new locals being attracted by the foreigners. The negative experiences the Mexican pastors reported were cultural offenses, being unprepared to serve in a foreign culture and participating in activities in which the local church did

not want or need. The pastors thought the short-termers hindered the church by inappropriate behavior, bringing broken items, disrespecting cultural differences and giving gifts to individuals instead of the church. The major mistakes made by the short-termers were their lack of understanding of cultural differences (men with long hair, smoking, wearing shorts), lacking in Spanish language ability, disrespecting their leaders, and not listening to local leaders' advice of do's and don'ts (2007:21-22). Palmatier thinks that short-term mission teams must be trained for cultural awareness on their trip because if they are not, their witness and credibility can be ruined.

Jeffrey Raines (2008) interviewed six laypersons and three local Mexican pastors who were in partnership with Raines' church through short-term missions. He also interviewed nine leaders of the Baptist Convention, not from North America, who were connected with a worldwide Baptist body. The hosts' perceived positive personal benefits when hosting a short-term mission group, for they were inspired, encouraged, and motivated. This inspiration came from seeing short-termers sacrifices of time, effort and money to come and visit them. The interviewees mentioned that church attendance increased and they acquired access to more homes while doing evangelism door to door. Negative views of short-term missions (more came from the Baptist executives than the Mexicans) were general anecdotes, including unknowingly creating dependence through improper use of resources, failing to properly communicate or prepare enough, imposing culture, plans, and opinions onto the nationals, failing to keep promises and only visiting one time (45, 59, 116). Some executives thought short-term missions was damaging to their local long-term ministry, self-centered, culturally offensive and a misguided use of finances (115). No single theme from the hosts' perspective stands out in Raines' work, demonstrating that a multitude of opinions surround short-term missions work and its participants. Three viewpoints - enthusiasm, ambivalence, and disdain - were found in one interview (2008:115).

In Trinidad, Kevin Birth (2006) found that short-term mission participants did not understand the complex Trinidadian culture, especially the ethnic differences and Caribbean Hegelianism. Some Trinidadians view Americans' wealth as compromising to their spirituality, leading the Trinidadians to feel that they themselves are better able to minister to fellow Trinidadians than Americans. This leads to the question Birth asks, "If the hosts' evaluation of American spirituality is truthful, and if Americans, in general, are less equipped to minister to their hosts than their hosts are equipped to minister to themselves, then what is the justification for a short-term mission trip?" (2006:503). Trinidadians felt that short-termers' goals of winning converts and improving morality in society were limited. Short-term mission participants failed to realize the longstanding historical presence of

Christianity in Trinidad. However, Trinidadians witnessed their power structure inverted when the white Americans engaged in manual labor. Birth said that this: (1) reversed the historical master/servant relationship in Trinidad, (2) showed that white Americans are not above people of Trinidad, and (3) showed how in a certain way Americans are inferior to Trinidadians (2006:506).

Robert Reese (2007) studied the problem of dependency in two cases: mission work accomplished by families of the Churches of Christ in Zimbabwe in 1980 and Southern Baptist mission work in Rhodesia in 1950. Reese found dependency in both cases. He interviewed a mission executive who thought that short-term missions created dependency through giving money, equipment, computers, and cars to pastors with no accountability in the use of these resources. The church members were surprised to see their pastor driving a new car and sending his children to expensive schools. Reese says, "These members become understandably disconnected from their pastor and his ministry, since he is no longer theirs. They have become powerless through the good intentions of strangers" (2007:982). Reese thinks that short-termers seek to accomplish measurable achievements in a short period of time but do not contemplate the impacts they have on the locals. Short-termers frequently think they can solve the hosts' problems, even though they do not understand the hosts' situation and this can inadvertently contribute to a sense of powerlessness and dependency among the hosts. To overcome these problems, Reese suggests that short-termers should be adequately trained in cross-cultural sensitivity through learning about the history, language, religions, and culture of the locals.

Rick Wood (1998) interviewed Steve Saint who described how Auca Indians of Ecuador became dependent on the projects of short-term missions. The two projects were constructing a church building and Bible conferences. Saint said, "The outsiders would bring rice and sugar, and it would be a big festive occasion. But the Huaorani couldn't afford rice and they couldn't get sugar, so they figured this is something that the outsiders do. So they never have a Bible conference of their own". In reference to constructing a church building, the locals never build one themselves. Saint said, "When I asked them why, they said, 'Oh, the outsiders build churches'". He goes on to say about the short-termers, "They were not intentionally creating dependency, but people come in with good intentions to do things, not understanding the context in which they're doing them. This undermines the churches and the initiative of the people" (1998:9).

In El Salvador and South Africa, Stephen Offutt (2011) gathered ethnographic data, finding two different interactions between short-term missions and their hosts. Hosts encounter short-term missions "as foreign objectivated social products, internalize them, and then combine them

through cognitive exercises with existing local objects they have also internalized in order to externalize new or adapted social phenomena” (2011:800). In doing this, they seek to control and recruit short-term missions. They try to control what short-term missions do on their trips and how they act while they are in their country. They also mimic short-term missions by creating their own short-term missions teams, not being passive receivers of short-term missions but initiators of global flows, leaving their context through short-term missions. The hosts also maintain weak ties with short-term missions after they have left, but through this connection, information, people, and resources flow between one community and another. These become networks of churches and transnational migratory ties.

Rick Johnson (2000) found that pastors in Mexico thought that the evangelistic efforts of American short-termers did not produce real followers of Jesus Christ. The partnerships that the American short-term teams created with the Mexican pastors sometimes caused the host pastors to compromise their convictions if they receive financial or material gain from the partnerships. Johnson says, “Few pastors will speak up or reject these offers of help even if inside they resent the paternalism and humiliation of being directed by a group which many times doesn’t speak the language, know the congregation or understand the community in which they work”. Also the short-termers unknowingly bring a spirit of materialism to Mexico. As a Mexican pastor states, “Yes, these groups do stimulate interest amongst the people, but the interest is of a material nature, not spiritual. Actual spiritual interest diminishes as a result of these outreaches” (2000:42).

Jo Ann Van Engen (2000) mentions a group of eighteen students who raised \$25,000 to fly to Honduras for a short-term mission trip. She cites a staff member in a Honduran orphanage whose yearly budget is \$45,000. The staff member said, “The amount that group raised for their week here is more than half our working budget. We could have done so much with that money” (2000:20). Van Engen also spoke with a Nicaraguan doctor who runs a health clinic for poor families and the clinic can barely provide services to meet the demands. The doctor spends three months preparing for U.S. medical brigades and confesses that the brigades work accomplishes little but the doctor hesitates to complain because the U.S. organization that sends the brigades funds his clinic. These are instances where the hosts’ of these teams have little say in determining what the mission or medical teams do in their own local context.

In Honduras after Hurricane Mitch, Kurt Ver Beek (2006) interviewed people participating in short-term missions, the receivers and the missions. He sought to determine whether it made a difference to the locals if short-termers or locals built their house. He interviewed fifteen partner agency employees and seventy-eight beneficiaries of new houses. Ver Beek found

that it made no difference in spiritual impact on the locals if short-termers built the new house or if locals built it. Ver Beek made it clear that he is not saying that no one's life changed by having a new home, but that it did not really matter whether short-termers or locals constructed homes. The interviewees thought that the short-term mission participants should have built stronger relationships and spent more time with them. But the recipients said that they learned things from the groups that they would have never learned if the short-termers did not come on their trip. Five of six agencies thought it might have been better if the North Americans stayed home and simply donated money. Nevertheless, the community members were hesitant to say no to short-termers coming because they valued the relationships they built.

The Lima Conference

An international conference in 2006 was held in Lima, Peru, focusing on Latin American viewpoints, perspectives, and experiences of short-term missions. Those presentations were then published in the *Journal of Latin American Theology* in 2007. Four of those papers are summarized here. Martin Eitzen (2007) surveyed sixty students and teaching staff of the Department of Theology of the Evangelical University of Paraguay. More than half surveyed did not know what short-term missions were, demonstrating that short-term missions are not well known among Paraguayan Christians. Yet, forty-four percent said they received short-term missions in their church. Eitzen says, "The results show that Paraguay has had good experiences with foreign STM visits and consequently has a positive image of said visits" (2007:38). One local pastor mentioned how numerous people supposedly converted to Christ because of short-term missions work, but not one became a member of his church. Seventy-seven percent of the hosts thought that mission organizations had unlimited resources and they could not comprehend how the short-termers could pay for the trip themselves. Eitzen states, "I discovered that most Paraguayan believers are interested in STM not for the money but for the relationships and friendships this type of mission enables. This discovery is coherent with Latin American culture, which is far more relationship-oriented than goal-oriented" (45). He concludes his paper saying, "On the basis of relationship, we, as Latin American Christians, would like STM groups to keep coming. Not to teach us how to evangelize or how to work correctly and efficiently in the church, but to live with us, get to know us, have fellowship together and thus—living together—to learn from one another and teach one another" (2007:47).

Again in Peru, Rodrigo Maslucan (2007) had discussions with pastors and found the motives for short-term missions are love, adventure, tourism, traveling, and learning from Peruvians or other nationals. Some benefits are

the relationships built with the participants and the receivers, which sometimes becomes a long-term relationship. Damaging work happens when short-termers ignore nationals in working and learning together and if no warm affection is given towards each party. Maslucan thought it would be better if locals worked with the short-termers when the short-termers are doing simple tasks such as sowing grass seed and painting walls. Some host churches hope for financial support and friendships with short-term missions groups. To improve short-term missions, he suggests: do not let money become the motive for imposing or dominating, show interest in learning about the local context, focus on helping the goals and aims the locals have already determined, be aware of cultural restrictions (drinking alcohol, dancing, smoking), have reasonable expectations for the trip, try to not create dependency, avoid making promises which cannot be kept, and reflect on the role the short-term missions groups have in the churches they visit. Maslucan calls for a mission plan birthed in the local host church with aims, objectives, and achievements for mission trips fitting the local church context, while working in a cooperative relationship with the sending churches.

Franciso Cerron (2007) is an ordained minister with the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Peru and he questions the effectiveness of short-termers going to engage in evangelism where they barely know the language. He asks whether time would be better spent in language learning and to perhaps limit the trips to only places where the participants know the language. Cerron also questions the legitimacy of using foreigners as bait to open up local doors. He requests that short-term missions start planning more instead of engaging in religious tourism because the money spent should be used in an effective way to establish God's kingdom. He concludes his paper with five summary observations: (1) short-term missions display a great willingness for service; (2) many short-term mission groups highly adapt to the national culture; (3) many short-term missions do not adapt within the group; (4) short-term mission participants should respect the receiving church; and (5) often time short-termers show little respect for their own group leader.

Robert Priest (2007) surveyed 551 Protestant pastors in Lima, Peru, finding that fifty-eight percent of them hosted a short-term missions group. These pastors were tremendously positive about cooperative relations with short-term missions groups. Priest wanted to find out why the hosts were extremely positive about short-term missions work. He states his findings by saying, "As I have begun to research the Peruvian side of the encounter with visiting short-term mission groups, it is the desire for linking social capital which seems to me to be key" (2007:180). This linking social capital for the Peruvians was found in the aspect of North American short-term missions presence in towns and communities opening doors for Peruvians that were usually closed to them. This social capital created opportunities that the Peruvians did not

have before the short-termers arrived. Priest argues that short-termers are not bringing the gospel to a place where it is not already, but they are bringing and sharing resources across cultures. Short-term missions create links between Christians with material and economic resources with others who have less.

The Anthropology of Tourism

Now to turn to a brief overview of the anthropology of tourism and then show how short-term missions and tourism relate. In the 1970s, a few pioneering anthropologists researched tourism and pressed for additional anthropologists to study the topic. The scholars proposed and proved that tourism could credibly be studied within the social sciences. For instance, in 1973 the journal *Annals of Tourism Research* was founded, with the first anthropological work on tourism published in the journal in 1977 (Aspelin). During the 1970s numerous more works substantiated the credibility of the field (Aspelin 1977; Cohen 1972, 1973, 1974, 1979; Graburn 1976, 1980; Greenwood 1976; Nash 1978; Pizam 1978; Smith 1976, 1977, 1978).

Dominant theories were applied and tested in tourism studies from the 1960s. The acculturation theory of contact between different cultures was of primary focus and a main theoretical background in the early studies (Graburn 1980; Greenwood 1976; Nash et. al. 1981; Nunez 1963). Cultural commercialism theory was also applied to tourism, with the view that culture, rituals, and experiences were packaged, marketed and sold to the outside tourist (Cohen 1988; de Kadt 1979; Greenwood 1989; Lea 1988; Mathieson and Wall 1983; McKean 1989; Turner and Ash 1975). Tourism was also studied as a form of development, promoting it as an avenue for less developed countries to move themselves to a more prosperous economic level (Harrison 1992; Lea 1988). In addition to these positions, further research and publication confirmed the academic acceptability of studying tourism through anthropology (Burns 1999; Chambers 1997, 2010; Crick 1989; Graburn 1980, 1983; Nash 1978, 1996; Nash et. al. 1981). By the 1980s and early 1990s, there were arduous academic debates about the approaches and theories in the anthropology of tourism. The impression that the anthropology of tourism was a frivolous study was then abandoned. The sub-discipline in anthropology has been in development over the last fifty years and is now recognized as a legitimate field of study in anthropology.

Short-Term Missions and Tourism

How do tourism and short-term missions relate? They relate in four ways: (1) tourism is a modern ritual, as is short-term missions; (2) the tourist is similar to the short-termer; (3) the terms host and guest are from anthropology, which short-term missions researchers applied to their goer/receiver framework; and (4) tourism has economic, social, and cultural impacts

on the communities in which it is developed, similar to the way that short-term missions has impacts on their hosts.

Tourism is a modern ritual, just like short-term missions. A prominent tourism scholar, MacCannell, defines tourism as a “modern ritual” in which people seek to get “away from it all,” with the “it all” being primary obligations of society (MacCannell 1976:23). These obligations include study, family, employment, and community or religious responsibilities. People voluntarily pursue escape from these obligations through travelling to a place away from their regular responsibilities. Tourism is a break from the structure of ordinary life. Tourism is a set of non-normal activities, with it being short in its duration, contrasted with longer periods of everyday life. Nelson Graburn (1977) sees tourism as a ritual and a sacred journey, as he uses Durkheim’s (1915) notions of sacred and profane. Likewise, Victor Turner (1970) uses van Gennep’s (1908) knowledge of people moving through one stage of life to the next.

Tourism, like a ritual, involves rites of passage, with three main stages: separation, liminality, and reincorporation (Dann et al. 1988; Graburn 1983). A tourist separates themselves from their ordinary life. As they separate, they experience liminality, a period of time having different characteristics than their life before and after this liminal state. “Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony” (Turner 1970:95). In liminality, the tourist bonds with others who proceed with them on the trip. During this bonding period in liminality a new society forms between the people of this special group. One reason people bond is because the time period transcends normal life, removing their status in their regular social structures. This stage has an almost sacred component as people leave ordinary life for a period of time and enter a new period.

It is best to not draw hard and fast lines between the differences of tourism and rites of passage. As Turner and Turner say, “A tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist. Even when people bury themselves in anonymous crowds on beaches, they are seeking an almost sacred often symbolic, mode of *communitas*, generally unavailable to them in the structured life of the office, the shop floor or the mine” (1978:20). Graburn is of this conviction also, “One is led to the conclusion that there is no hard and fast dividing line between pilgrimage and tourism, that even when the role of pilgrim and tourist are combined, they are necessarily different but form a continuum of inseparable elements” (Graburn 1983).

What is the relationship between tourism as a ritual and short-term missions? Short-term missions, like tourism, also contain three stages: separation, liminality, and reincorporation (Hull 2004; Howell and Dorr 2007). Short-termers separate themselves from their ordinary life for a short period

of time. A person who travels on a short-term mission trip separates themselves from their home, work, and place of familiarity, travelling to a different context. Short-termers enter liminality in the new context, with the languages of the hosts, the food, and the sights, sounds, and smells being different than their home. This can cause a state of confusion and disarray, so they bond to their fellow short-termers and the locals with whom they interact. They return home, reintegrating into their ordinary lives. Other short-term missions researchers promote that short-term missions is structurally similar to tourism and that tourism is an appropriate framework through which to study short-term missions (Adeney 2006; Barber 2010; Lee 2011; Park 2007; Priest 2007; Hong 2011; Howell 2012; Howell and Dorr 2007).

A second connection between tourism and short-term missions is that the tourist and the short-termer are similar. In defining what a tourist does, Smith says, "In general, a tourist is a temporary leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change" (1989:1). Three elements must transpire for the tourist to travel: leisure time, discretionary income, and positive local sanctions. If a person is going to travel, they need leisure time. The tourist also needs discretionary income, which is not used for essentials (clothing, food, housing, and transportation); however the money is saved, providing the ability to travel. Then, positive sanctions mean that travel is viewed in the tourist's mind as a positive aspiration (1989:1-3). Those three elements are also needed for a person to travel on a short-term mission trip. They need leisure time to go to another context. They need personal extra income or an avenue to source their trip. Last, the short-term mission trip must be a positive aspiration for them. They must be motivated to proceed on a cross-cultural trip, going outside of their comfort zone.

The third connection between tourism and short-term missions are the descriptive terms they use of hosts and guests. In the anthropology of tourism, hosts and guests are applied to tourism to understand the local residents (hosts) and the tourists themselves (guests). Following the works of Durkheim and Levi-Strauss, researchers use this structural paradigm to understand tourism (Burns 2004; Dann, Nash and Pearce 1988; Nash et. al. 1981; Smith 1977, 1989).

Some think that it is impossible to identify a host community because the term community is too divergent to adequately describe a certain group of people. They suggest the terms hosts and guests are an unhelpful framework for tourism (Abram 1997; Aramberri 2001; Knight 1996). They argue that tourists do not stay in locals' houses and they may not even speak with a local on the whole trip. The tourist stays in a hotel owned by a non-resident, eats similar food to that at home and the contact between the tourists and the locals is minimal. Therefore, they think that descriptive terms of host and

guest are not always an accurate description of the relationship between the parties. The host and guest framework is sometimes lacking in describing the complex process of tourism. For instance, tourism is highly mediated with people and institutions that do not fit into the framework of host and guest.

However, even though the descriptive terms of host/guest and goer/receiver sometimes fail to describe the mediated activities in tourism, they are still utilized in this paper to describe the activities of short-term missions. These descriptive terms in short-term missions are borrowed from the anthropology of tourism and are still helpful in understanding short-term missions, even if short-term missions is a mediated activity with other actors outside the host/guest framework. Short-term missions' authors use these terms (Howell 2012; Peterson et al. 2003; Priest 2007b). This paper is not the first suggesting that tourism studies can be utilized to analyze short-term missions, as the previous works suggest. The hope is to further the analysis of short-term missions through existing frameworks and theories in tourism studies.

The last way that short-term missions are similar to tourism is that they both have economic, social, and cultural impacts on the communities in which it is developed (tourism) or to where they go (short-term missions). The first paper published on the anthropology of tourism (Nunez 1963) described the economic, environmental, as well as social and cultural changes caused by tourism in a rural area of Mexico. Change happened in that culture was being commercialized, with goods, places, houses, and experiences all for sale. Locals who had not known higher levels of wealth were now competing with their community for access to this new source of wealth.

Tourism was initially thought to have unlimited growth potential (Crick 1989) and provide a way to bring advanced economic development to all geographical areas (de Kadt 1979). Anthropologists found economic development concerns at the local level, with one being that tourism shifted the local economy away from small productions, such as farming, to wage labor (Mansperger 1995; Oliver-Smith 1989). As the local economy changed, locals sought employment opportunity in tourism, but when the number of tourists subsided years later, it left the locals with few sustainable jobs. Another problem occurred when higher levels of wealth entered the host communities causing social contention (Stronza 2001).

The difference between the impacts of tourism and short-term missions are large, yet there are correlations between the two. Short-term missions bring economic impacts when they give financial gifts to church leaders or buy them computers and cars. When a large building is constructed through outside resources, this will have an impact on the community. Some found or propose that short-term missions have the social impact of dependency (Raines 2008; Johnson 2000; Reese 2007; Wood 1998).

Theories of Residents' Perceptions of Tourism

Reviewed here are four theoretical frameworks of the resident's attitudes, behaviors, and perceptions towards tourism, its development, and impacts.

1. Doxey's Irridex

This prominent framework is one of the earliest theories to categorize residents' perceptions (Doxey 1975). The theory is entitled the 'Index of Tourist Irritation,' otherwise known as the 'Irridex.' The unidirectional four-stage theory seeks to explain the local community's responses to tourism development. Doxey discovered that as tourism increases, the residents, many times, become more irritated with the tourists. The residents' views advance from euphoria, to apathy, to annoyance, and then finally to antagonism. This framework allows for dynamism by noting that social impacts change and evolve over time. This model provides an initial contribution towards understanding residents' views towards tourism development, yet it has a few difficulties. One difficulty is the assumption of the homogeneity of the community, for a community can hold multiple perceptions of tourism at the same time. It is almost impossible to state that the whole community falls into one of these categories. The other difficulty is the unidirectional response to tourism. Individual experiences could cause movements from euphoria to antagonism (missing apathy or annoyance) or movements from antagonism to euphoria, but Doxey ignores this possibility.

Figure 1 - Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritants (Doxey 1975)	
Stage One	Euphoria. Residents are initially enthusiastic towards tourism development. Little planning happens in this stage.
Stage Two	Apathy. Residents start to take tourism for granted. The contact and planning between residents and outsiders become formal and arranged.
Stage Three	Annoyance. As the locals' area becomes inundated with tourism, the residents do not have the capacity to handle the increased volume of tourism. Policy makers usually think of increasing the infra-structure instead of limiting the tourism growth.
Stage Four	Antagonism. The final stage occurs with the irritations of the residents becoming blatant. The outside tourist is viewed as the cause of all problems. Mutual politeness gives way to antagonism.

2. Butler's Dynamic Matrix

Butler's theory (1974) seeks to explain the attitudes and behavioral responses of the host community to tourism. This framework is a dynamic four-cell model, proposing that attitudes towards tourism are either negative or positive, while their behavior can be active or passive. Regarding any issue,

a resident's attitude may be negative or positive and their behavior may be active or passive. Hence, four groupings are conceivable:

- Active-positive. Aggressively in favor of a certain position.
- Active-negative. Aggressively opposing something.
- Passive-positive. Passively accepting and agreeing with something.
- Passive-negative. Resigned acceptance of something.

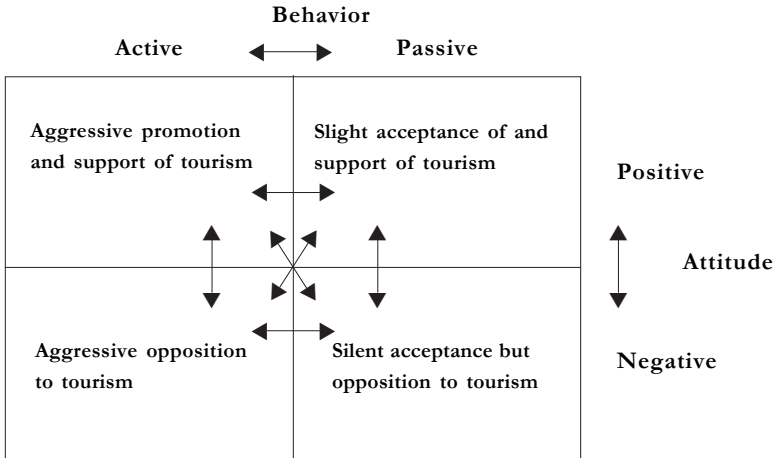


Figure 2. Butler's Dynamic Matrix

The weakness of this model is that it does not show any anticipated directional change over time like Doxey's Irridex, nor does it allow a neutral category. The strengths of this model are that it takes into account individual responses to tourism, the opinions of the residents can be explained in four different ways, and it does not assume a homogeneous community.

3. Dogan's Framework

Dogan's theory (1989) focused on explaining the coping strategies of indigenous people as they reacted to international tourism development. This framework focuses on the locals' responses to the impacts of tourism instead of attitudes. Similar to Butler, Dogan sees the impacts of tourism as either positive or negative in the eyes of the local residents. The community falls into these categories in response to tourism: resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalization and adoption. This model realizes the heterogeneity of the host community and notes the different responses to tourism. The strength of this model is that it does not assume a unidirectional response to tourism, but that the resident's perceptions can proceed in varied directions. It suggests that all four reactions are possible at any time or stage of tourism development. This is the reverse of Doxey's Irridex, which

suggests that the initial response will be euphoria, when Dogan suggested that any response is possible in the beginning stages and any time afterwards.

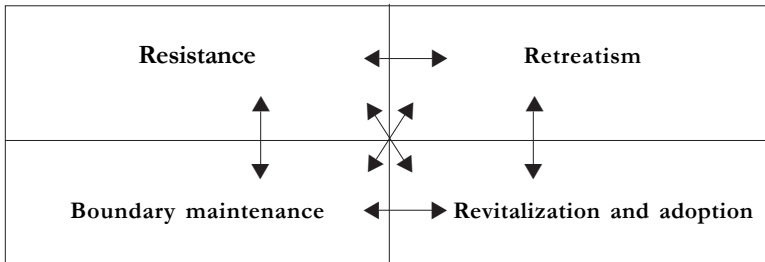


Figure 3. Dogan's Framework

4. Ap and Crompton's Framework

Ap and Crompton (1993) sought to find residents' responses to tourism in four Texas communities. They suggest four different responses to tourism by creating a continuum: embracement, tolerance, adjustment, and withdrawal. Their model is similar to Doxey's model and Butler's matrix. The authors realize that the framework is not static and rigid, acknowledging that there are a multitudinous number of perceptions of tourism from the residents. They do not suggest a unidirectional response to tourism in communities.

Figure 4 - Continuum of Resident Strategies
Embracement. Residents show an excited acceptance of tourism.
Tolerance. Residents show some ambivalence towards tourism.
Adjustment. Residents adapt their schedule to avoid the difficulties tourists can create.
Withdrawal. Residents temporarily remove themselves from the community.

These theories of residents' attitudes and behaviors towards tourism provide the starting point for theorizing about the host communities' view of short-term missions. The literature of short-term missions does not have any theories placing the hosts' responses on a continuum. I propose a framework combining elements from these models to chart the possible attitudes and responses of hosts of short-term mission.

To construct this chart, Butler's matrix is the main chart, with hosts being active or passive in their behavior towards short-term missions and their attitudes being either positive or negative. Within the four possible responses of behaviors and attitudes, Doxey's, Dogan's, and Ap and Crompton's

continuum fit (see combined matrix below). Hosts active in behavior and positive in attitude (top left box) are in a state of euphoria, embracement or adoption towards short-term missions. Hosts who are passive in behavior and positive in attitude (top right box) are in a state of apathy, tolerance or retreatism. In the bottom half of the chart, hosts are active in their behavior with a negative attitude (bottom left box), reflecting annoyance. Lastly, hosts with passive behavior and a negative attitude (bottom right box) are in a state of antagonism, withdrawal or resistance.

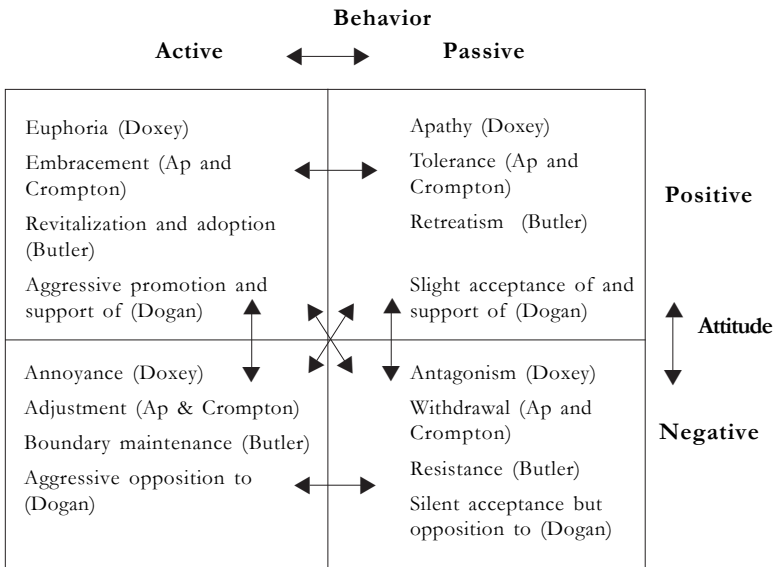


Figure 5. Combined Matrix of Hosts’ Attitudes and Behaviors toward Short-Term Missions

I suggest the following in this combined theory: (1) the host community may have a heterogeneous response; (2) hosts’ responses may not be unidirectional; (3) individual’s in the same host community may fall in different quadrants; (4) all four reactions are possible at any time or stage of the partnership with short-termers; (5) the framework is not static and inflexible; (6) any response is possible in the beginning or subsequent stages. I am not looking at how short-term missions handle long-term humanitarian crises. The local people in these situations need long-term support and are in a much different position than locals who host short-term mission and are not facing life or death circumstances.

Looking at each quadrant, it is possible to adapt the previous theories to develop a new possible matrix that describes the attitudes and behaviors, whether they are positive or negative, of the hosts’ response to short-term missions.

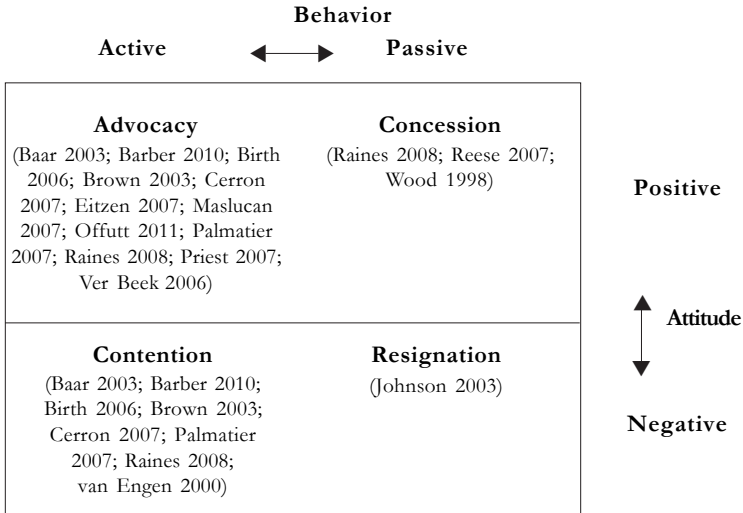


Figure 6. Griffin Matrix of Hosts' Attitudes and Behaviors toward Short-Term Missions

The four different categories are advocacy, concession, contention, and resignation. If hosts have positive attitudes and behaviors towards short-term missions (top left quadrant) they willingly embrace them into their church and its activities, showing *advocacy* for short-term missions. The hosts may not approve of everything that the short-termers do but they are still overwhelmingly positive in their view of them. Most researchers found the hosts to be advocates in strong support of short-term missions (Baar 2003; Barber 2010; Birth 2006; Brown 2003; Cerron 2007; Eitzen 2007; Maslucan 2007; Offutt 2011; Palmatier 2007; Raines 2008; Priest 2007; Ver Beek 2006). Many times, hosts are advocates of short-term missions because the teams provide them with access to places that they would generally not be able to access (Barber 2010; Raines 2008; Priest 2007). The hosts are encouraged by the sacrifice of short-termers with their time and resources in travelling and the hosts enjoy watching them partake in physical labor, as well as enjoying the relationships they make (Baar 2003; Birth 2006; Eitzen 2007; Offutt 2011; Palmatier 2007; Raines 2008; Ver Beek 2006).

If the hosts are positive in their attitude but passive in their behavior (top right quadrant), it could be said that they show *concession* towards short-term missions. They are optimistic yet laissez-faire in their actions towards short-term missions. This concession can be witnessed through short-term missions creating dependency (Raines 2008; Johnson 2000; Reese 2007; Wood 1998). Or at other times, the hosts have little say in who will come to their area and for how long they will stay, so they have a sort of forced concession (Van Engen 2000).

Hosts can also be negative in their attitude, but active in their behavior (bottom left quadrant), as they oppose short-term missions or some of its negative effects. They display *contention* with the short-termers. This is exhibited with the hosts viewing the evangelistic efforts of the short-termers as unhelpful, ineffective, and creating problems (Baar 2003; Cerron 2007; Eitzen 2007; Johnson 2000). Hosts show contention towards the cultural offences of the short-termers (Barber 2010; Raines 2008). In Mexico, Palmatier found that hosts were very upset when male short-termers wore shorts, or if some of them had long hair or smoked. It was also offensive to see them arguing or disrespecting their own leadership, or not complying with the hosts' simple list of dos and don'ts in their culture (2007). There is also contention with wealth that short-termers bring and with the problems this creates (Birth 2008; Brown 2003; Palmatier 2007; Raines 2008; Van Engen 2000). Sometimes one local receives a larger gift of money than someone else, or the hosts are upset at how the money was given to someone (a public display or in private).

Finally, if the hosts are negative in their attitude and passive in their behavior (bottom right quadrant), they show *resignation* towards short-term missions. They have relinquished their responsibility towards short-term missions and in silent frustration they allow them to continue. Resignation, from what I can tell does happen in short-term missions, but it seems rare for the hosts to display this attitude and behavior. However, Johnson (2000) did find pastors who do not speak up if they are being treated paternalistically.

Conclusion with Missiological Implications

Two implications are drawn from proposing to use local residents' responses to tourism found within the anthropology of tourism to develop a framework to understand the hosts' perspectives in short-term missions. First, the anthropology of tourism is replete with resources to further researchers' understandings of short-term missions. The theories and frameworks from tourism studies overviewed here are only a small piece of the plethora of tourism studies available. Numerous other subjects in tourism, such as tourist motivation, who is a tourist, tourist typologies, authenticity, and emic and etic distinctions in tourism could be correlated with and applied to short-term missions. These subjects are basically untouched by the literature on short-term missions. Second, the hosts' point of view in short-term missions is a vital perspective. People involved in the research of short-term missions should continue to find this emic perspective.

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