

Residents' Perceptions And Attitudes Towards Native American Gaming (NAG) In Kansas: Demographics, Policies & Future Development

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Abstract

This study applies a tourism model developed by Perdue, Long, and Allen (1990) to investigate residents' perceptions of Native American Gambling in Kansas. A survey was administered to 1038 households, on a population proportionate basis, in Brown County (35.65%), Doniphan County (25.30%), and Jackson County (39.05%). Results indicated several relationships among perceived impacts of NAG development, including the respondent's gender, gaming trips, age, employment status, and income level. Additionally, this study identified an association or dependence between the resident's perceived future of the community and support for additional NAG development, support for restrictive NAG development policies, and support for additional taxes.

Keywords: Native American Gaming, resident perceptions, resident attitudes, perceived impacts, gaming development, rural economic development, community development.

Introduction

In 1988, the United States Congress enacted the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA, 1988). The IGRA recognizes the right of Native American tribes to conduct gaming activities on reservation lands in those States that do not expressly prohibit gaming by statute. The purpose of the IGRA was to promote tribal self-sufficiency and to assert jurisdictional powers over gaming activities (S. Rep. No. 446, 1988). The IGRA created three classifications of gaming activity, with Class III gaming being the most comprehensive. Class III gaming requires the negotiation of a State-Tribal compact. State-Tribal compacts are considered legal agreements between the State and an individual tribe regarding gaming activity. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) set forth guidelines for States and tribes to follow when negotiating gaming compacts.

With the passage of IGRA (1988), many Native American tribes began to view gaming as a means of achieving tribal self-sufficiency. Not only would gaming create jobs and economic activity on reservations but also create economic opportunities in local non-Indian communities. Native American history suggests that tribal gaming activities have been apart of their culture for hundreds of years (Native Indian Gaming Association [NIGA], 1999). Various tribal gaming activities award prizes or rewards

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during tribal ceremonies and competitions. During the 1970s and 1980s many tribes would host charity gaming activities in accordance with State law. However, in 1979 the Seminole Tribe of Florida became the first tribe to challenge State law and operated a bingo game, which granted prizes and awards that were not consistent with Florida State statutes (S. Rep. No. 446, 1988). This federal case affirmed that local and State officials could not enforce the State's anti-gambling statute on reservation lands (Bissett, 1993). The outcome of this case was closely monitored by other tribes and is considered to be the legal precedent for NAG development prior to the passage of the IGRA in 1988. Following the passage of IGRA, tribes sought to operate gaming operations on tribal lands, and by 1997, there were 145 tribes with Class III gaming operations and 196 State-Tribal compacts in 24 States (NIGA, 1999). In the State of Kansas, which is the geographical focus of this study, four tribes have successfully negotiated a Class III gaming compact with the State.

The development of NAG across the United States has created concern about the associated impacts (economic, social & cultural, and environmental) of such rapid growth. Concern by community leaders and residents have been especially prevalent in rural areas, upon which reservations are typically located. The rural phenomenon associated with NAG development has created a new concern by community residents. These concerns are attributed to the impacts that are associated with tourism and NAG development. Community leaders and local residents have limited impact on NAG development on reservation lands, due to the tribes being recognized as sovereign nations by the Federal government. However, Murphy (1983) suggested that a cooperative agreement between the developing entities (individual tribes) and communities could be reached in order to create a shared economic development policy. In order for this to occur, the goals and strategies of the development must reflect or incorporate local residents in an effort to generate overall community support (Lankford, 1994; Liu & Var, 1986; Murphy, 1983; & Ritchie, 1988).

Allen and Gibson (1987) suggested that community and developmental entities (individual tribes) must effectively identify and reflect community attitudes toward NAG to achieve a successful developmental strategy. Further, this can only be achieved if there is a thorough understanding of the views held by the host community. Preferably, this measurement of attitudes would occur prior to the development of the economic activity. However, this is not always the case in many instances where measurement often occurs after the introduction of a new activity.

Previous research (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Liu & Var, 1986; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990) has identified three main domains or segments upon which host residents' attitudes and perceptions can be categorized. They include economic, social and cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism development. Over the last two decades, several studies have been conducted to measure the effects of tourism development on host populations (Caneday & Zeiger, 1991; Husbands, 1989; Kang, Long, & Perdue, 1996; Lankford, 1994; Lin, 1999; Liu & Var, 1986; McCool & Martin, 1994; Mihalik & Simonetta, 1999; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987, 1990; Pizam, 1978). These studies have generally been consistent in their use of the economic, social and cultural, and environmental impact dimensions. However, the results of these studies differed depending on the geographical area. Also, very few studies have been conducted that assess the attitudes and perceptions of local residents in relation to NAG development. To identify local residents' attitudes and perceptions of NAG development in rural communities in Kansas was the purpose of this study.

The rural phenomenon associated with NAG development has created a new concern by community residents.

Gaming Impact Studies

A limited number of studies have explored the perceived impacts of gaming in rural communities. However, two studies conducted by Carmichael, Peppard, & Boudreau (1996) and Gabe, Kinsey, & Loveridge, (1996) were identified that investigated the impacts of NAG on host communities. The study conducted by Carmichael, et al., (1996), assessed the perceptions and attitudes of NAG development on residents in several communities surrounding the Foxwood Resort and Casino in Ledyard, Connecticut. The study was conducted over a three-year period beginning in 1992, repeated in 1993 and 1995 respectively. A previous analysis of the data set used in this study was conducted to investigate number of trips to NAG activity and perceptions of the residents on their quality of life (Spears & Boger, 2002).

Overall, the results of this research indicated that resident attitudes changed with the economic conditions of the host communities. Additionally, resident attitudes toward NAG are conditioned by the effects of tribal development, in particular, the changing nature of the local communities, which include the concern for the environmental effects associated with development and the impact on the local tax base. An interesting finding of this study is a significant concern by residents over the environmental effects of tourism on the community. This may not be surprising, given the broader public concern over environmental issues, the rapidity of casino development, and the lack of influence of community regulations on reservation lands (Carmichael, et al., 1996). Distance from the casino also affects the attitudes of local residents toward NAG. In fact, this study shows that the closer the respondent is to the casino/reservation, the more likely their opinion would be negative towards NAG.

Gabe, Kinsey, & Loveridge (1996) investigated the impacts of NAG in the State of Minnesota. Specifically, they examined the impacts of NAG on surrounding rural communities. They excluded seven metropolitan counties in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area because of the rural phenomena associated with NAG. Data were collected from three governmental sources including Regional Economic Information Systems (REIS) data, the U. S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, and the 1990 Census of Population and Housing data from the U. S. Department of Commerce. Casino data were also collected from the Minnesota Planning Publications and individual Native American casinos.

The results indicated that per capita income increased with higher levels of education, showed more residents living on farms and rural areas, higher levels of employment, more business establishments, and fewer minority residents. Higher levels of education, more minorities, greater business density, and fewer urban residents increased income earned by hotel and motel industry workers. More urban residents, more minorities, higher employment, and a greater business density increased income earned by workers in the eating and drinking industry. However, farm laborers experienced a decrease in their income. Higher levels of education, more minorities, and greater business density increased income earned by workers in the amusement industry.

A relationship exists between economic activities in rural counties and proximity to a metropolitan area in respect to the level of commerce, transport, and tourism within the rural community. A key finding of this study is that the presence of a NAG is not significantly related to overall per capita income, but the presence of NAG is related to the income earned by workers in the three complementary service industries. Overall, this study indicated that in the first two years (1990 & 1991), NAG was significantly correlated with an increase in income earned by workers in the eating and drinking industry, and somewhat correlated with income earned by hotel and amusement workers. However, NAG had no significant effect on the overall per capita income.

Lin (1999) conducted a study to investigate the impacts of riverboat gaming in Kansas City, Kansas-Missouri. Specifically, the study was conducted to assess the residents' perceptions of gaming impacts and on how their perceptions influenced their attitudes towards gaming development in Kansas City. Data were collected using

telephone surveys administered to residents of the greater Kansas City area, by using an adapted model, originally developed by Perdue, Long, & Allen (1990).

The results of this research indicated that residents' age, gender, income level, educational level, and employment status were related to the perceived impacts of gaming development. Respondents who were female, relatively older, unemployed, highly educated, and had higher household incomes, perceived more negative impacts of gaming development. Additionally, support for additional gaming development was decided by residents' communal impacts, but not by their perceived personal benefits on the perceived future of the community. Results indicated that respondents who supported additional development favored more special tourist taxes and fewer government restrictions on gaming development. Lin (1999) also found that personal perceived impacts of gaming development were not related to the resident's distance from the gaming facilities. Results also suggested that people who lived in the Kansas City area for a relatively shorter time tended to engage in gaming activity. Additionally, residents who have gambled favored more gaming development in general. Further, respondents were neutral in terms of recommendations to other communities about riverboat gaming development.

Residents' age, gender, income level, educational level, and employment status were related to the perceived impacts of gaming development.

Conclusion and Summary of Results of Studies

The research findings seem to illustrate an inconsistency in findings among different geographical areas. Specifically, this can be explained when comparing rural to metropolitan gaming development. According to previous studies, people who were employed or economically dependent upon tourism-related businesses were more familiar with the impacts of tourism and were more positive in their overall attitudes and perceptions toward tourism/gaming development (Milman & Pizam, 1988; Pizam, 1978; Pizam & Pokela, 1985). This can be explained by the fact that individuals in rural communities are generally more economically reliant on smaller local businesses or one industry, while those in economically diverse communities rely on a variety of businesses and industries.

The literature yielded relatively few studies regarding the attitudes and perceptions of rural residents as they relate to NAG development. However, previous tourism research indicated a consistent use of the economic, social, and environmental impact dimensions. Most of the studies reviewed used an adaptation of Perdue, Long & Allen's (1990) model for measuring local residents' perceptions and attitudes of tourism impacts. The identification of local residents' attitudes and perceptions of NAG development in Kansas was the focus of this study. This study explored these relationships in Kansas based on the Perdue, Long & Allen (1990) model for measuring the residents' perceptions and attitudes towards the impact of tourism. Eight research hypotheses were tested in this study. They included:

H₀₁: There is no difference between residents' gender and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

H₀₂: There is no relationship between residents' education level and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

H₀₃: There is no relationship between residents' age and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

H₀₄: There is no difference between residents' employment status and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

H₀₅: There is no relationship between residents' income level and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

H₀₆: There is no relationship between residents' support for additional NAG development and the perceived future of the community.

H_{o7} : There is no relationship between residents' support for restrictive NAG policies and support for additional NAG development.

H_{o8} : There is no relationship between residents' support for additional taxes and support for additional NAG development.

Methodology

Research Instrument

The questionnaire for this study was developed on the basis of previous impact research in tourism and gaming (Lin, 1999; Perdue, Long, Allen, 1990; Liu, Sheldon, and Var, 1987; Liu & Var, 1986; Pizam, 1978). The first set of 15 questions measured resident's attitudes toward NAG development, including social and cultural, economic, and environmental impacts. A 5-point Likert scale, with 5 = significantly increased, 4 = increased, 3 = neutral, 2 = decreased, and 1 = significantly decreased was used. The second set of questions obtained socio-demographic information, such as age, gender, educational level, and length of residence, employment status, marital status, racial background, and size of household. In addition, the questionnaire assesses residents' support for additional NAG development in their county. The study used an existing data set of 406 completed telephone questionnaires. Details on the sampling procedure, data collection and a profile of the respondents can be found in Boger and Spears (2002).

Data Analysis

The information collected during the study period was coded, verified, and keyed into a computer data file. All data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences 8.0 (SPSS) for Windows applications. The means and standard deviations computed for all questions are shown in Table 1. In order to assess whether any significant relationships exist among the demographic sub groups and the 27 perceived impact items, Kendall's Tau B was used as a measure of relationships between education, age, and income level and the 27 impact variables. Kendall's Tau B identifies comparisons of two topic categories on an ordinal scale (as is the case in this study) and can answer, "which topic category makes the higher response, 'but not' what is the numerical difference between their response?" When observing the ordering of two topic categories on each of the two variables, we can classify the pair of topic categories as "concordant" or "discordant." The pair is concordant if the topic category ranks higher on variable X and Y. The pair is discordant if the topic categories rank higher on X and lower on Y. The pair is tied if the topic categories have the same classification on X and Y (Agresti, 1990).

For purposes of this study Kendall's Tau B value (T_b) and Confidence Bound Intervals (CBI) assuming large samples will be reported. In determining concordance or discordance in the data, values in the CBI (lower and upper) must not contain a zero between them. The Kendall's Tau B value (T_b) illustrates the strength (positive or negative) of correlation between the two topic categories on a 1.00 to -1.00 scale. The Kendall's Tau B value is based on a large sample size with normal distribution for Tau. With truly continuous data (as is the case when employing Kendall's Tau B in this study), concordance = 1 and discordance = -1. The application to tables is complicated by the fact that the data are so discrete that there are typically many ties in the data. Thus, concordance + discordance is usually much less than 1. Kendall's Tau B makes corrections for these ties within the data and identifies the correlation between the two topic categories (Agresti, 1990).

Table 1**Resident Perceptions of Perceived Impacts of Native American Gaming in Kansas**

Economic	N	Mean	SD
Income	419	3.11	0.50
Employment opportunities	409	3.35	0.67
Sales Taxes	367	3.17	0.52
Property Tax	379	3.47	0.65
Overall local Economy	407	3.53	0.88
Standard of living	398	3.18	0.74
Prices of goods and services	407	3.25	0.51
Social & Cultural			
Quality of life	403	2.89	0.90
Variety of restaurants	409	3.36	0.80
Variety of recreational opportunities	396	3.34	0.58
Variety of entertainment opportunities	408	3.66	0.61
Variety of shopping opportunities	406	3.18	0.48
Image/appearance of community	403	3.18	0.87
Illegal drug activity	357	3.60	0.75
Crime rates	400	3.60	0.68
Quality of police services	400	3.30	0.67
Quality of fire protection	394	3.18	0.46
Quality of public utilities	390	3.13	0.44
Meeting interesting people	409	3.33	0.55
Social opportunities	409	3.29	0.50
Overall quality of life	412	3.09	0.65
Environmental			
Traffic conditions	414	3.95	0.95
Air pollution	379	3.20	0.43
Water pollution	389	3.11	0.39
Noise pollution	409	3.30	0.53
Overcrowding	403	3.29	0.49
Litter	403	3.36	0.58

Note: Measured on Likert scale ranging from 1 = significantly decreased to 5 = significantly increased

Results and Discussion

Hypotheses Results

The purpose of this study was to test an adapted model from Perdue, Long, and Allen (1990) of residents' perceptions and attitudes toward NAG development in Kansas. The highest concordant and discordant values will be illustrated for each hypothesis and the results are summarized below.

***H₀₁*: There is no significant difference between residents' gender and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.**

In order to investigate whether any significant differences existed among the respondent's gender, 27 perceived impact items were tested using a T-test. A Bonferoni adjustment for the number of tests (27) using an overall alpha level of .10 was made. The Bonferoni adjustment yielded a .004 alpha level that established the cut-off value for each of the 27 separate T-tests. Significant differences were found between males and females in respect to the perception of the condition of the local economy (p value = .0017). Specifically, females viewed the condition of the local economy as having increased more than males. This finding is consistent with previous research (Lin, 1999;

Pizam & Pokela, 1985) that found that gender was significantly related to the perceived impacts of gaming development.

***H₀₂*: There is no relationship between residents' education level and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.**

No relationships existed between resident's education level and personal perceived impacts of NAG development. These findings did not support previous research (Caneday & Zeiger, 1991; Husbands, 1989; Lin, 1999) where the respondent's educational level was related to the perceived impacts of tourism/gaming development. Further investigation is needed to determine the exact cause of this finding.

***H₀₃*: There is no relationship between residents' age and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.**

A concordant relationship existed between residents' age and several variables in the social/cultural and environmental dimensions. Concordant relationships in the social and cultural dimension included the variety of restaurants ($T_B = .145$, CBI = .067 ~ .223), variety of entertainment opportunities ($T_B = .129$, CBI = .040 ~ .217), and social opportunities ($T_B = .107$, CBI = .023 ~ .191). These findings suggest that as the age of the respondent increased, the more likely they were to perceive an increase in these social and cultural variables due to NAG development. Concordant relationships in the environmental dimension included litter ($T_B = .142$, CBI = .060 ~ .224), overcrowding ($T_B = .129$, CBI = .048 ~ .210), and noise pollution ($T_B = .123$, CBI = .041 ~ .206). These findings suggest that as the age of respondents increased the more likely they were to perceive the negative impacts of NAG development on these environmental variables. Husbands (1989) and Lin (1999) also found the respondent's age was related to the perceived negative impacts of tourism/gaming on the environment.

***H₀₄*: There is no significance difference between residents' employment status and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.**

In order to investigate whether any significant differences existed among respondents' employment status, the 27 perceived impact items were tested using a one-way-analysis of variance (ANOVA) with an alpha level of .004. The respondents' employment status and income benefits were found to be significantly different (p-value = .0032, Table 2) between respondents who were employed and those that are retired or self-employed. These findings indicate that respondents who are employed have a more positive perception of income benefits as a result of NAG development than those self-employed and retired. Additionally, a significant difference existed between the respondent's employment status and entertainment opportunities (p-value = .0029). These findings indicate that there is a consistent positive perception among the employment groups that entertainment opportunities have increased due to NAG development. These findings are consistent with previous research (Caneday & Zeiger, 1991; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Truit, 1996).

These findings suggest that as the age of respondents increased the more likely they were to perceive the negative impacts of NAG development.

These findings indicate that respondents who are employed have a more positive perception of income benefits as a result of NAG development than those self-employed and retired.

Table 2

Personal Perceived Impacts of NAG Development Based upon Employment Status

Significant Impact Factors	Employment Status							F	P
	Employed	Self-Employed	Un-employed	Retired	Full-time Homemaker	Student	Other		
Income	3.21 ^{ab}	2.87 ^b	3.06	3.01 ^a	3.10	3.00	3.00	3.33	0.0032
Benefits									
Entertainment Opportunities	3.72	3.77	3.41	3.52	3.74	3.14	4.17	3.38	0.0029
Number of respondents	235	33	17	91	19	7	6		

Note: Means followed by the same letter are significantly different at $p < .10$.

H_{03} : There is no relationship between residents’ income level and personal perceived impacts of NAG development.

A concordant relationship existed between residents’ income level and several variables in the social and cultural and environmental dimensions. Concordant relationships in the social and cultural dimension included crime rates ($T_B = .163$, $CBI = .048 \sim .069$), entertainment opportunities ($T_B = .129$, $CBI = .034 \sim .225$), and illegal drug activity ($T_B = .146$, $CBI = .051 \sim .242$). These findings suggest that as the resident’s income level increased, the more they perceived these social and cultural variables to increase as a result of NAG development. A discordant relationship exists for the meeting interesting people ($T_B = -.114$, $CBI = -.214 \sim -.015$) variable. This finding indicates that respondents at higher income levels perceived meeting interesting people as having decreased due to NAG development in their community.

The analysis of data revealed a concordant relationship in the environmental dimension for litter ($T_B = .219$, $CBI = .124 \sim .314$). Furthermore, a concordant relationship also existed for noise pollution ($T_B = .179$, $CBI = .082 \sim .275$), traffic ($T_B = .158$, $CBI = .067 \sim .250$), and air pollution ($T_B = .110$, $CBI = .009 \sim .210$). These findings suggest that respondents at higher income levels perceived these environmental impacts as having increased due to NAG development in their community. The literature yielded no research based upon residents’ income level and their perceived impacts of gaming development. Further studies are needed to confirm the relationships within the environmental dimension.

H_{06} : There is no relationship between residents’ support for additional NAG development and the perceived future of the community.

A positive relationship existed between resident support for additional NAG development and the perceived future of the community ($X^2 = 20.665$, $p\text{-value} = 0.001$). Out of the “yes” responses for additional development, the majority (90.7%) believed that the future of their county seemed promising (Table 3). Of the “no” responses to additional development, the majority (71.1%) believed that the future of their county looks promising. This finding suggests that respondents believed that the future of their county seemed promising whether or not there is further NAG development. These findings are not consistent with previous research (Lin, 1999) where additional gaming development and the perceived future of the community were not significantly related. Additionally, the findings of Lin’s (1999) study may be more indicative of attitudes and perceptions of residents in an economically diverse metropolitan area rather than those of a rural economically, homogenous community.

Table 3
Support For Additional Development

Perceived Future	Yes		No		χ^2	P value
	n	%	n	%		
Support for Additional development						
Yes	137	90.7	14	9.3	20.665	0.001
No	150	71.1	61	28.9		
Support for restrictive policies						
Support for Additional development						
Yes	100	70.9	41	29.1	14.788	0.001
No	104	50.2	103	49.8		
Support for Additional Taxes						
Support for Additional development						
Yes	41	33.3	82	66.7	3.593	0.058
No	85	44.0	108	56.0		

***H₀₇*: There is no relationship between residents' support for restrictive NAG policies and support for additional NAG development.**

Resident support for restrictive NAG policies was positively related to the support for additional NAG development ($X^2 = 14.788$, p-value = 0.001). Out of the "yes" responses to additional development, the majority (70.9%) supported having more restrictive NAG development policies (Table 3). This finding illustrates a positive relationship between support for additional development and restrictive NAG development policies. Of the "no" responses to additional development, respondents were equally divided on whether or not to have restrictive policies. This finding is not consistent with previous research. Lin (1999) found that support for restrictive gambling development policies was negatively related to support for additional gaming development. However, since Native American tribes are sovereign nations and do not have to adhere to restrictive development policies established by the local community, they do not have to seek approval for NAG development on reservation lands.

***H₀₈*: There is no relationship between residents' support for additional taxes and support for additional NAG development.**

A negative relationship existed between residents' support for additional taxes and support for additional NAG development ($X^2 = 3.593$, p-value = 0.058). Out of the "yes" responses for additional development, the majority (66.7%) stated "no" to additional taxes (Table 3). These findings are not consistent with Lin (1999) who found that support for additional taxes was positively but weakly associated with support for additional development.

Conclusion

This study investigated residents' perceptions and attitudes of NAG impacts in the State of Kansas. Specifically, the relationships between resident characteristics, their perceived impacts, and resident support for future NAG development were investigated. Gender, age, employment status, and income level have a concordant or discordant relationship to the perceived impacts among the economic, environmental, and social and cultural dimensions. Positive relationships existed between resident support for additional NAG development when compared to the perceived future of the community and restrictive NAG development policies. A negative relationship was found between residents' support for additional taxes and support for additional NAG development.

A negative relationship was found between residents' support for additional taxes and support for additional NAG development.

Limitations and Future Research Recommendations

Respondents from three counties (Brown, Doniphan, and Jackson) were surveyed which limits the generalizations to these rural counties only. This study only focused on respondent's perceptions and attitudes as they relate to NAG development and their support for future development. The data collected for this study represented only an inquiry of residents' perceptions and attitudes in the community. It would be desirable to replicate this study in other rural areas where NAG development is about to or already has occurred. It is recommended that continuous monitoring of the community be conducted to identify changes in perceptions, composition of the community, and community development policies. Further, to ascertain the true economic impacts of NAG development in Kansas a historical analysis of available economic data should be conducted.

Implications

It is desirable to further investigate the economic, environmental and social and cultural relationships of NAG development in the State of Kansas. This should be done in an effort to understand the demographic differences and perceptions that exist among rural respondents. Previous studies have focused on tourism impacts, with little emphasis on NAG in rural communities. This study should enhance the current literature related to NAG development in rural communities. In addition, this study provides the groundwork for the research community, community development/planning officials, state and local government, business owners, residents, gaming proponents and opponents, and individual Native American tribes that are considering NAG or related gaming businesses in their long range community planning. In order to truly assess residents' perceptions and attitudes toward NAG development, more information needs to be identified and made available to those parties involved in the decision making process. In addition, individual Native American tribes, community planners/leaders may use this information in an effort to understand community perceptions of NAG development and to plan future expansion accordingly.

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