



TOURISM AND GAMBLING CONTENT ANALYSIS

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Abstract: A newspaper content analysis of tourism and gambling in Deadwood, South Dakota (USA) provides information on the issues portrayed to the general public about gaming. In five years, 712 articles written in three local newspapers portrayed five general categories of information: economics, regulatory concerns, initial questions on gaming, logistics and planning needed, and negatives toward gaming. Trends in newspaper accounts show gaming is a vital player in tourism and the economic growth of the community. However, gaming is continually questioned as the answer for economic development. Social issues and negative issues of gaming tend to become more prevalent after gaming has been initiated in a small community. **Keywords:** gambling, tourism, newspaper content analysis, gaming and gambling impacts, South Dakota.

Résumé: Analyse de contenu du tourisme et des jeux d'argent. L'analyse du contenu d'un journal concernant le tourisme et les jeux d'argent à Deadwood, Dakota du Sud (USA), fournit des informations sur les questions du jeu qui intéressent le grand public. En cinq ans, 712 articles ont paru dans trois journaux régionaux décrivant les catégories suivantes: économie, régularisations, questions initiales sur le jeu, logistique et planification nécessaires, et les aspects négatifs du jeu. On reconnaît que le jeu joue un rôle vital pour le tourisme et le développement économique. Cependant, les jeux d'argent sont toujours remis en question. Après l'introduction des jeux d'argent dans une petite communauté, les aspects sociaux négatifs tendent à devenir plus répandus dans les journaux. **Mots-clés:** jeux d'argent, tourisme, analyse du contenu de journal, impacts du jeu, Dakota du Sud.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism planning and development has taken an interesting twist in recent years. With tourism touted as the top industry in many states and the third largest retail industry in the United States (NTTAC 1991), many states and communities are actively competing to draw visitors to their area in creative and new ways (Butler 1990; Hawkins, Shafer and Rovelstad 1980; Pearce 1989; University of Minnesota 1991; NTTAC 1986). Localized gaming is rapidly growing as one of the latest strategies in attracting tourists.

Legalized gaming in the United States has been a part of Nevada tourism since 1931 and Atlantic City (New Jersey) since 1976. Limited stakes gaming, however, is a current attempt by some small, dying communities to increase tourism to revitalize the area. In 1989, Deadwood, South Dakota, was the first small size community to adopt this

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technique. Three Colorado mining towns added gaming in 1991, while riverboat casino gaming has been legalized in the states of Iowa, Illinois, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Indiana between 1989 and 1993. Similarly, casino-style gaming on Indian reservations throughout the United States has been rapidly growing in recent years.

As a result of increased gaming and its effect in some small communities, a considerable amount of attention has been given to economic and social impacts and resident perceptions (Caneday and Zeiger 1991; Eadington 1986; Madden 1991; Pizam, Abraham and Pokela 1985; Volberg and Stuefen 1991). As expected, these studies have found both positive and negative impacts on economic and social issues of these communities. Resident perceptions are also varied in these studies. From a tourism viewpoint, the question remains: "Is gaming a good answer for increasing tourism and community pride?" The following content analysis was undertaken in an attempt to identify the issues involved in introducing, implementing, supporting, and continuing gaming in a small community. The subject community is the small mining town of Deadwood, South Dakota.

A murder a day was common in the early days of the rambunctious gold camp of Deadwood. Everyone who entered was a trespasser. Deadwood's glory days began in the late 1800s when the town ran wild with gold rush fever. The presence of gold reported by Colonel Custer in 1874 was all it took to convince easterners and others to flock to the west. Deadwood, then part of the Dakota Territory, attracted many stage coaches, wagon teams, and horsemen to the area. The Black Hills and Deadwood were the place where the richest placer deposits in the world were found in 1876. Deadwood quickly developed into the metropolis of the Black Hills.

Deadwood was the place that attracted miners, dance hall girls, gamblers, suppliers, journalists, doctors, lawyers, lawmen, and the lawless to the Black Hills. It became the main office for all those who had staked a mine (Parker 1989:229). Its history revolves around gambling, crime, and gold. In 1876, former U.S. Marshall Wild Bill Hickok was gunned down while playing poker at a saloon on main street Deadwood. Historians say the lawman was holding what came to be known as the "dead man's hand" of aces and eights.

Gambling was outlawed in Deadwood in 1947. Although mining still flourishes in the area, Deadwood has since decreased in population from 4,000 to 2,000. Hoping to capitalize on its past, Deadwood is attempting to become the "Old West" again. Limited stakes gaming was approved for Deadwood by a November, 1988 statewide referendum. In November 1989, the first licensed casino opened for limited stakes in poker, blackjack, and slot machines. Gaming was touted as a method to revive the town and acquire funds to historically restore the town. Gaming was viewed as a way to increase visitors and money spent in Deadwood which in turn would be used to improve the historic look of the community.

THE STUDY

The purpose of this Deadwood study was to answer or to gain additional insight into three questions. One, what types of issues relate

to gaming in newspaper reports? Two, what emphasis do tourism and economic growth issues receive in a community contemplating gaming or one that has recently allowed gaming as told by local newspapers? Three, what trends can be realized by following the accounts of one small town's history of limited stakes gaming?

A content analysis was performed on three area newspapers. These papers were chosen for the study based on their geographic proximity to Deadwood. It was determined that these papers would reflect the significant issues concerning Deadwood gaming. The three newspapers were the Lawrence County Centennial, Queen City Mail, and Rapid City Journal. The Lawrence County Centennial is published in the county in which deadwood is located. The Queen City Mail is published in Spearfish, which is 15 road miles north of Deadwood. Spearfish has a population of nearly 7,000 people. The Rapid City Journal is published in Rapid City, which is 40 road miles east of Deadwood. With a population of approximately 55,000, it is the second largest city in the state of South Dakota.

Sampling was not used in this study. Every newspaper in the study from January 1, 1987 through October 15, 1991 was analyzed for specific content. The criteria for selection of an article was based on the three keywords of gambling, tourism, and Deadwood. Anytime one of the keywords was in a headline, the article was analyzed for its relationship to Deadwood and gaming. A photocopy of each relevant article was made for further reference.

After an initial reading of the articles, a master list of specific themes was devised to be used for categorizing issues. The master list consisted of 21 key issues reported in the newspapers. Each article was then reread and coded into one of the 21 issues. Where some articles dealt with more than one issue, only the overriding theme of that article was coded. As a result, each article could only be coded once. After the coding was completed, the issues were grouped in 5 general categories in order to ease the mental digestion of the 21 issues.

FINDINGS

The results of the content analysis are provided in order of the research questions presented earlier. These questions refer to the types of issues found, the emphasis of tourism and economics in gaming, and the noticeable trends.

Issues Related to Gaming

An examination of the 21 key issues reveals that 32% of all newspaper articles examined for this study related to "economic issues," 21% to "regulatory Commission," 19% to "initial questions," 15% to "logistics or planning," and 13% "negatives" (Figure 1). A cross-section examination of the topics discussed in the newspaper articles provides a flavor for the variety of impacts and concerns that have been brought into public forums and have merited local newspaper coverage in the four years of this study's analysis.

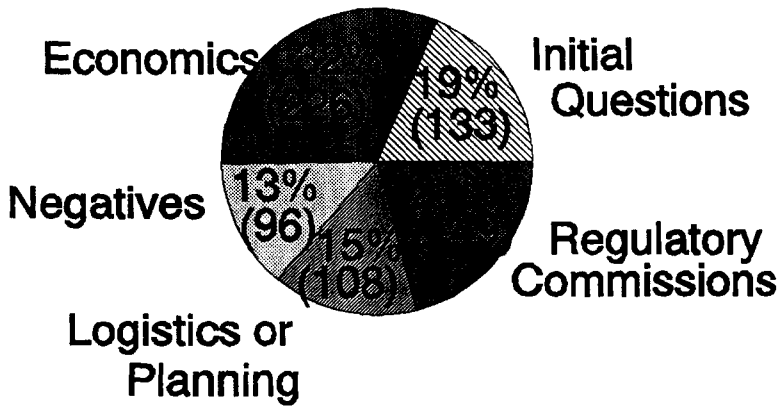


Figure 1. Issues Relating to Gambling

Economics. Table 1 displays the seven issues that were grouped to make the economic category. A typical article within each issue of economics is briefed below.

On tourism and economy: "Economic impacts in the Northern Black Hills from Deadwood's 16-month-old gaming industry is equal to the impact which would be felt by starting three new surface mines, according to a University of South Dakota economist. Madden's report indicates that during the first year of legalized gambling in Deadwood about \$27.2 million in adjusted gross revenue was generated while about \$2.2 million from the adjusted gross revenue was paid in taxes" (Study complete: Region wins big with gambling, Rapid City Journal, March 8, 1991).

On special events: "Long-time rodeo clown/bullfighter Mike McFarland and a group of investors are hoping to put some wild back into the West this summer with the Dakota Territory Wild West Show in Deadwood's Days of '76 arena" ("Wild" to be put back into the West this summer, Queen City Mail, January 10, 1990).

On tourism and gaming: "Gambling in Deadwood has helped level out the seasonal highs and lows at some Northern Hills motels and

Table 1. Economics Issues Relating to Gambling

Issues	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Tourism and Economy	7	2	17	44	15	85
Special Events	6	1	13	16	8	44
Tourism and Gambling	0	0	8	12	7	27
Land Value	1	0	10	3	7	21
Positives on Gambling	1	3	8	5	3	20
Other Towns want Gambling	0	0	8	7	5	20
Marketing Committee	0	0	0	7	2	9
Total	15	6	64	94	47	226

has given Rapid City wholesalers cause to celebrate. Food Service of America, a Rapid City distributor of restaurant supplies, now make delivery runs three times a week. 'Overall, we're way up in Deadwood partly because there are so many accounts'" (Deadwood winners not all gamblers, Rapid City Journal, October 29, 1990).

On land value: "Schallenkamp said she was forced to move when her rental home in Deadwood was sold to a developer who renovated it and raised the rent from \$225 to \$400 a month. 'There's just no housing here for the older people and nobody's worried about them'" (Lead-Deadwood feeling rental housing shortage, Rapid City Journal, October 7, 1990). Or, "The changes brought on by the reintroduction of gaming to Deadwood is sending shivers down the spine of the downtown retail business community. Owners of downtown buildings have been either selling or receiving offers ranging from \$300,000 to well over a million dollars for property that was valued at a fraction of that price only a year ago" (Gambling sends shivers down spines of retailers, Lawrence County Centennial, December 9, 1990).

On positives on gaming: "I just want to thank everyone in Deadwood for a great time, said Paul Marion, who traveled 904 miles from Milwaukee, Wisc. to experience gambling's opening weekend" (Milwaukee gambler enjoys "Deadwood Experience, Lawrence County Centennial, November 22, 1989).

On other towns wanting gambling: "Central City, Colorado and Deadwood share a common history as gold mining camps and a common physical setting in narrow mountain canyons where gold was found. After the elections this November the two towns may also share another trait, limited casino gambling" (Colorado mining towns consider limited gambling, Lawrence County Centennial, October 6, 1990).

On marketing committee: "It's been a good year for tourism all over. It's been a great year for Deadwood,' Tom Tostrup, a member of Deadwood's joint marketing committee, told the group. 'Deadwood is leading the pack.' Tostrup credited the million dollars of advertising with creating this year's marked increase in Deadwood gambling totals and tourist visits" (Advertising credited with Deadwood gambling, Lawrence County Centennial, September 29, 1991).

Regulatory commissions. The next major category, regulatory commissions, was a combination of the Historic Preservation Commission, the Gaming Commission, and the Deadwood City Commission (Table 2). Typical articles from each category are provided below.

Historic Preservation Commission: "Sometimes we get bogged down in minutiae (minute details),' commented Deadwood Historic District Commission member John Gable during a discussion of the shape of the awnings on the Midnight Star casino at the Preservation Commission meeting Wednesday. 'Minutiae are what makes a historic community. Little by little you can take away the historic integrity of Deadwood.' The exchange did little to advance decision-making at the lengthy session, but illustrated well the issues that confront the commission regularly in its job of regulating the restoring of historic buildings in a federally designated historic community" (Preservation

Table 2. Regulatory Commissions Issues

Regulatory Commissions	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Historic Preservation Commission	10	2	24	14	26	76
Gaming Commission	0	0	17	19	13	49
Deadwood City Commission	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>24</u>
Total	15	3	48	39	44	149

Commission debates "minutiae" of Midnight Star awning, Lawrence County Centennial, October 26, 1991).

Gaming Commission: "In his update of Deadwood You Bet activities during the regular city commission meeting Monday, April 24, Mayor Tom Blair said he was concerned the expenses of the newly appointed State Gaming Commission may eat away monies once destined for historic preservation" (Blair fears new gaming commission will drain Deadwood's preservation funds, Lawrence County Centennial, April 26, 1989).

Deadwood City Commission: "The Deadwood city commission gave tentative approval on Monday to a request by the Historic Preservation Commission for \$335,000 in expenditures intended for immediate advertising and marketing efforts for the community" (Deadwood historic preservation requests \$335,000 for marketing, Lawrence County Centennial, October 31, 1990).

Initial questions. The third major category covered items that appeared to be questions of concern in the beginning stages of gaming (Table 3). A typical article from each subcategory is presented below.

On gaming bills/petitions: "Seven members of the Deadwood You Bet committee left for Pierre Monday, armed with 35,619 signatures on a petition calling for a statewide vote on a proposed constitutional amendment to legalize limited gambling in Deadwood. Supporters of the measure began collecting signatures statewide in March after the Legislature defeated a bill calling for legalized limited gambling in all South Dakota towns and cities" (Gambling issue closer to ballot, Rapid City Journal, November 3, 1987).

Table 3. Initial Questions and Concerns

Questions	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Gambling Bills/ Petitions	16	4	24	20	8	72
Gambling Starting Date	0	3	30	1	0	34
Should Gambling be Here?	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>27</u>
Total	24	11	62	26	10	133

On gaming starting date: "South Dakota Commission on Gaming Executive Secretary Don Gromer wouldn't be pinned down on a starting date for Deadwood gambling when he met with the Deadwood City commission and public Thursday" (Gambling start date still not set, Rapid City Journal, July 21, 1989). As another article sample, "Supporters of Deadwood should blame themselves, not state lawmakers, for delays in the start of gambling operations, a legislator said Thursday. Senator Halverson said if gambling proponents had begun writing proposed regulations last winter immediately after the legislature authorized limited Deadwood gambling, the delays might have been avoided" (Halverson blames slow rule-writing for gaming delay, Rapid City Journal, July 28, 1989).

On should gambling be here: "The crime rate in Deadwood has not necessarily risen, but people do feel a little less safe, I think. Local people generally feel that gambling has brought in an unfavorable element of people. The murder in a Deadwood gaming establishment brought home the reality of just how addictive gambling can be." In another article in the same issue of the Journal, "Gambling has affected Deadwood both positively and negatively. On the positive — Deadwood has a new face and it has brought tourists to the area. On the negative — retail is now gone in Deadwood, there is nothing for teenagers to do in Deadwood, crime has increased." Still in another article, "The change hasn't been all good. Many resident who originally voted for legalized gambling are now wishing they could magically go back in time and change their vote. Many longtime residents aren't happy with the fact that they must journey through the hills to find a business that is devoted to anything except gambling" (Rapid City Journal, March 3, 1991).

Logistics or planning. This category includes six issues with the problem of parking being the most prominent (Table 4). The following excerpts from the newspapers highlight the discussion of logistics.

On parking: "If any one issue could be signed out as the most recurrent theme of 1990 news in Deadwood, parking, or rather the lack thereof, clearly emerges as the top story in local affairs" (Parking problems most persistent issue of '90, Lawrence County Centennial, January 2, 1991). "In a Deadwood city commission meeting dominated by discussion of a proposed noise ordinance, announcement was also

Table 4. Logistics or Planning Issues

Issues	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Parking	4	0	12	26	10	52
Amounts to be Waged	0	1	8	5	1	15
Building Definitions	0	0	1	12	1	14
Number of Machines/ Casino	0	0	4	5	3	12
Sign Ordinance	4	2	0	4	0	10
Alcohol and Beer License	0	0	3	2	0	5
Total	8	3	28	54	15	108

made of plans to drop free shuttle bus service and reinstitute 25 cent fares on both shuttle routes" (Deadwood drops free shuttle, Lawrence County Centennial, July 17, 1991).

On amounts to be waged: "Gambling rules covering 'everything under the tent' were approved Thursday by the state gaming commission and go into effect by Nov. 1" (Gambling rules Ok'd, to go into effect by Nov. 1, Rapid City Journal, August 18, 1989).

On building definitions: "What's the hottest problem here?" Sen. Tom Daschle asked Deadwood Mayor Bruce Oberlander at an informal meeting with city officials. Oberlander quickly answered, 'Defining what a building is,' referring to the on-going controversy of what constitutes a building for the purpose of installing at least 30 gaming devices" (Daschle listens to Deadwood problems, Lawrence County Centennial, February 17, 1990).

On number of machines/casino: "The bill on device numbers would eliminate a current provision of state law restricting individual buildings in Deadwood to 30 machines. It would allow up to 90 machines per building, but would base the determination on square footage pursuant to rules passed by the commission" (Bill would allow up to 90 gaming devices, Rapid City Journal, January 27, 1991).

On sign ordinance: "Ordinance #768 divides the city into districts for signing purposes, based on traffic orientation" (Deadwood commission approves sign ordinance, Lawrence County Centennial, December 16, 1988). "The 21-page long ordinance proposed to control signs in Deadwood met with resistance from a number of business and gambling operators at a public meeting Wednesday. A sign limited to 45 square feet, as the rules propose, was called inadequate for highway traffic areas by casino developer John Gable. Gable received applause when he said the proposal to contract with the National Park Service for explanatory signs in the town was 'good if we want to turn it into a museum and not make it a profit making business location'" (Sign ordinance meets resistance in Deadwood, Lawrence County Centennial, December 1, 1990).

On alcohol and beer license: "A nine-year limit on the number of beer licenses in the city of Deadwood may be eliminated in the near future. Deadwood City commissioners voted unanimously Tuesday to pass the first reading of an ordinance which would rescind the 19-license limit, which was set in 1980" (Beer may flow more freely in Deadwood, Lawrence County Centennial, September 7, 1989).

Negatives. This last major category included negatives on gambling, crime, and gaming near schools (Table 5). The following excerpts summarize the main issues.

On social issues: "Black Hills State College professor and Spearfish businessman Everett Follette was the most vocal, 'I don't think we need another Reno or Las Vegas in this area. I call it a poor way to solve our problems. I feel that if we can't think of a more creative way than vices to raise money we are in trouble'" (Negative views on gambling expressed at Cracker Barrel, Lawrence County Centennial, January 28, 1987). "For the past year, the counselors at the Northern Hills Mental Health Center in Spearfish have been seeing clients affected by

Table 5. Negative Issues

Concerns	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	Total
Social Issues	2	1	7	20	9	39
Crime	3	1	10	13	8	35
Gambling Near Schools	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>22</u>
Total	6	3	18	50	19	96

gambling in Deadwood. 'I'm aware of five families in our area who are really struggling as a result of the Deadwood gambling,' said Mark Wall, center director" (Gambling addicts seen at Hills mental health center, Lawrence County Centennial, June 16, 1990).

On crime: "Minors are becoming a major problem for some Deadwood gambling establishments. 'Minors are an extreme problem,' contended Mary Schmit of the Bullock Hotel. 'I know that I will probably be arrested for assault one of these days because I have pulled many children off the machines'" (Minors are becoming a major problem for some Deadwood gambling establishments, Rapid City Journal, December 7, 1989). "An Ellsworth Air Force Base man has been arrested in connection with the shooting death of an employee in a Deadwood gambling hall early Tuesday morning" (Suspect arrested in casino killing, Rapid City Journal, September 12, 1990).

On gaming near schools: "The state gaming commission on Tuesday authorized gambling in a business near the Deadwood Middle School over the objections of parents who are worried about their children" (Business near Deadwood school gets OK to gamble, Rapid City Journal, February 28, 1990).

In summary, the five general categories found in the development and starting of gaming in Deadwood included economics, regulatory commissions, initial questions, logistics or planning, and negatives about gaming. The categories that contained 21 specific issues spread over nearly five years of newspaper reports, generated 712 articles and answered the first research question, "What types of issues relate to gaming in newspaper reports?"

Tourism and Economic Growth Emphasis

In addressing the second question on What emphasis tourism and economic growth issues receive in a community contemplating tourism or one that has recently allowed gaming, it was noted earlier that the largest category was economics. Four of the seven issues in the economic category were concerned directly with tourism and economic issues. Deadwood chose to legalize gaming because it promised to bring outside money into the community and revive the dying town. The people in Deadwood and the state believed that tourism could be the economic boost that could turn around the town. Tourism was rarely discussed unless it was quoted with dollar figures.

In addition to the newspaper reports, a study (Madden 1992) found that lodging facilities in Deadwood experienced a 175% increase in

receipts from pre-gaming 1989 to post-gaming 1991. Likewise, eating and drinking establishments saw a 204% increase in sales. Communities surrounding the gaming town also saw an increase in taxable sales in these two industries from 1989 to 1991. In the lodging sector, four nearby communities experienced a positive growth as well. The growth was as low as a 0.4% in nearby Belle Fourche to as high as a 146% in the adjacent community of Lead. Three out of the four nearby communities also experienced growth exceeding a 45% increase in taxable sales.

Clearly, tourism and economics were partners in the gaming decision of Deadwood. The newspaper accounts and the study by Madden (1992) show that gaming is a vital player in tourism and the economic growth of this community.

Although the newspapers have shown a positive connection between gaming and the economic trends, not all areas of the economy were so lucky (Madden 1992). In Deadwood alone, the percent change in taxable sales from 1989 and 1991 was down 25% in gross wholesale trade. In retail trade, the picture shows a total increase of taxable sales of 36.4%; however, that increase is only reflective of the eating and drinking establishments and miscellaneous retail. All other retail trade, including building materials, general merchandise, food stores, automotive, apparel, and furniture, incurred decreases in taxable sales, one as much as an 88% decrease.

Likewise, in services, the overall picture shows a 55.4% increase in taxable sales. Half of the service businesses accounted for this increase: lodging, personal services, miscellaneous repair, and legal services. The remaining four services—business services, auto repair, health, and accounting services—saw a drastic decrease in taxable sales. Accounting services decreased as much as 98.5% from 1989 to 1991.

Although the economic growth related to tourism and gaming was shown as positive, studies not reported in the newspapers have shown negative effects on other industries in the community such as general merchandise, automotive, and food stores.

Trends

The final research question asked what trends could be noted by following the accounts of one small town in the history of limited stakes gaming. Three trends stand out.

First, initial questions concerning the basics of gaming start-up and continuation were very visible and continued throughout the five-year study period (Table 3). The question of whether gaming should be in Deadwood or not was strongest in the years prior to the starting date of gaming. But, it did not die out as an issue after gaming began. This trend indicates that people will question the wisdom of bringing gaming into a community and shows that people still are not sure gaming is the answer. Additionally, gaming bills and petitions were a strong issue in the beginning stages of gaming so that the regulations could be set. However, even after gaming started, more petitions and bills to either eliminate or change the rules occurred. Most notably, the South Dakota State Legislature voted to increase the bet limit from \$5.00 to

\$100.00 over a three-year period in 1993. However, enough signatures were generated on a petition, and the statewide special election on increasing the bet limit was defeated in September, 1993.

Up until the 1993 special election to increase the bet limit, South Dakota residents had been favorable towards gaming. In 1986, voters approved changing the state constitution to allow South Dakota Lottery Games; in 1988, they approved Deadwood gaming; and in 1992, they rejected an attempt to outlaw video gambling games run by the South Dakota Lottery. Until the defeat to increase bet limits, the trends showed a gradual increase and acceptance of gaming in the state of South Dakota. It now appears that residents of South Dakota are having second thoughts on the issue of gaming.

Second, the planning of what gaming will bring to a community was underestimated. The data show that very little planning was undertaken until the year gaming began (Table 4). From that point, it was a scramble to keep up with all the problems gaming was bringing. Parking was the number one issue, followed by building definitions. The trend here shows that planning came "after the fact" and the solutions were reactionary rather than proactive in style. This trend is also true in the small mining communities of Cripple Creek, Central City, and Blackhawk in Colorado. Although some planning was undertaken in these communities, it was not enough. Studies have shown that giving residents the opportunity for active involvement in all phases of planning and decision-making is necessary (Long and Nuckolls 1992).

Third, the way in which gaming was portrayed to the public was more positive than negative. In the pre-gaming years, when the discussion of whether gaming should be in Deadwood, the negatives were rarely discussed. The positives on the other hand revolved around the economic benefit to the community. The positives dwelled on the tourism growth, the outside dollars coming in, and the increase in land values. The negatives on gaming did not become a factor until after gaming began and people could visually see and experience some of the negatives (Table 5). The trend here shows that the proponents for gaming are a strong group who start strong and remain so throughout the stages of gaming in a community. The negative side is either downplayed or simply not presented in the newspapers, even though journals and magazines have reported some of the negative effects on Deadwood (Stubbles 1990).

CONCLUSIONS

Gaming is associated with economically reviving areas or communities such as Deadwood (Christiansen 1990; Madden 1991). By 1992, 34 states authorized state-run lotteries (Eadington forthcoming; Migoya and Lafleur 1990); six states legalized video lottery terminals; riverboat casino gaming became legal in Iowa, Illinois, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri, and Indiana; and over half of America's 280 Indian reservations from Connecticut to California had opted for gaming establishments (Carrier 1992; Sylvester 1992).

As seen in the five years of newspaper reporting for this study, economics tops the list for reasons why gaming should be instituted

and why it should stay. Gaming draws outside dollars into the local community, as evidenced by the substantial increase in taxable sales of lodging, eating, and drinking establishments in Deadwood since gaming was legalized. Success in lodging as well as food and beverage industries show the increase in the outside dollars. These businesses employ people in an area where unemployment may have been high, and provide the needed revenue to spruce up a community and make it attractive to even more people. Deadwood, a struggling community with a deteriorating infrastructure, took only three years and generated \$5 million in taxes to accomplish its goal of restoring many of its old buildings. Local officials now declare the venture a tentative success (Sylvester 1992). It appears as if gaming is the answer.

On the flip side of the economic argument, gaming is blamed for social problems in the area. These problems stem from gaming addictions that are now being treated as a medical problem (Lesieur 1990; Lessieur, Blume and Zoppa 1986) and lead to personal money problems, crime, and abuse. Volberg and Steufen (1991) recommended that the state of South Dakota should consider what steps to be taken (by state agencies, mental health and substance abuse treatment professionals, educators, and gaming industries) in minimizing the rates of problem and pathological gaming in South Dakota. This recommendation was provided after conducting a telephone survey of over 1,500 residents concerning gaming in 1991. States such as Iowa, Texas, and Minnesota have provided public sector funding for problem gambling treatment programs in conjunction with the legalization of various forms of commercial gaming. Iowa earmarked three percent of gross gaming revenues for the same programs in the state (Eadington forthcoming).

What is important to note in this study is that negative issues on gaming were very few in number. In the three newspapers analyzed over the five years of this study, the benefits of gaming were stressed almost 3 to 1 over the negatives. Not until 1993 did residents of South Dakota seriously start debating the negative effects of gaming. The defeat of the September 1993 special election to increase the bet limit was due to the concern over the social issue related to gaming (Nickerson 1993). The trend up until 1993 was to be supportive of gaming. Perhaps the low number of negative newspaper accounts was one reason for the prior supportive atmosphere.

On the issue of tourism and gaming, it appears that gaming works in luring outsiders to the area as evidenced by the increase in taxable sales. However, "Deadwood, South Dakota may find its casino industry contracting in the 1990s because of competition from more recently authorized gaming venues which are closer to their customer markets" (Eadington forthcoming). In other words, the remoteness of Deadwood may become its demise since access to gaming is becoming easier for the majority of the American population. Maybe gaming is not the answer for everyone as the proliferation of legalized gaming continues in the United States.

Communities interested in starting gaming as their major tourist attraction have something to learn from Deadwood. First, all potential problems need to be outlined and discussed before gaming begins.

Issues of casino regulation and amounts to be waged should be analyzed thoroughly. For Deadwood, this issue continues to be changed and appears to be an everlasting bone of contention. Yet, regulations, according to Eadington (forthcoming), might later be analyzed more in terms of their adverse competitive impacts. Excessive regulation could cause problems for the gaming industry.

Planning may also include the building or monetary support of treatment centers and programs for chronic gamblers, such as in Iowa. Providing this support shows residents the concern the state has for the social aspect of gaming. The regulatory commissions need to be in place and ready to go once gaming starts. Deadwood was successful on this aspect and could be used as a model. Finally, it seems wise to provide both the positive and negative influences of gaming to the residents. By doing this, the residents can believe that all aspects of the gaming issue are being addressed. □ □

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