

CHAPTER TWO: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Development by its nature is a process of change and may be explained in a variety of ways. Harrison (1992) and Woodcock and France (1994) suggest that traditional development approaches could prove a useful framework for the explanation of tourism development patterns and processes. In the literature, approaches to development range from the *laissez-faire* (simply doing nothing) to diffusionism, dependency and sustainability, although no approach has ever attained absolute dominance. In addition, various dichotomous alternatives have been proposed for the implementation of the above approaches, such as large versus small, mass versus alternative, exogenous versus endogenous and capital versus labour-intensive.

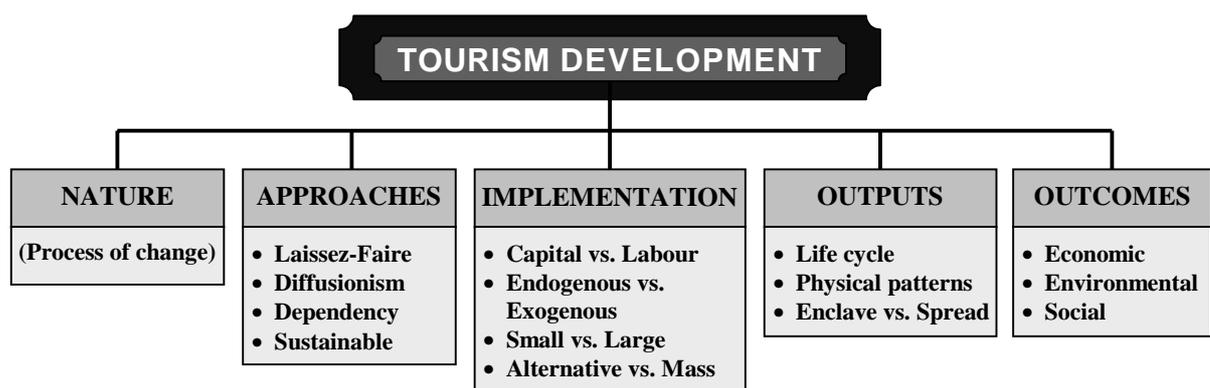
There are two type of models that contribute to the better understanding of development: the explanatory and the descriptive. Explanatory models (e.g. diffusionist) refer to the factors (preconditions) that cause development/growth. In tourism, there are two pre-conditions of development, namely the 'necessary' and the 'sufficient' (Rostow, 1990; Auty, 1995). 'Necessary' pre-conditions include various factors that pull people to different destinations, very often nice landscapes and archaeological sightseeing. However, although there are many destinations that have some necessary pre-conditions, they never move from the potential of development to actually developing, because they lack the 'sufficient' preconditions, i.e. somebody's will to develop the tourism industry, e.g. investments in infrastructure and accommodation.

Descriptive models (e.g. life cycle explanations, physical models and enclave versus spread out developments) examine tourism from the angle of what appears on the ground, e.g. large hotels, facilities etc. The majority of tourism development research has been concentrated on descriptive explanations, mainly

life cycle models (Butler, 1980; Cooper, 1990; Martin and Uysal, 1990; Foster and Murphy, 1991; Getz, 1992; Ioannides, 1992; di Benedetto and Bojanic, 1993; Johnson and Snepenger, 1993; McElroy et al., 1993; Bianchi, 1994; Agarwal, 1997; Douglas, 1997; Goncalves and Aguas, 1997; Tooman, 1997; Oppermann, 1998; Priestley and Mundet, 1998; Russell and Faulkner, 1998; Knowles and Curtis, 1999). Similarly, much research has been conducted emphasising the outcomes of development - economic, socio-cultural and environmental (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Liu and Var, 1983; Haukeland, 1984; Dogan, 1989; Ap, 1992; Tsartas, 1992; Uysal, 1992; Wheat, 1993; Archer and Cooper, 1998; Buhalis and Fletcher, 1995; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Korca, 1998; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Gamage and King, 1999).

The aim of this chapter is to add to past research by identifying the ways in which tourism develops through the investigation of the development process components (Figure 2.1). It does this in five sections covering: the nature of development; the approaches to development; how these approaches are implemented; and the outputs and outcomes of the development process.

Figure 2.1: The components of the tourism development process



Source: Author.

2.1 THE NATURE OF DEVELOPMENT

The concept of development has been under discussion for many years and has been given numerous interpretations. Friedmann (1980, p.4) and Oppermann and

Chon (1997) observe development as one of the ‘more slippery terms in our tongue’ and suggests development as ‘an evolutionary process’ with ‘positive connotations’. In particular, Friedmann (1980) states:

Development is always of something, a human being, a society, a notion, an economy, a skill ... It is often associated with words, such as under or over or balanced: too little, too much, or just right ... which suggests that development has a structure, and that the speaker has some idea about how this structure ought to be developed. We also tend to think of development as a process of change or as a complex of such processes which is in some degree lawful or at least sufficiently regular so that we can make intelligent statements about it (p.4).

Ingham (1993) views development in a similar manner to Friedman by attributing to development a dual nature, consisting of both a process and a goal. Todaro (1994) sets three goals of development: human survival needs (mainly food and shelter), standards of living (such as education and health), and human rights (such as social justice and political sovereignty).

Despite pervasive tourism growth over the last decades and the use of tourism by many countries and islands as a development strategy, development literature has almost neglected tourism as a development approach (Apostolopoulos, 1994; Gunn, 1994; Sinclair, 1998). However, development through tourism is a strategy utilised by governments to improve residents’ welfare through income and employment generation, and to help a destination to move from a position of ‘poverty’ or ‘under-development’ to a position of ‘wealth’ or ‘more-development’.

Rostow (1960) identifies a natural path to economic growth (process) which all societies or nations have to follow if they want to become modern. This path includes five stages beginning with the traditional society and progressing through the stages of the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, and the drive to maturity, before reaching the final stage of high mass consumption. Rostow (1960) recognised that for a quicker and better development of a country a major role is played by a free and dynamic private sector in partnership with an efficient public

sector. However, he identified the danger of detouring, when some countries depart from capitalist development to the deviant route of socialism-communism.

Although Rostow's model does not address tourism growth, in particular, but general economic growth from any type of activity, it is a useful tool to explain economic growth in tourism. Tourism can offer to a destination a natural path to economic growth through various stages, ranging from traditional non-tourism where no tourists visit the destination, to the precondition to take off where explorers and drifters make their appearance, to maturity where the destination is visited by mass individual tourists, to the final stage of mass consumption where the destination is visited by mass organised tourists. From this it is evident that Rostow set the roots for most of the models that have attempted to explain tourism evolution. Therefore, many authors have incorporated into their evolutionary models many of Rostow's stages, although using tourism-specific terminology.

2.2 APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT

Since tourism is a process of change it is imperative to investigate the following approaches to change introduced by development scholars.

2.2.1 Laissez-faire

The tradition of 'laissez faire' suggests that with minimum interference by government and the efficient operations of individual entrepreneurs the production and exchange of goods can be stimulated and a consequent rise in the general standards of living attained. However, such freedom cannot ensure basic social values, such as equitable income distribution. Instead, it permits the accumulation of vast wealth and powerful vested interests leading to the poverty of a major part of the society. In tourism the laissez-faire approach should be avoided because it can result in deleterious effects due to the remarkable consequences of uncontrolled tourism development on the survival of environmental and cultural resources and the danger of destinations losing their authenticity in the drive for quick and easy profit.

2.2.2 The diffusionist paradigm

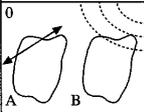
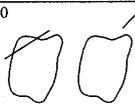
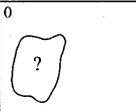
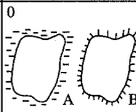
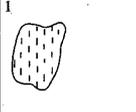
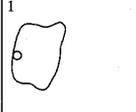
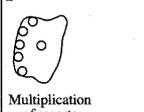
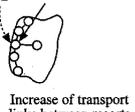
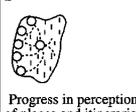
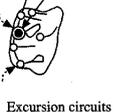
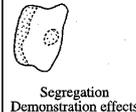
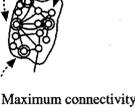
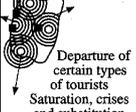
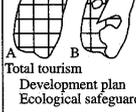
Diffusion is a process where economic growth spreads-out from one location to a number of others (Sarre, 1977; Rostow, 1990; Auty, 1995). This spreading-out process can be better implemented through development. “Development is inevitable, (it) occurs in development stages, and is diffused from the development core towards peripheral areas” (Oppermann and Chon, 1997, p.36). A prerequisite of diffusion is the process of innovation, which does not have to be something new, but may exist in other areas, and it can refer to tangible objects, like machines, or less tangible phenomena, like tourism (Sarre, 1977; Potter et al., 1999).

Diffusion in tourism has two sides. Firstly, the demand side is concerned with how tourists are informed about the destination and decide to visit it. Usually the tourist product is not supplied directly to the public but intermediaries control its distribution. As a result, the supply side is concerned with the ways that a destination develops the tourism industry. Supply side involves the institutions, e.g. governmental or exogenous agencies that make decisions. In every destination there are some individuals or institutions that decide first to produce tourist facilities. Once a small number of producers create some facilities that are successful in attracting tourists, more individuals decide to adopt the innovation, usually located near existing producers. Hägerstrand (1967) calls this the neighbourhood effect on innovations. This diffusion of innovation results in social change by which alteration occurs in the structure and function of the social system, by borrowing or adopting cultural traits of other countries (Sethna, 1980; Rogers, 1995).

Miossec (1977) developed a diffusionist model of tourism space, depicting the structural evolution of a destination through time and space and noted changes in the provision of resort and transport facilities and subsequent behavioural and attitudinal changes amongst tourists, decision-makers and the host population. He argued (Figure 2.2) that diffusion happens in five phases (0, 1, 2, 3 and 4) from isolation, with no development, to the creation of a pioneer resort together with

the necessary transportation means for the accessibility of the resort, to a multiplication of resorts and further transportation links, and to saturation through an even distribution of resorts across the country. Through these phases changes in local attitudes occur that may lead to the complete acceptance of tourism, the adoption of planning controls or even the rejection of tourism (Pearce, 1989).

Figure 2.2: Tourism space dynamics

Resorts phases	Transport phases	Tourists phases	Hosts phases
<p>0</p>  <p>Territory Traversed Distant</p>	<p>0</p>  <p>Transit Isolation</p>	<p>0</p>  <p>Lack of interest and knowledge</p>	<p>0</p>  <p>Mirage Refusal</p>
<p>1</p>  <p>Pioneer resort</p>	<p>1</p>  <p>Opening up</p>	<p>1</p>  <p>Global perception</p>	<p>1</p>  <p>Observation</p>
<p>2</p>  <p>Multiplication of resorts</p>	<p>2</p>  <p>Increase of transport links between resorts</p>	<p>2</p>  <p>Progress in perception of places and itineraries</p>	<p>2</p>  <p>Infrastructure policy Servicing of resorts</p>
<p>3</p> <p>Spatial organization of each holiday resort</p>  <p>Beginning of a hierarchy and specialization of resorts</p>	<p>3</p>  <p>Excursion circuits</p>	<p>3</p>  <p>Spatial competition and segregation</p>	<p>3</p>  <p>Segregation Demonstration effects</p>
<p>4</p>  <p>Fully developed hierarchy and specialization Saturation</p>	<p>4</p>  <p>Maximum connectivity</p>	<p>4</p>  <p>Complete perception and visitation Departure of certain types of tourists Saturation, crises and substitution</p>	<p>4</p>  <p>Total tourism Development plan Ecological safeguards</p>

Source: Miossec (1977).

Miossec suggested that over-development can result in decline, setting so limits for the degree of development that a resort or a country can sustain. However, Miossec may be criticised in that he failed to recognise that tourism cannot develop in an ‘empty space’ but usually develops “within an existing socio-economic structure where some form of urban hierarchy and some transport networks are already found” (Pearce, 1989, p.18).

The process of diffusion from the development core to the periphery can be easily materialised through tourism, due to the increasing demand of modern tourists for

new destinations. The expansion of the tourism industry implies greater interaction of the 'trickle-down effects' and the possibility of regional disparity adjustment. Tourism can result in a positive influence on tourist receiving destinations with benefits to individual welfare and collectively in socio-economic development. Since tourism expenditure results in linkages to other economic sectors, e.g. agriculture, handicrafts, and building, high multiplier effects, and employment creation for locals, international tourism has been seen by governments of peripheral regions as an instrument for their economic development, as emphasised by Christaller (1964) and Potter et al. (1999).

Nevertheless, sometimes the results of the diffusion process are different. In some nations diffusion, through tourism, has not led to significant economic development and improvement in individual welfare, but has increased regional inequalities, disparities between socio-economic classes and elitist entrenchment. According to Brown (1981):

Within third world nations elitist entrenchment prevails and there are still enormous disparities between social and economic classes, as well as among regions, in their level of social welfare and economic development (p.229).

As a result, diffusion does not immediately appear over the entire country or island. There are areas where diffusion emerges first, in others later, and in some never. However, what is the reason for this? As Friedmann (1973) and Potter et al. (1999) asserted, usually the core dominates the periphery in economic, political and innovative functions, and therefore diffusion in the core usually emerges first. On the other hand, the periphery is not a homogenous entity, and therefore, parts of it differ in their potential for development. As Brown (1981) suggested:

Periphery areas may be upward transitional because they are located in proximity to development impulses emanating from the core, or because they are located between two core cities and thus constitute a development corridor. Alternatively, there are periphery areas that are downward transitional because they are located far from the centres of economic activity, or because their social norms are exceptional traditional (p.253).

This has been illustrated by many authors (e.g. Britton, 1982; Pearce, 1987; Oppermann, 1993) who propose that tourist resorts are usually created in the vicinity of international airports. Since most of the time international airports are frequently close to the capital, resorts are located in these areas. For example, in Dominica, half of all accommodation establishments are in the capital Rousseau (Weaver, 1991). Oppermann (1993) asserted that the most successful way to direct tourists to other regions is the opening of a new airport. Since the sea and sand attract most tourists, airports are constructed frequently along the coast.

Developing nations and islands consist of a declining 'traditional' sector, and a growing 'modern' sector. The traditional sector comprises an indigenous culture and is characterised by a sub-culture of peasantry or social norms oriented towards maintaining the status quo (Brown, 1981, p.252; Potter et al, 1999). On the other hand, the modern sector incorporates the influence of foreign, primarily developed world, economic practices and social norms (Brown, 1981; Potter et al, 1999). Through the input of new ideologies, technologies and expertise from external to the region agents, there is a change in the structure of the economy and the society of underdeveloped regions. As Harrison (1992) remarked:

Economically, there is a shift from agriculture to industry (and from rural to urban), and a central role for money and the money market. Socially, the influence of the family and other collectivities declines, institutions become more differentiated, and a pivotal role is played by 'modernising' elites and other 'change agents' in introducing modern values and institutions, often in the face of hostile or resistant tradition... If investment capital, entrepreneur skills, technological knowledge and values necessary for modernity are absent from societies which are 'developing', they can be diffused from outside, perhaps as some form of aid, provided there are sufficient, and sufficiently powerful, indigenous change agents to act as catalysts and carry the rest of society with them, albeit unwillingly (p.9).

Developing societies have to pass through a series of development stages similar to those experienced by many western countries (Barnett, 1988; Harrison, 1988; Loeb and Paredes, 1991; Wall, 1997). Development may be better achieved along Western lines and through the movement from the 'traditional' agricultural sector into a modern sector (Clancy, 1999). Consequently, the diffusionist paradigm

proposes that the only way to achieve development is through the elimination of the 'under-development' characteristics and the acquisition of characteristics already adopted by the more-developed regions (Browett, 1980; Oppermann and Chon, 1997). However, Wall (1997) criticised the process of modernisation because:

It involves high levels of abstraction with limited discussion of the role of local involvement, that it suggests a unidirectional path which all must follow in order to develop, and that it smacks of western ethnocentrism as revealed in the First- and Third-World labels ascribed to parts of the globe. It has little to say about the importance of traditional values, and perhaps implies that the maintenance of tradition and modernisation may not be compatible goals (p.36).

2.2.3 The dependency theory

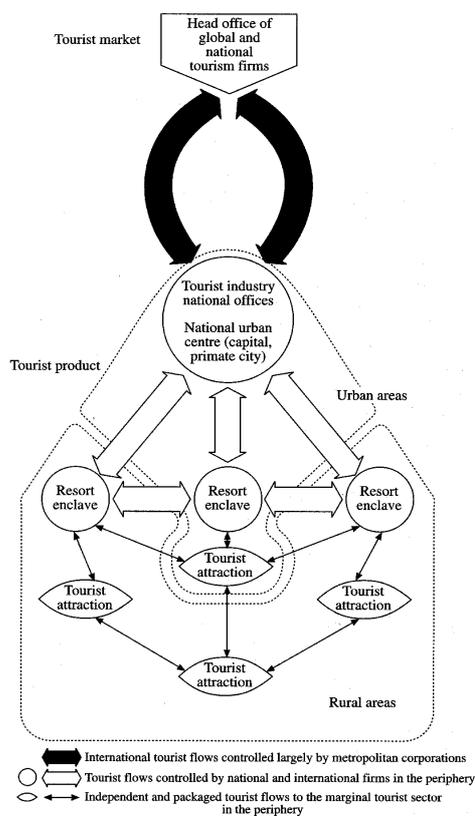
The diffusion of development from Western countries to underdeveloped peripheral regions brings changes in the form of modernisation of the economic structure, through foreign investments and control, as well as reinforcement of elites as agents of change. Therefore, the diffusionist paradigm was criticised because it did not relate to those structural conditions which prevail in 'contemporary under-developed regions' (Browett, 1980; Oppermann and Chon, 1997). As a result, according to several researchers (Briton, 1982; Erisman, 1983; Wilkinson, 1987; Lea, 1988; Briton, 1989; Auty, 1995; Milne, 1997; Wilkinson, 1997a), forms of 'dependent development' have emerged in many developing countries.

According to the notion of dependent development, while economic growth has occurred in some countries of the periphery, such development has produced undesirable features that distinguished it from the capitalist development in the core (Hunt, 1989; Potter et al., 1999). The absence of sufficient capital, and subsequent low investment and productivity, result in the periphery being trapped in a vicious circle of poverty (Myrdal, 1957; Potter et al., 1999), with peripheral tourism controlled and exploited by 'the industrial core regions' (Keller, 1987; Potter et al. (1999)). As a result, tourism evolution in many island destinations

matches patterns of neo-colonialism and economic dependency, where ‘wealthy metropolitan Western societies’ overwhelmingly dominate the travel business of under-developed destinations by exploiting their resources through developing ‘tourism enclaves’, as Matthews (1977) and Wilkinson (1987) have reported regarding the Caribbean islands.

Britton (1982) illustrated this situation in his enclave model of tourism in developing countries (Figure 2.3). He indicated that tourism in developing countries is spatially concentrated and organised in the metropolitan economies, usually a capital city, where the “headquarters of metropolitan tourism corporations and associated non-tourism companies are located” (Britton, 1982, p.341). Since metropolitan enterprises are actually located within the principal tourist markets they have direct contact with tourists, they dominate major facets of the industry, such as technology, marketing, product pricing and design, and thus, they control the link in the tourist flow chain (IUOTO, 1976; Britton, 1989; Wilkinson, 1997b). Foreign headquarters of the tourism-generating countries organise the package tour (transportation, accommodation and excursions) and therefore there is a “capacity of the dominant tourism sectors to control tourist expenditures through the control of tourist movements, to the relative exclusion of the petty producer sectors” (Britton, 1982, p.346). The only uncontrolled facet by foreign headquarters is some of the consumption patterns of tourists during their residence, e.g. items they purchase, entertainment, and other services. Although Britton (1982) developed his model almost twenty years ago, his notions are still appropriate.

Figure 2.3: Enclave model of tourism in developing countries



Source: Britton (1982).

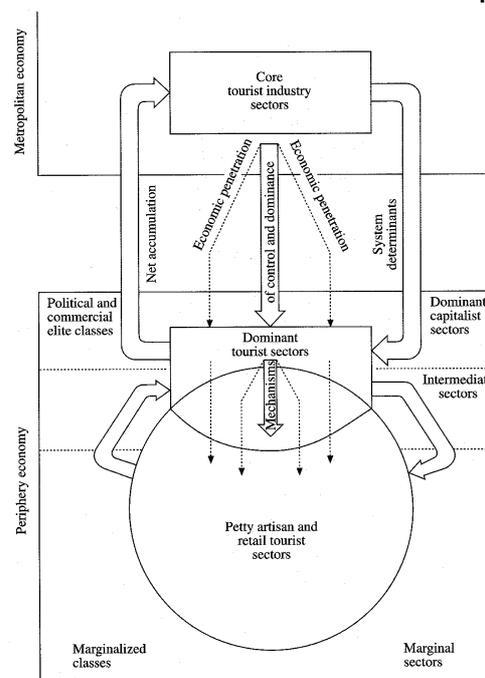
In effect, the locus of control over the development process and local resources shifts from the people that are most affected by development, the host community, to the tourism-generating countries, with adverse effects on the environment, the society and the economy (Hall, 1994; Hall, 1996). Local people find themselves “enmeshed in a globally integrated system of resource use over which they cannot exercise control” and they become “the targets of top-down decision-making by elitist bodies exogenous to the community” (Brohman, 1996, p.55).

The dependency paradigm presented in Britton’s enclave model may be criticised for being directed towards only one segment of the tourism market, the package tour. Consequently, it disregards the significance of individual and domestic tourists for the economy and welfare of a destination area. In addition, the dependency theory neglects the importance of domestic institutions, particularly local and national governments, and consequently those bodies influencing the industry’s development process. It fails to formulate alternative prescriptions for

tourism development in developing countries (Oppermann and Chon, 1997, p.40) and ignores the fact that in some cases local firms of developing countries control major facets of their tourism industry, e.g. accommodation establishments in Jamaica (Wilkinson, 1997a) and the major airline of Fiji (Lockhart, 1997a).

The dependency paradigm has neglected the domestic aspects of tourism in developing countries, as illustrated by Britton's (1982) second model: the structural model of tourism in developing countries (Figure 2.4). Britton tries to explain that dependency does not exist only between metropolitan and developing countries, but also within developing countries, between the more developed urban centres and the peripheral areas. Tourism development does not develop in an empty space but usually develops in the capital and large urban centres with proximity to international airports. Companies located in the urban centres of developing countries have the financial ability and political support to invest in the peripheral areas (Potter et al., 1999). As a result, these companies control the industry of the periphery, reducing further the economic benefits of peripheral regions.

Figure 2.4: Structural model of tourism in developing countries



Source: Britton (1982).

2.2.4 The sustainable development approach

The aforementioned approaches fail to consider the needs of the local community and the importance of environmental and cultural conservation in development. Consequently, a more contemporary approach was originated, the sustainable development approach. The major aim of sustainable development is to direct changes from development towards ‘a more idealised and greener future’ (Woodcock and France, 1994).

Although concern for the environment is a recent phenomenon, environmental decay is a centuries-old phenomenon. In 300 BC the Greek philosopher Plato complained about landscape changes in Attica (Janssen et al., 1995). Despite the high interest paid to the environment through the ages the term ‘sustainable development’ first came to prominence in 1980 with the publication of the World Conservation Union (IUCN, 1980). Subsequently the concept of sustainable development has been defined in many ways.

The most widely accepted definition of sustainable development has been given by the World Commission on Environment and Development in the Brundland Report ‘Our Common Future’, describing it as:

Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs ... (It is) a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations (WCED, 1987, p.43).

From the above definition it is evident that sustainable development, as with all the other development approaches, is a process of change. However, this approach emphasises the preservation of resources and respects the needs of future generations. Aronsson (1993) suggested sustainable development as “a matter of simultaneously preserving, the richness of species and the multiplicity in a natural area, and striving to develop a community in order to achieve a better life for the

people” (p.83). The definition pays particular attention to the satisfaction of human needs, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, such as sufficient food, clean water, shelter, clothing and jobs, as well as the normal human aspirations for those things which contribute to a better quality of life, such as higher standards of living, greater consumer choice, more security and increased vacation opportunities (WCED, 1987; Hunter and Green, 1995). Where these basic needs are not being met, sustainable development requires economic growth as a weapon in the fight against poverty and under-development. Only with economic growth, and under the conditions of increasing productive potential and ensuring equitable opportunities for all, is the capacity to ‘alleviate poverty’ and solve environmental threats successful (Janssen et al., 1995).

Tourism was once promoted as a clean and harmless economic activity; free of the environmental impacts attributed to other industries, such as manufacturing, mining, and intensive agriculture. However, the physical impact of feet, litter, congestion, over-building and the social impact of mass visitation on cultures and indigenous communities, has led tourism development to be questioned, and tourism to be considered as a ‘threat to the sustainability’ of many areas (Butler, 1992; Long, 1993; Burns and Holden, 1995). In effect the doctrine “tourism nurtures the goose that lays the golden egg” and the notion that “there is a symbiotic relationship between tourism and the environment” are questionable (Wheeller, 1994, p.652). Nevertheless, tourist destinations today depend upon clean physical surroundings, protected environments and the distinctive cultural patterns of local communities. Destinations that do not offer environmental quality are usually suffering a decline in quality and tourist use. Therefore, any economic activity, including tourism, should ensure a capacity for continuance.

Any profit from development should, if necessary, be used to improve ‘worn-down resources’ and to support ecological preservation for future generations (Porritt, 1995; Griffin and Boele, 1997). However, Owen et al. (1993) state that the concept of sustainable development need not be in conflict with the notion of economic growth since “economic vitality is essential in order to combat poverty, improve the quality of life and drive the process of environmental

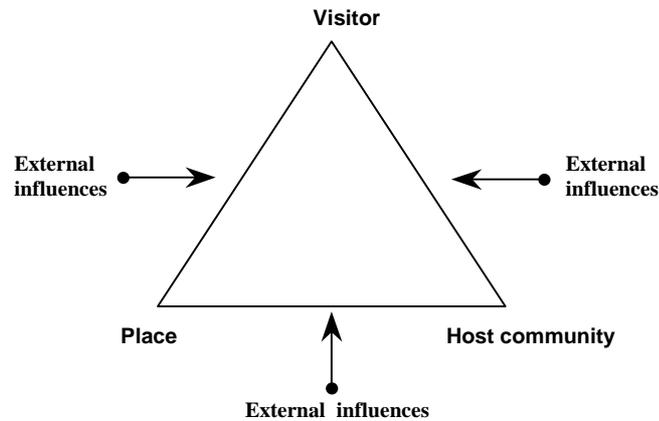
protection” (p.463). To achieve sustainability the benefits of tourism should be diffused through many communities, not concentrated on a narrow coastal strip or scenic valley (Lane, 1991, p.2). As a result, diffusion of development is a prerequisite of sustainability for the achievement of an equal spread of benefits to the whole population.

The above views for the goals of sustainable modern tourism and harmonious tourism development have been expressed by many Declarations, e.g. the Hague Declaration on Tourism, organised jointly by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the World Tourism Organisation (WTO, 1989), the Manila Declaration of the WTO (1980), and the Joint Declaration of the WTO and UNEP (1982). Butler (1996) incorporated the principles expressed previously by international organisations and gave a comprehensive definition of sustainable tourism:

Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at a such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes (Butler, 1996, p.13).

Butler’s (1996) definition of sustainable tourism shares many features of the term sustainable development, such as that tourism should contribute to development and maintenance, while the type and scale used should ensure long-term viability of the development. The definition also recognises that tourism activity has human and physical impacts on destination areas that should not prohibit any other activities and processes. To these ends, ETB (1991) investigated sustainable tourism development, as a relationship that exists between the three components of the tourism-operating environment, namely, tourists, host community and destination environment (Figure 2.5). This relationship is both ‘complex and dynamic’, and can bring costs and benefits to the destination and the host community. Consequently, the long-term objective of sustainable tourism should be to maintain a ‘harmonious balance’ between these three components, whilst protecting the ‘resource base’.

Figure 2.5: Model for sustainable tourism



Source: ETB (1991).

Different interpretations of sustainable tourism development have been offered according to the level of environmental concern given towards the tourism/environment system. These interpretations can be summarised into four major sustainable development positions (Hunter, 1997, pp.860-862):

1. *Sustainable development through a 'tourism imperative'*. Very weak interpretation heavily skewed towards the fostering, as well as the development of tourism, mainly concerned with satisfying the needs and desires of tourists and tourist operators.
2. *Sustainable development through a 'product-led tourism'*. A weak interpretation of sustainable development where the environmental side of tourism/environment system of destinations may well receive consideration, but is secondary to the primary need to develop new, and maintain existing, tourism products.
3. *Sustainable development through 'environment-led tourism'*. A strong position of sustainable development, where decisions are made which skew the tourism/environment system towards a paramount concern for the status of the environment.
4. *Sustainable development through 'neotenous tourism'*. A very strong position where sustainable development is predicated upon the belief that there are cases in which tourism should be actively and continuously discouraged on ecological grounds.

To sum up, sustainable development embodies the notion of limitations, analogous with the concept of a destination area's carrying capacity for tourism activity which refers to:

The maximum use of any site without causing negative effects on the resources, reducing visitor satisfaction, or exerting adverse impact upon the society, economy and culture of the area (WTO, 1993, p.23).

Many standards have been set to scientifically quantify optimum numbers of visitors in destination areas. However, it is difficult to generalise such standards from site to site, for the reason that there are too many variables to be considered for each site. Regulators, planners and managers should be able to define separate limits for each destination, if they want to achieve sustainable tourism development (de Boer, 1993). Furthermore, host communities should decide the number of tourists that the destination can attract without any disruption of a community's life or cultural and environmental degradation. Therefore, sustainable development strongly suggests that the involvement of the local community in the development process (the bottom up approach) is a prerequisite for sustainability (Godfrey, 1993).

2.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF DEVELOPMENT APPROACHES

For the implementation of the above development approaches, there are various options available to developers and planners wishing to expand the tourism industry of a region, which concern mainly the process and/or funding of development, and frequently refer to issues, such as:

- type of production (capital versus labour);
- degree of control and ownership (endogenous/local versus exogenous/foreign);
- scale (small versus large); and
- forms of tourism (alternative/soft/sustainable versus mass/hard/non-sustainable).

2.3.1 Capital versus labour-intensive development

Developers and planners very often have to make decisions on whether production should be based on capital-intensive or labour-intensive techniques. Many studies have highlighted the potential of tourism as a labour-intensive industry that requires limited capital investment to create employment (Mings, 1969; Brown, 1985; Culpan, 1987; Hall, 1994).

Many authors (Cleverdon, 1979; Bond and Ladman, 1980; Van Houts, 1983; Morrell, 1985; Lever, 1987; Lickorish, 1991) have investigated the cost of employment creation in the tourism industry compared to other economic sectors, and they suggest that it is substantially less. For example, an automobile factory requires heavy capital investment, but generates relatively fewer jobs than a similar amount of investment in tourism. Williams and Shaw (1991) disagree on the ground that the development of the tourism industry involves a complex of other industries, e.g. transport, retailing and associated manufacturing, to provide services, products, facilities and infrastructure. Bearing all these in mind, it is very difficult to estimate the real cost of creating a job in the tourism industry. Nevertheless, services, facilities and infrastructure produced by the 'complex of industries' and consumed by the tourism industry, are also available for consumption by the local population and they might be required for the local society's welfare, even if the tourism industry was not developed.

Agarwal et al. (2000) state that due to technological advances and the introduction of information technology, some tourism sectors have become more labour intensive. Some authors (e.g. Cleverdon, 1979; McCann, 1983; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998) report that in the accommodation sector, the level of employment generated (as well as income) depends on the size of the establishment. In particular, small and medium-sized enterprises provide more employment per visitor with less capital than larger establishments. In contrast, international and larger hotels are more capital-intensive, and although they have a higher employment per bed ratio for the reason that they cater for most of the tourists' needs, they create few employment opportunities and little income

outside the hotel complex. On the other hand, different types of tourist, classified by the type of accommodation they use, have different economic effects on employment. In particular, Vaughan and Wilkes (1986) found that in Cumbria paying guests at farm/private houses created the most direct and indirect jobs, in total 23.2 per £100,000 visitor spending, whilst visitors staying at hotels and guesthouses where capital investments are higher, created 10.1 jobs per £100,000.

Since in developing countries, labour is abundant and capital is scarce, tourism can be used as a labour-intensive solution for economic development. Thus, governments should specify their preference for labour or capital-intensive development according to their present capability and future direction. If the major development aim of a country is to raise the present level of employment and consumption, as compared to future growth, more labour-intensive techniques should be favoured. On the other hand, if a country aims towards future growth in relation to present welfare, the more capital-intensive methods of production should be followed (Thirlwall, 1972). Alternatively, Cukor (1974) suggests that the use of capital-intensive and labour-intensive technologies together:

allows capabilities and production to be increased, without freezing capital in outdated technologies and in this way taxing the future, and it allows the more capital-intensive technologies to be introduced in the auxiliary operations at later stages, as capital becomes more abundant and labour more scarce (p.217).

2.3.2 Exogenous versus endogenous development

The dependency theory has highlighted the disastrous effects of exogenous tourism development on the economic and social structure of the host economies. In this sense, it is suggested that exogenous dependent development is more for the benefit of “capitalist-tourism generating countries and not self-generating for the host countries” (Khan, 1997, p.998). Consequently, exogenous development of a destination can be blamed for low multiplier effects, use of expatriate staff, and an increased degree of foreign dominance and control of the tourism sector.

To avoid these deficiencies the question arises as to whether destination development can be initiated and carried out from within or not (Keller, 1987). In many developing countries and islands, e.g. African countries and Caribbean islands, the answer appears to be negative because of the low rate of the local population's involvement in entrepreneurial activities, low production, insufficient capital and lack of skilled local employees. Thus, in cases where endogenous tourism development is not possible, it is recommended that governments should try to keep, where possible, the maximum control of development and attempt to increase the local community's involvement, e.g. by providing investment incentives to local entrepreneurs and introducing legislation that increases job opportunities for the local population. Alternatively, if the destination has the capability and financial resources for endogenous development, governments should encourage endogenous factors of development and try to exploit reasonable the available socio-cultural and environmental resources.

2.3.3 Small- versus large-scale development

Different scales of development have different impacts on the receiving destination and the host community. Rodenburg (1989, p.207) identified three scales in Bali: the 'large', the 'small' and the 'craft', and remarked that each scale of tourist exploitation meets economic development objectives to different degrees. He concluded that the development of small and craft tourism could bring more benefits to the island and the host population. Similarly, Long and Wall (1995) suggest that small-scale development may be the solution to some of the challenges faced by tourism developers, and proposed that the dynamic processes, which accompany small-scale tourism, must be understood and anticipated for the good of an area's development. Wheeler (1991) notes that small-scale developments are directed to cater for small numbers of tourists, and although they charge high prices and increase the profit of small tourist groups, they have few effects on income generation and employment. Besides, he suggests that even if all tourist destinations succeed in minimising tourists' numbers, this would not be a solution, since the effective demand of tourism

would outstrip supply. As a result, an action like this would be “a micro solution to a macro problem” (Wheeller, 1991, p.92).

To sum up, small-scale development puts the control of the tourism development process in the hands of the local community and has low impacts on the destination. As a result, it can be integrated more easily into the existing socio-cultural and economic environments of the community and therefore it can ensure the sustainable development of a destination. However, it creates less employment and income compared to large-scale development. Therefore, tourism planners and developers should specify their preferences for large- or small-scale development according to the types of tourist they want to attract, the capital available, and the level of desirable control and participation of the local community in the tourism process. They have to decide before the expansion of the tourism industry whether to build large-scale or small-scale enterprises, since after construction takes place, it will be difficult to scale down the industry (Wheeller, 1991, p.92).

2.3.4 Mass versus alternative tourism development

Alternative tourism and mass tourism can be considered ‘polar opposites’, with alternative tourism being considered as the ‘good’ and mass tourism as the ‘bad’ (Lane, 1989; Pearce, 1992; Lane, 1993). Poon (1993) asserts that mass tourism is an old form of tourism, and ‘new tourism’ is an environmentally-friendly, long-term paradigm reflecting the increasing interest in a destination’s finite resources and the desires of experienced travellers.

As many studies reveal (UNESCO, 1976; Romeril, 1985b; EC, 1993a; Vanhove, 1997), the majority of negative impacts derive from mass tourism, since mass tourism implies a concentration of high numbers of tourists, requires large-scale investments in facilities, infrastructure and services, and lower involvement of the local community in the development process (Dogart and Dogart, 1996; Faulkner, 1998). Since mass tourism is characterised by a concentration in time and space, and it is the least sensitive to local resources due to the intensive type of tourism

development and the behaviour of package tourists who are attracted by low-cost options, adverse negative impacts are more evident for the host destination (Pearce, 1989; Coccossis, 1996; Coccossis and Parpairis, 1996).

Consequently, because of the vagaries attributed to mass tourism, many countries have turned their policies towards encouraging the development of softer (alternative) forms of tourism 'as a new panacea of modern tourism' (Krippendorf, 1982; Hunter and Green, 1995). The reason for this is that alternative tourism has less destructive effects on the environment, society and culture of destination areas and their population, without any significant diminution of the positive economic benefits. Therefore, Weaver (1991) declares alternative tourism as a replacement for mass tourism, since it is considered "quality tourism (which) implies limited highly controlled development and selective marketing" (Inskeep, 1987, p.124). Others argue that mass tourism is "inevitable, due to sheer tourist demand, and what is needed is a way to make the conventional more sustainable" (Godfrey, 1993, p.57).

From the above discussion it can be concluded that the alternative form provides more benefits to the local community. It indicates human and physical capacity limitations and contributes to the protection of the environment. Each community has its own capacity to absorb tourists in order to maximise possible benefits and minimise costs. Such outcomes can be better achieved through alternative tourism development directed towards the attraction of a limited number of 'high quality' tourists and community involvement in the development process, and away from mass tourism with high quantity of low quality tourists and high leakages resulting from foreign intervention.

In summary, although the above choices for the implementation of the development approaches look dichotomous, they can be combined. For example, countries can develop mass tourism in some areas and in others alternative, according to the desires of the community, the existing patterns of development and the resources of each area.

2.4 DEVELOPMENT OUTPUT EXPLANATIONS

The above development options when adopted by a government for a destination's tourism development, result in various outputs. What appears on the ground from a destination's tourism development can be divided into life cycle explanations, morphological output and the type of enclave or spread out development.

2.4.1 Life cycle models

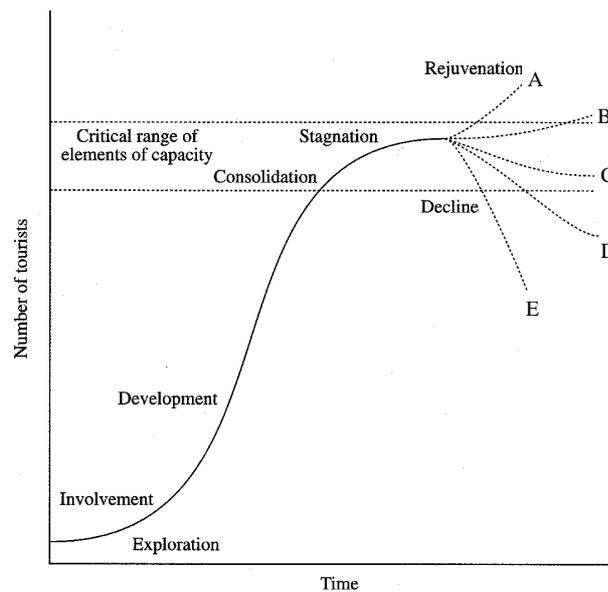
Many authors (Gilbert, 1939; Defert, 1954; Butler, 1980; Douglas, 1997; Russell and Faulkner, 1998) have attempted to illustrate the various stages of resort evolution through the concept of the life cycle. Before going further into the investigation of these descriptive stage-models, it is important to make clear that despite 'the diffusionist character' of these models, they are not presented in the section dealing with the diffusionist paradigm, because these models are mainly focused on the physical changes attributed to the tourism development of a destination over time, rather than the diffusion of ideas. Besides, since they have been applied only to small islands, cities and resorts, they do not correspond with the diffusionism paradigm that investigates diffusionism from a country level. Each country is made up of a mosaic of resorts with different stages of development and therefore the diffusion of ideas in each region can be at different levels. As a result, life cycle models are analysed in this subsection as descriptive of development output.

The concept of a resort or destination life cycle has been in the tourism literature for up to 60 years. In one of the earliest studies, Gilbert (1939) considered three stages of evolution, discovery, growth, and decline. Defert (1954) proposed a theoretical framework of development where a tourist resort can be born, grow old and die. In addition, Defert (1954) introduced the possibility that a resort may escape the decline stage, through rejuvenation, "it can take a new lease on life by adapting itself to tourist requirements" (Oppermann and Chon, 1997, p.56).

Christaller (1964) viewed tourism evolution as a development cycle, in which painters and artists initially discover a destination, which becomes fashionable, and then eventually tourists visit the destination on package tours. Plog (1973) attempted to explain the rise and fall of destinations by relating the popularity of tourist destinations over time to the personalities of different types of travellers. In his theory, Plog (1973) paid attention to the various psychological characteristics of travellers, arguing that as a resort develops, it appeals to different types of tourists from 'allocentrics', to 'mid-centrics', and to 'psychocentrics'. However, Plog (1973) was focused on the different types of tourists over time, and failed to clarify the identity of endogenous or exogenous patterns of development and the subsequent changes that each option has for host societies.

Based on previous work and the product life cycle concept, Butler (1980) introduced a general model of the hypothetical evolution of a tourist area. Butler's model (Figure 2.6) shows that the change in visitor arrivals to a tourist destination follows the S-shaped curve of the product life cycle and that resort areas undergo an evolutionary cycle of six stages. These stages are:

Figure 2.6: Hypothetical evolution of a tourist area



Source: Butler (1980).

Exploration: is characterised by small numbers of visitors discovering a destination, making individual, non-institutionalised travel arrangements. At this stage, the provided facilities are used and owned by locals and the numbers of tourists are restricted by lack of access and facilities.

Involvement: is characterised by greater and perhaps regular visitations. The community is beginning to adapt to the tourist trade (Johnson and Snepenger, 1993) and local entrepreneurs begin to provide new facilities and services for tourists. At this stage, advertising to attract tourists can be anticipated, pressures may be placed on the public sector to provide infrastructure, and seasonal patterns emerge.

Development: is marked by the development of additional tourism infrastructure (facilities, services and accommodation) and the appearance of well-defined and regular market areas, stimulated by extensive advertising to attract tourists. Local involvement and control of development declines rapidly and the tourist trade has now been taken over by outsiders. The numbers of tourists at peak periods far outweigh the size of the local population.

Consolidation. The rate of increase in the number of visitors declines, although total numbers are still on the rise and exceed permanent residents. “A well delineated business district has taken place, some of the older deteriorating facilities are perceived as second rate”, and local efforts are made to extend the visitor season and market area (Agarwal, 1992, p.196). A major part of the local economy is tied to tourism, but native residents may find themselves excluded from major attractions. The community perceives some negative effects and antitourist sentiment may emerge.

Stagnation. This stage witnesses peak numbers of tourists as capacity levels are reached or exceeded, with attendant environmental, social and economic problems. Although the resort now has a well-established image, it is no longer in fashion and property turnover is high. Few new establishments open, facilities depreciate in value and local ownership of tourist facilities increases. The end of the cycle is marked by the *post-stagnation* phase which comprises a set of five options that a resort may follow (A, B, C, D and E). *Decline* may ensue, as shown in Figure 2.6, curve E, if the tourist market continues to wane and the resort is not able to compete with newer attractions. More tourist facilities disappear or are

converted for other use and local involvement in tourism is likely to increase, as the host population is able to buy facilities at lower prices. Alternatively, the resort may enter varying degrees of *rejuvenation*, as shown by curves A, B, C and D, through the development of an artificial attraction, by exploiting previously untapped resources, or through renovation. For example, Stansfield (1978) attempted to explain how tourist destinations are being influenced by technological advances, taking the example of Atlantic City, USA. In particular, he attributed the popularity of Atlantic City, during the later half of the last century, to the expansion of the railroad link with the major metropolitan centres. However, with the expansion of the road and air network, Atlantic City went into stagnation and decline, until the introduction of the casino offered rejuvenation.

Butler contended that most tourist destinations evolve in this pattern and cited Mexico as an example. Numerous other studies have suggested that Butler's life cycle model applies to various destinations, such as Lancaster County (Hovinen, 1981), Laurentians, Quebec (Lundgren, 1982), the Grand Isle resort of Louisiana (Meyer-Arendt, 1985), Malta (Oglethorpe, 1984), Vancouver Island (Nelson and Wall, 1986) and Minorca (Williams, 1993). Other researchers found Butler's model incapable of explaining the tourism evolution of some resorts and proposed modifications or alternative models that better fitted the development process of particular resorts. Haywood (1986) proposed a variety of possible tourist-area cycles of evolution that may occur as opposed to Butler's model. Similarly, Choy (1992) suggested that it is better to treat each destination individually, as a unique entity, and taking the case of Pacific island destinations, proposed that different approaches may be required from those which have been applied to other regions of the world.

Hovinen (1982), based on historical evidence, as well as assumptions concerning probable future developments, remarked that Butler's model does not explain the rise and potential fall of tourism in the case of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania and proposed a five-stage sequence, where Butler's consolidation and stagnation stages have been combined into a single stage, namely the maturity stage. Mitchell and Murphy (1991) identified as the major reason for this combination

the proximity of the county to major tourist generating areas, since, in Lancaster County, local planning authorities were focused on improving the quality of the environment and tourism experiences. Douglas (1997) applied Butler's model in Melanesia and proposed modification of the model in the definition of 'locals', since "in the pre-independence period, locals or islanders usually meant Europeans as opposed to Melanesians" (Douglas, 1997, p.17). Thus, he recommended that the reference by Butler to increased local participation must be redefined in order to take colonial societies into account.

Some researchers reported significant deviations from the resort model and concluded that destinations do not necessarily have to experience all the stages of Butler's model. Goncalves and Aguas (1997, p.13) highlighted that in most recently developed destinations; the first stage is being gradually reduced and sometimes even disappears. Specifically, Agarwal (1992) gives the example of Cancun, Mexico, where the exploration stage was non-existent. Getz (1992) in Niagara Falls suggested that 'maturity' would likely be a permanent condition for most cities and resort areas, because they will never allow tourism to die. Young (1983) proposed a model for the touristisation of traditional Maltese fishing-farming villages, where its stages are linked directly to Butler's model. Although Young (1983) in his model incorporated two pre-tourism stages (the early- and late-tradition), he recognised consolidation as the final stage of the resort's evolution and neglected to propose decline or any alternative for recovery.

Other researchers related Butler's resort cycle with other concepts. Debbage (1990) attempted to examine the interaction of external and internal factors at different stages of the resort cycle. He concluded that destinations controlled over time by the 'oligopolistic practices' of tourism suppliers (such as hotel, tour wholesaler, airline and travel agency sectors) may suffer decline in the number of tourist arrivals because these suppliers emphasise "competitive stability and market share, at the expense of innovation and diversification" (Debbage, 1990, p.525). Strapp (1988), in his study of the cottage resort of Wassage Beach, Ontario, described how a decline in tourist arrivals and in average length of stay, resulted in an expansion of second homes development and Keller (1987) related

the resort cycle with centre/periphery tourism. Cooper and Jackson (1989) revealed that the tourist area life cycle is more limited in its use as a forecasting or strategic management tool, although it “has a real contribution to make in terms of a descriptive tool for analysing the development of destinations and the evolution of their markets” (p.395).

Butler (1993a) completed further his evolutionary model and summed up some of the elements/characteristics of the resort cycle’s stages (Table 2.1). Based on earlier works by Cohen (1972) and Plog (1973), Butler (1993a) integrated in his model the tourist types to be expected at various stages, and examined variables for each stage, such as tourist numbers, facilities, contact between host community and tourists, change and type of control. However, he neglected to incorporate the community impacts which could be expected to be present at each stage of the resort cycle.

Table 2.1: Hypothetical cycle of tourist areas

<i>Stages</i>	<i>Tourist numbers</i>	<i>Facilities</i>	<i>Contact</i>	<i>Change</i>	<i>Control</i>	<i>Tourist Type</i>	
						(Plog, 1973)	(Cohen, 1972)
Exploration	Very small	Few	Low	None	Local	Allocentric	Drifter
Involvement	↓	Local	↓	↓	+ Regional	↓	↓
Development	Maximum	Non-local	High Impersonal	Major	National/International	Mid-centric	Individual
Consolidation	↓	Peak	↓	↓	All Levels	↓	Mass
Stagnation	↓	↓	↓	Stable	↓	Near-psychocentric Psychocentric	↓ Organised
Decline	Small	Local	High Mechanical	↓	Increasing Local	↓	Mass
Rejuvenation	↓	New	↓	Relics	↓	Mid-centric	↓
Conversion	High	↓	Low	Major	National/International	↓	Individual Mass

Source: Butler (1993a).

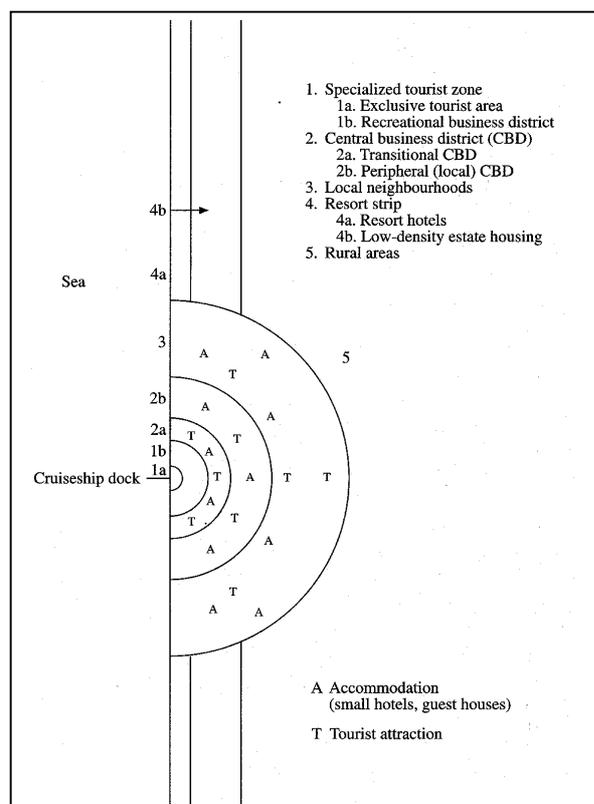
2.4.2 Morphological models

In the literature, many authors have explained the morphology of seaside resorts identifying several zones where tourism activity can take place. Wolfe (1952)

identified in Wassage Beach, Ontario, the zones of residential housing and accommodation, and a central honky-tonk zone. Barrett (1958) analysed 80 seaside resorts in the United Kingdom and proposed a model of theoretical accommodation zones, considered by Meyer-Arendt (1990, p.40) as the first conceptual morphological model of 'recreational' land use-zonation of seaside resorts. In Ocean City, New Jersey Stansfield (1969) provided differential aspects of the Recreational Business District (RBD) from the Central Business District (CBD) related to form, function and location. Lavery (1971) in his study of urban morphology of a typical British seaside resort identified components, such as the pier, the beach and the hotel zone, as well as the concentric zones of boarding houses and residential area more distant from the hotel zone. Moreover, he illustrated the RBD and the CBD in an adjoining form between the train station and the pier.

Weaver (1993), drawing on the Thunen-Weber model (Yokeno, 1968) and the T-shaped model of resort expansion developed a model of urban tourism space in small Caribbean islands. Focused on the patterns that characterise a major urban centre, typically a port city, during the pre-tourism and mature stages of development, Weaver (1993) concentrated his attention on characteristics, such as the location and changing numbers of hotels, guesthouses and other forms of accommodation, facilities and services (Figure 2.7). He identified five zones of intensive tourism activity, the specialised tourist zone, the CBD, the local neighbourhoods, the resort strip, and the rural areas, all of which apart from the resort strip zone, form a series of concentric semi-circles around the cruiseship dock and "denote a decreasing intensity of tourism penetration into the urban sphere" (Oppermann and Chon, 1997, p.63). As Weaver (1993) suggests intensive tourism activity in islands occurs only on the coast and in a few rural areas, located away from the coast.

Figure 2.7: Model of urban tourism space



Source: Weaver (1993).

Smith (1992a), based on the Nusa Dua project in Bali and past unplanned resort developments identified in his previous study (Smith, 1992b), proposed a hypothetical model of integrated resort development similar to Weaver's (1993) model. This model has a planned core surrounded by unplanned resort functions, hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, businesses and residential areas (Smith, 1992a, p.216). Along the same lines, Meyer-Arendt (1990) developed a model of the morphologic evolution of a typical Gulf of Mexico seaside resort. He identified as the core of tourism development the RBD which becomes extended from both directions to follow demand. Outside the RBD, Meyer-Arendt (1990) suggested that summer homes, condominiums and high-rise resort hotels are found.

All the above models are based on the T-shaped model of resort expansion and have in common the belief of transformation of a resort into urban space, through the ribbon type of development where the beachfront extends, as well as hotels and other tourist facilities being created to satisfy tourist demand.

2.4.3 Enclave versus spread development

In some regions of the world, where tourism is viewed as a problem or cause of social change, in order to avoid or limit contact between residents and tourists, authorities promote tourist ghettos, or in other words enclaves. As defined by Goonatilake (1978) enclaves are “islands of affluence within the country, walled in and separate from the rest of the population” (p.7). In enclaves, tourists have the choice to either remain within the cluster, or to take day tours to attractions outside the area. Thus, the only contact that exists between tourists and residents is through the local staff employed, if they are not imported. Consequently, corrupting foreign influences, such as drinking, prostitution, begging, gambling, and contamination of the host religion are eliminated. Additionally, the “containment of tourist facilities as integrated resorts in contrast to allowing dispersion of development throughout the region” is considered as a development policy appropriate for environmental reasons, since concentration of infrastructure gives “the opportunity for better controls and a higher level of environmental quality” (Inskeep, 1987, p.122).

Unfortunately, although enclave tourism might better protect the society and the environment, it promotes few economic linkages at the local and regional level, compared to the spread type of development (Britton, 1982; Freitag, 1994). The specific infrastructure is not intended to directly benefit the resident-indigenous community and any ‘spill-over’ effect is purely gratuitous (Jenkins, 1982, p.239). Therefore, in most countries authorities view such developments as “a missed opportunity for much needed employment and further alienation of resources for use as imperialistic playthings” (Butler, 1990, p.41), and prefer the spread type of development.

2.5 DEVELOPMENT OUTCOMES

Many outcomes emerge for receiving destinations from the implementation of tourism development. To obtain a full understanding of development outcomes from tourism it is considered convenient to make them more distinct by

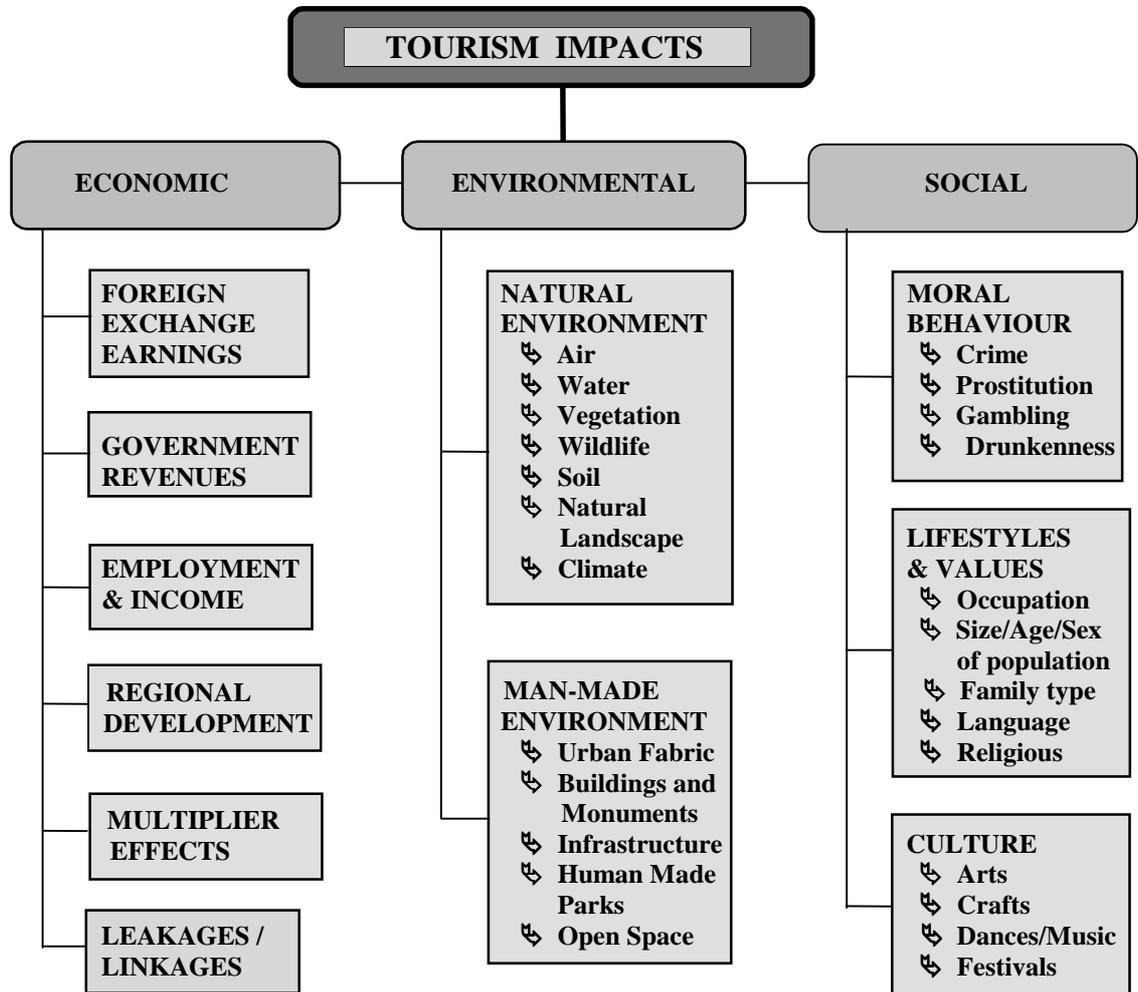
introducing a framework to be followed in this survey. In this framework, tourism outcomes, or in other words impacts, are grouped into three categories: economic, environmental and social (Figure 2.8). Within each of these categories individual impacts can be identified.

(I). The main *economic impacts* of tourism include: foreign exchange earnings, contribution to government revenues, generation of employment and income, regional distribution of development, leakage of money out of the local economy and linkage of the tourism sector with other economic sectors.

(II). The *environmental impacts* include: impacts on features of the natural environment, such as air, water, vegetation, wildlife, soil, and natural landscape, and on features of the built environment, such as urban fabric, buildings and monuments, infrastructure, human made parks, and elements of open spaces and townspace.

(III). The *social impacts* include: changes in moral behaviour, such as prostitution, gambling, crime, begging and drunkenness; disruption or transformation of lifestyles and values; changes in occupation, size, age and sex of population, modification of family size, loss or transformation of language and religious. Due to the close interrelationship of the cultural impacts with the social they are examined together. Cultural impacts include: the influences in arts, crafts, festivals, dances and music.

Figure 2.8: Tourism impacts



Source: Author.

Based on the impact sub-categories shown in Figure 2.8, Figure 2.9 summarises some of the most salient impact studies found in the tourism literature. For each impact sub-category, several authors are identified, but it should be acknowledged that overlap between studies is common, with many studies covering more than one sub-category.

Figure 2.9: Key impacts of tourism identified by various researchers

I M P A C T S	W R I T E R S
Economic	
<i>Foreign Exchange Earnings</i>	Airey (1978); Baretje (1982); Hughes (1983); Singh (1984); Anastasopoulos (1989); Buckley and Geyikdagi (1993); Sinclair and Bote Gomez (1996); Sinclair (1998).
<i>Government Revenues</i>	Mathieson and Wall (1982); Edgell (1990); Katsouris (1993); Gould (1994); WTTC (1995); Jenkins (1997).
<i>Employment and Income</i>	Vaughan and Long (1982); Vaughan (1986); Vaughan and Wilkes (1986); Lever (1987); Ball (1988); Williams and Shaw (1988); Ankomah (1991); Iakovidou (1991); Choy (1995); Cukier (1996); Kontogeorgopoulos (1998).
<i>Regional Development</i>	Brownrigg and Greig (1976); Duffield (1977); Loukissas (1977); Braden and Wiener (1980); Loukissas (1982); Komilis (1994); Lankford (1994); Tosun and Jenkins (1996).
<i>Multiplier Effects</i>	Archer (1982); Liu et al. (1984); Ruiz (1985); Jackson (1986); Archer and Fletcher (1988); Oosterhaven and van Der Knijff (1988); Wanhill (1988); Archer and Fletcher (1990); Khan et al. (1990); Archer (1995).
<i>Leakages/Linkages</i>	Seward and Spinard (1982); Belisle (1983); Richards (1983); Teye (1987); Archer (1988); Sinclair (1991); Taylor et al. (1991); Smith and Jenner (1992); Cox et al. (1995); Brohman (1996); Telfer and Wall (1996); Kontogeorgopoulos (1998).
Environmental	
<i>Natural Environment</i>	Cohen (1978); Romeril (1985a); McGoodwin (1986); Agarwal and Biswas (1989); Prunier et al. (1993); Kavallinis and Pizam (1994); Buhalis and Fletcher (1995); Doggart and Doggart (1996).
<i>Man-made environment</i>	Romeril (1985b); Liu et al. (1987); ETB (1991); Gratton and van der Straaten (1992); EC (1993a); Green and Hunter (1993); Sharpley (1994).
Social	
<i>Moral Behaviour</i>	Akauola et al. (1980); Cohen (1982a); Pizam et al. (1982); Pizam (1985); Smith (1988); Elliot and Ryan (1993); Kelly (1993); Zhang (1994); Hall (1995); Prideaux (1995); Lankford (1996); Pizam and Mansfeld (1996); Muroi and Sasaki (1997); de Albuquerque and McElroy (1999); Dimanche and Lepetic (1999).
<i>Life Styles and Values</i>	Collins (1978); Stott (1978); Getz (1986); Ahmed (1987); Cohen (1988); Kousis (1989); Kinnaird and Hall (1994); Harvey et al. (1995); Stonich et al., (1995); Dana (1999).
<i>Culture</i>	De Kadt (1979); Cohen (1982b); Nunez (1989); Browne (1993); McNulty (1993); Cralk (1995); Burns and Holden (1995); Boissevain (1996); Richards (1996).

Source: Author.

2.5.1 Economic impacts of tourism

2.5.1.1 The effects of tourism on the balance of payments, employment and income

The effects of tourism on the balance of payments are probably one of the most widely publicised economic considerations (Airey, 1978). The positive effects of tourism expenditure have encouraged many developing countries and islands to actively promote tourism in an attempt to increase foreign exchange earnings and improve the invisible component of the balance of payments (Wood, 1979; Bhatia, 1982; Anastasopoulos, 1989; Long, 1991; Williams and Shaw, 1991).

In addition to tourism's potential effect on the balance of payments, the major argument for supporting tourism is its favourable impact on employment generation (UNESCO, 1976; Vaughan and Long, 1982; McCann, 1983; Shaw and Williams, 1988; Choy, 1995). Large-scale unemployment in many countries and the acknowledgement of the tourism industry as a labour-intensive industry, "in an age of great technological advancement and declining relative demand for labour" (Brown, 1985, p.8), have led governments and policy makers to assess the role of tourism as an employment generator in a new light (Mings, 1969; Airey, 1983; Culpan, 1987; Ioannides, 1995a; Hall, 2000).

The significance of travel and tourism for employment creation can be realised from the WTTC (2000) report which estimates that travel and tourism created in 1999 200 million jobs world-wide and today is the world's largest generator for jobs, with a forecast of 5.5 million new jobs per year until 2010. As many authors recognise (Archer, 1973; Henderson, 1975; Vaughan, 1986; Vaughan and Wilkes, 1986; Gould, 1994) jobs created directly in tourism enterprises, such as hotels, travel agencies and restaurants generate secondary employment opportunities in other sectors of the economy, such as construction, manufacturing, retailing and services. For example, a study in Tunisia estimated that every extra hotel bed creates approximately 2.5 to three jobs in direct employment and two additional jobs in indirect employment (Smaoui, 1979). McCann (1983) and Paajanen (1999) point out that the level of indirect employment depends on the interrelationship between the various sectors of the economy. He notes that in a simple economy few inter-industry linkages exist, since many of the inputs required by businesses providing goods and services to tourists will have to be imported and as a result indirect employment effects are few. In more complex economies, tourism enterprises are able to purchase many of their supplies locally and therefore indirect effects are larger.

Many studies have found an increased welfare of residents because of employment in tourism. Cukier-Snow and Wall (1993) reported that as a consequence of tourism development, residents in Bali have one of the highest average income levels in Indonesia with more cars per capita in Denpasar, the

capital of Bali, than in Jakarta, the national capital. Additionally, tourism creates multiple employment, whereby an individual is employed in more than one occupation (Papaioannou, 1987; Cukier-Snow and Wall, 1993). Beyond the development of employment in the formal sector, tourism is characterised by subsequent widespread employment creation in the informal sector (MacKay, 1987; Nuscheler, 1991; Kermath and Thomas, 1992, Woodcock and France, 1994).

Another aspect of tourism employment highlights a relationship of family ownership with the scale of enterprises. The smaller the size of the establishment, the more likely it is to be family-run and vice versa. As Kontogeorgopoulos (1998, p.337) found in Samui, Thailand, small and medium sized accommodation establishments require higher numbers of family ownership/management and employees, and since most of them are locally-based, they require a higher proportion of local labour compared to the larger ones.

Very often, researchers (de Kadt, 1979; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996) blame tourism for creating labour shortages because of a tendency to concentrate tourist facilities in certain places. Thus, tourism can generate employment for migrants/immigrants and expatriate labour (Tsartas, 1989; Cukier-Snow and Wall, 1993; Cukier, 1996), sometimes working for lower wages than the local unemployed population (Lever, 1987; Lazaridis and Wickens, 1999). Moreover, it is evident that in developing countries foreigners or non-locals usually hold managerial jobs.

Tourism jobs have been criticised for being largely seasonal, part-time, low-paid, and low-status or a combination of all four (Diammond, 1977; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Goodall, 1987; Johnson and Thomas, 1990; Pigram, 1990; Cukier and Wall, 1995; Sinclair, 1998; Cukier, 1999). Tourism has been characterised in many regions and countries by a single main season and a period of the year when hotels and other facilities remain closed or operate at reduced potential (Ball, 1988; Vaughan et al., 2000). This seasonal nature of tourism creates fluctuations in the levels of local and regional employment (Tsartas, 1989; Vaughan et al.,

2000), and workers involved in tourism usually have to find other employment or even remain unemployed during the off-season (Baron, 1975; Spartidis, 1976; Hawkes, 1986; Vaughan et al., 2000). Part-time employment is also widespread in the tourism industry. Bull and Church (1994) indicate that 64 percent of the employees in the UK hotel and catering industry in 1989 were part-time employees. Part-time employment may be entirely inadequate in the case that employees do not earn a satisfactory living (Vaughan and Long, 1982; Vaughan et al., 2000). Conversely, in cases where employment in tourism provides an additional income, part-time employment is beneficial for employees.

The tourism sector has been condemned for low wages. For instance, average earnings in the UK hotel and catering industry for a basic working week were around 66 percent of the average for all UK occupations in 1987 (Beioley et al., 1990). Nevertheless, it can be argued that the value of fringe benefits, such as accommodation or meals, and monetary benefits, such as tips are not being taken into account (Johnson, 1983; Vaughan et al., 2000). Other studies (Lovel and Feuerstein, 1992; Cukier, 1999) have commented that tourism jobs are often better paid than any alternatives, and therefore the tourism industry attracts labour from other sectors. However, wages paid often depend on the size of the enterprises. For example, Kontogeorgopoulos (1998) found that larger hotels in Samui tend to pay higher wages than smaller ones. Since most of the jobs created by the tourism industry do not require a high skill level, some critics have labelled tourism as a 'candyfloss industry' (Williams and Shaw, 1988). As a result, Lovel and Feuerstein (1992) commented that most tourism jobs in New Caledonia, Fiji and Hawaii are low-status, in positions, such as waiters, maids and clerks.

2.5.1.2 Revenue for the government

Governments incur certain costs for the development of tourism. They spend high amounts of money annually on maintaining a National Tourism Organisation (NTO) for the promotion of the country as a tourism destination, they own and manage much of the infrastructure upon which tourism depends and provide a wide range of services for the development of tourism (Davidson and Maitland,

1997). Many of the costs borne by governments for the tourism industry, such as police and fire protection, hospitals, sewage and refuse disposal, water supply, electrical power and communication, lighting, airports, harbours, railways, road network, and development and maintenance of national assets, also serve the needs of the locals.

For the cost of investment in the tourism expansion, governments expect a return on their investments and perhaps a surplus (Hughes, 1983; Lickorish, 1991). Numerous ways exist in which government revenue can be raised through tourism, depending upon the fiscal and legal structure of each country (Attanayake et al., 1983). In particular, governments receive revenues from tourism through airport taxes, hotel taxes, VAT on goods and services, taxes on earned income of employees in the tourist sector, and other kinds of levies. WTTC (1995) reports that world travel and tourism contributed, in 1995, approximately US\$ 655.3 billion in taxes. By 2005, the industry's total tax contribution is expected to reach US\$ 1,405 billion, 11.6 percent of the total. However, there are cases where taxes have negative results. For example, Mak and Nishimura (1979) in Hawaii found that a special hotel room tax, although it generated additional tax revenue to the local government, it reduced private sector income. Therefore, attention should be paid to the consequences of each tax.

2.5.1.3 Regional development

One of the most important problems for many governments is the achievement of equal tourism development throughout the country. Evidence in most countries shows that development usually exists in the big cities and the problem is how to diffuse economic development to the small towns and villages. Schumacher (1974, pp.146-147) has formulated the following propositions to achieve this objective:

- workplaces should be created in areas where people live, and not primarily in metropolitan areas into which they tend to migrate;

- these workplaces must be, on average, cheap enough so that they can be created in large numbers without calling for an unattainable level of capital formation and imports;
- the production methods employed must be relatively simple, so that the demand for high skills is minimised; and
- production should be mainly from local materials.

Although Schumacher (1974) provided the aforementioned propositions 26 years ago, they are still valid. All the above propositions of Schumacher (1974) can be implemented via well-planned tourism development. Tourism, by its nature, tends to distribute development away from the industrial centres towards under-developed regions. With lower capital investments (compared to other industries), tourism creates numerous unskilled employment opportunities in the less-developed regions of a country where opportunities for other types of development are limited. The introduction of tourism activities into such areas can also generate consumption of local production and can have proportionately a much greater effect on the welfare of residents than the same activities might have on people living in the more developed parts of the same country (Spartidis, 1976; Cleverdon, 1979; Oppermann and Chon, 1997).

Since tourism is very often developed in regions where other economic activities are limited, it may have the effect of equalising employment disparities and the development of tourism may entirely change the situation in a regional labour market. Numerous studies have attempted to show that tourism can not only stimulate regional development, but can also produce regional imbalances (Bryden, 1973; de Kadt, 1979; Komilis, 1994). Tourism is very often confined to a few attractive regions which benefit significantly from all kind of investments and tourist expenditures, while other regions tend to be more or less neglected (Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, 1989; Oppermann and Chon, 1997). In addition, tourism very often brings weak inter-sectoral links (backward linkages), showing the inability of the tourism industry to play a leading or mobilising role in regional development, as the section below highlights.

2.5.1.4 Leakages/Linkages

During the initial stage of tourism development, tourism offers the opportunity for the use of locally produced building materials and equipment in the construction of tourist facilities and the manufacturing of furnishings for the supply of tourism enterprises. Later tourist demand has the potential to stimulate and strengthen local agriculture and fishing and those sectors associated with them (Cox et al., 1995; Telfer and Wall, 1996), as well as support other sectors, such as retailing, manufacturing, wholesaling, transport, handicrafts and services.

Nevertheless, when a country has to import many of the commodities needed to meet tourists' consumption, locally-earned income flows to producers outside the region to purchase these imports for tourism consumption (Braden and Wiener, 1980; Ankomah, 1991; Smith and Jenner, 1992; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998). This leakage depends on the ability of the destination economy to supply the goods and services that the tourist industry demands (Archer, 1988; Gould, 1994). Jenkins (1994, p.4) remarks that the growing volume of leakages out of the tourism sector often reflects the state of under-development of a particular country or island and its inability to take advantage of inter-sectoral linkages to provide the inputs necessary to the tourism sector. This is evident in the Third World countries that have to import many goods and services, in order to meet tourist demand, and thus financial returns from tourist expenditure are limited (Rajjote, 1987; Teye, 1987; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998).

Large economies are able to supply the tourism industry with most of the goods and services required and as a result higher inter-industrial linkages exist. Loukissas (1982), in a study of tourism in the Greek islands, found that the greatest benefits from tourism development have been secured in the larger island economies which are more able to develop local supplier linkages. Apart from the size of the economy, leakage is also affected by the structure of ownership and control in the tourism industry. There is evidence to suggest that the larger the hotel the larger the propensity to import, primarily because larger hotels are more likely to be foreign-owned and because they can find cheaper products from other

regions/countries. Moreover, in countries where migrant workers do not permanently reside in the area, a proportion of wages and salaries fail to generate further economic activity and leaks out of the system, as migrant workers usually remit large percentages of their income abroad (Archer and Fletcher, 1988; Komilis, 1994; Boss, 1995).

Leakage also exists when foreign companies repatriate their profits, when governments exempt customs duties or taxes on foreign-owned companies as investment incentives, and when governments spend foreign exchange abroad for services, such as publicity, promotion, and personnel training. In addition, in cases where home-produced goods are more expensive than imported ones, the leakages are higher, as it would be uneconomical for a buyer to give preference to locally produced goods (Schumacher, 1974). Additionally, there are cases where the native population demands foreign goods and services as a result of contact with and observation of tourists (Firat, 1989; Gould, 1994).

2.5.2 Environmental impacts of tourism

Over forty years ago, the eminent French political philosopher, Bertrand de Jouvenel (1958, cited in Schumacher, 1974) characterised the ‘western man’ as follows:

He tends to count nothing as an expenditure, other than human effort; he does not seem to mind how much mineral water he wastes and, far worse, how much living matter he destroys. He does not seem to realise at all that human life is a dependent part of an ecosystem of many different forms of life. As the world is ruled from towns where men are cut off from any form of life other than human, the feeling of belonging to an ecosystem is not revived. This results in a harsh and improvident treatment of things upon which we ultimately depend, such as water and trees (p.49).

Although Bertrand de Jouvenel (1958) provided the description of the western man more than 40 years ago, the characteristics he identified are still relevant. As tourism is often developed in fragile and vulnerable environments, such as small islands, coastal and marine areas, mountainous and alpine lands, and historical

and archaeological sites, the aforementioned characteristics of the western man, as tourist, can result in serious environmental problems, to the extent that Plog (1973) stated that through tourism, “destination areas carry with them the potential seeds of their own destruction” (p.16). Buhalis and Fletcher (1995) attribute the major environmental problems of tourism to the fact that “the environment (at least in the short term) is a zero-priced public good, and as with any zero-priced good, is subject to excess demand and over-utilisation” (p.4).

In previous decades, developers and governments often neglected the importance of environmental issues. More recently they have realised that tourism and the environment are inseparable and attempts are made to ensure environmental preservation (Davidson, 1989; Archer and Cooper, 1998). However, with the expansion of tourism the threats to environmental resources have become more serious. Modern tourists are becoming more discerning, seeking a high-quality physical and cultural environments and are willing to pay a premium price (Romeril, 1985a; Inskeep, 1987; Hunter and Green, 1995).

Tourism can be an important means to encourage and help to pay for conservation of the man-made environment. Historic sites, monuments and buildings can be major tourist attractions and tourism itself frequently stimulates their protection, conservation, and renovation for the benefit of the local community and beyond (Buhalis and Fletcher, 1995; Hunter and Green, 1995). Many existing attractions would never have survived without tourists’ contributions through admission fees. With tourist demand, buildings and sites have been completely renovated and transformed into new tourist facilities.

Similarly, the natural environment has benefited from tourism in a variety of ways. Money generated by tourism can contribute to the cleaning up of the overall environment through the control of air, water, litter, and other environmental aesthetics. Tourists attracted by natural resources pay for the development and operation of national parks and the conservation of natural areas. Many countries, e.g. Kenya and Rwanda, have established huge national parks for the conservation of wildlife (Davidson, 1989; Lindberg, 1989; Russel et al., 1996). Entry fees and

levies by national parks, museums, zoos and archaeological sites are received from governments, to cover the expenses of their preservation.

Many researchers have acknowledged the positive impacts of tourism on the man-made environment. Travis (1982); Kendal and Var (1984); Holder (1988); Papadopoulos (1988) and Archer and Cooper (1998) report the following positive impacts which enhance residents' living: more and better leisure, recreational, shopping and health facilities, greater recognition of the importance of saving historical buildings, improved communication systems and transportation.

Nevertheless, the need for land for the construction of hotels, leisure complexes and the development of infrastructure has led to visual impacts, as well as the destruction of the natural environment. There are cases where, because of tourism development, local people are barred from access to the natural facilities of their own country (Archer and Cooper, 1998). For example, in the Mediterranean because many hotels acquire the coastline, access to the sea is very often denied to the public. In addition, the existing water and sewage systems and local roads are often unable to cope with intense demand.

Another major impact of tourism occurs during the tourist's journeys to and from their destinations and during their stay. The extent of the environmental impact depends on the type of transport used. Even cycling, although it is considered an environmental friendly mode of transport, can damage environmentally sensitive areas. Other tourist vehicles, such as buses, cars and motorcycles can cause air pollution, and damage built structures. For example, in order to prevent erosion from air pollution, tourist coaches are not permitted close to the top of Acropolis Hill, Athens (Smith and Jenner, 1989).

The requirements of modern tourism for energy and water are high. Natural resources are used to supply tourists with heat, air-conditioning, power, food, drinking water, laundry and sanitation facilities. For example, Jackson (1984) notes that per capita, tourist electricity consumption in the Caribbean is much higher than residents' consumption. As a result, electricity blackouts are

aggravated by high tourist demands during the tourist season which many Western visitors regard as intolerable. Similar problems occur with the water supply, since tourists consume more water than residents. Consequently, if the water and electricity supply to residential areas is reduced because of high tourism consumption, this can lead to negative feelings if not conflicts.

The provision of facilities for tourists can also affect the environment. For example, the construction of golf courses may result in the removal of natural forests, the excessive use of valuable water supplies, and the movement of local people from their own land and its resources (Phillips, 1994; Middleton and Hawkins, 1998). Water disposal and litter are also major problems. Many waterfront hotels have contaminated their own swimming, boating and fishing waters with untreated sewage. Untreated sewage and petrol spillage from boats combine to harm aquatic plants and wildlife, as well as the tourists who swim in the waters. Pollution of the sea can influence tourism demand. For example, an announcement of sea contamination on Long Beach of Boracay Island, the Philippines, by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, resulted in a 70 percent decline in tourist arrivals (Trousdale, 1999).

Overuse of the natural environment by tourism can disrupt and even destroy the ecological balance (Hunter and Green, 1995). Plants and animals can be removed or even killed as result of uncontrolled tourism development. In addition, tourist demand for special wildlife souvenirs has fed the hunting and poaching trades. For example, in many African countries, wild plant and animal species are disappearing and in the Mediterranean, marine animals are killed for the manufacture of gifts and souvenirs for tourism consumption. In Zakynthos, Greece, the construction of holiday accommodation along the coast has posed a serious threat to the breeding of the endangered turtle *caretta caretta* (Marinos, 1983; Prunier et al., 1993).

Despite the negative impacts of tourism development on the environment, it is claimed that damage caused by tourists and tourism development is not as harmful as the import of industrial development (WTO, 1983). For instance, Archer (1985)

revealed that water contamination is caused not only by the discharge of inadequately treated sewage but also by industrial waste, sedimentation from agricultural erosion and contamination from fertilisers and pesticides. Similarly, Mathieson and Wall (1982) and Berno (1999) pointed out that tourism does not involve the movement of large quantities of raw materials and manufactured goods, or the transformation of one into the other, but involves only the movement of people and consequently it pollutes the environment less than most other industries.

2.5.3 Social impacts of tourism

Nowadays, governments have realised that by opening their countries to tourists they are offering not only natural and man-made features of their environment, in exchange for income and employment, but also the culture and hospitality of their people. When international tourism is of any significance in a country, it becomes an agent of change that brings irreversible consequences for social structure, values and traditions (Pizam et al., 1982; Murphy, 1985; Jenkins, 1997). As a consequence, the majority of social impact studies concentrate on the host-guest relationship (Gould, 1994). Kinnaird and Hall (1996) remark:

Many of the social and economic processes are a result of the movement of large numbers of people from one place to another, carrying with them different sets of motivations, preconceptions and desires to 'find something new'. Host/guest relations involve at least some exchange of social and economic values. The extent to which these exchanges take place and their degree of symmetry depends on the nature and context of interaction between host and guest (p.98).

Pearce et al. (1996) identified a great diversity of actors involved in host-guest relations. De Kadt (1979, p.50) and Gould (1994) paid attention to the encounters between residents-tourists that occur:

- where the tourist is purchasing some good or service from the host;
- where the tourist and host find themselves side by side, for example, on a sandy beach or at a night-club performance; and

- where the two parties come face to face with the object of exchanging information and ideas.

Few authors highlight the positive aspects of tourist-host interactions. Mings (1988) and Var and Ap (1998) present tourism as an important mechanism for improved international understanding between hosts and tourists. For example, residents of Marmaris, Turkey, argue that meeting tourists from all over the world is a valuable educational experience and that tourists contribute toward international peace and understanding (Var et al., 1985; Var and Ap, 1998). Kaiser and Helber (1978); Mings (1988) and Tar and Ap (1998) argue that tourism can contribute to the development of understanding among people, as well as raising living standards better than any other economic force. In addition, tourism helps to build a sense of national identity (Boissevain, 1996), through incidents where tourists endeavour to adopt local ways of life or learn something of the native language which can lead to greater mutual respect between tourist and host (Phillips, 1994). In contrast, misunderstandings and conflicts may arise between the host community and tourists because of differences in languages religious values, behavioural patterns and customs (WTO, 1993).

The tourism industry has been favoured for its potential for employment generation and often puts an end to depopulation and brings spectacular demographic revival (Kousis, 1989; Tsartas, 1989; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996). As Boissevain (1979) and Vaughan et al. (2000) reported tourism development creates jobs for residents, eliminating the migration of the young community in the search for jobs.

New employment opportunities in the tourist sector may have distorting effects on existing social and demographic structures. Glamour employment in the tourism sector attracts mostly young people, who leave their agricultural occupations in the rural areas to migrate to the tourist regions as happened in Seychelles, where fishing and agricultural production declined substantially because of a lack of labour which had moved to the tourism industry (Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, 1989). Additionally, tourism employment for many young men removed power

from the traditional older men in their families and influenced the political structure and status system of the community (Harrison, 1992). Through employment opportunities, economic autonomy was created for women as they have the ability to control their own family environment (Kousis, 1989; Kinnaird et al., 1994).

Many studies have stated that tourism is a vehicle for injecting enthusiasm and an economic boost into cultural activities, such as dances, music and theatre, and encourages the preservation and sometimes revitalisation of handicrafts, native art, folklore, local fairs and festivals (Brownrigg and Greig, 1976; Ahmed, 1987; Cater, 1987; Long, 1991; Gould, 1994). For example, in Malta tourism has revived dying indigenous arts and crafts, such as lace making and filigree (Boissevain, 1977).

On the other hand, the literature expresses the view that tourism is responsible for cultural pollution with many tourists concerned more about the exotic rather than the authentic. For many tourists, the lack of authenticity of cultural events does not matter. Consequently host communities, in order to provide the maximum possible variety in entertainment, remodel their cultural activities (Prasad, 1987). Tourist demand for insights into local culture may be unimportant for some residents as long as tourists are paying. For example, in Torremolinos, the old, authentic culture has been overtaken by British-style pubs and fish and chip shops (Phillips, 1994).

Where there is a large number of tourists, human relations become commercialised (Andronicos, 1979; Ahmed, 1987; Berno, 1999). Therefore, tourism is blamed for the erosion of hospitality and friendliness of the locals, as reported in Vietnam by Wheat (1993). Overcrowding by tourists irritates residents and makes them resentful of tourism. In Malta, tourists in search of authentic culture cross 'thresholds and boundaries' and penetrate private domestic places causing disturbance to the locals (Boissevain, 1996). As tourism grows, the supply of services and goods is not sufficient to meet the increased demand and very often a disparity exists between the spending power of tourists and of host

population (Pearce, 1989). Consequently, prices of land, goods and services increase in tourist areas and residents may have to pay higher prices.

Mass tourism is a force which ‘destroys uncomprehendingly and unintentionally’ not only cultural values but also social customs (Turner and Ash, 1975; Gould, 1994). Tourists ostentatious consumption and behaviour patterns, lead to local residents, particularly younger people, adopting aspects of tourist behaviour and lifestyles; the so-called ‘demonstration effect’ (McElroy and de Albuquerque, 1986; Peppelenbosch and Tempelman, 1989; Lockhart, 1997a). Greenwood (1978) notes that young Basques have come to adopt a style of life similar to that of the middle-class tourists they have seen. However, Davidson and Maitland (1997) claim that it is notoriously difficult to disentangle the demonstration effect of tourism from other forces of change, such as advertising and mass media.

Additional negative impacts of tourism on society include crime (Elliot and Ryan, 1993; Kelly, 1993; Prideaux, 1995; Lankford, 1996; Pizam and Mansfeld, 1996; Dimanche and Lepetic, 1999); drunkenness (Smith 1988); narcotics (Smith 1988); sexual immorality (Smith, 1992c; Wickens, 1997); prostitution (Singh et al., 1989; Zhang, 1994; Hall, 1995; Muroi and Sasaki, 1997) and gambling (Perdue et al., 1995).

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the major approaches with respect to their implication in tourism destinations development. Tourism is an alternative to other forms of economic development used as a means to develop the peripheral regions of the world. At first sight, the four development approaches (laissez-faire, diffusionist, dependency and sustainability) are regarded as somewhat mutually exclusive paradigms. However, all approaches embody the view that tourism as an economic activity implies the notion of transition from one state to another.

Among the four approaches sustainability can be considered the most distinct, mostly in the perspective it perceives implementation of development, e.g. scale,

degree of control and ownership, type of tourists and involvement of the local community in the development. The belief, that through sustainability destinations can achieve a more balanced development, has attracted the attention of most researchers. Nevertheless, Wheeler (1992a; 1992b) remarks that although the theoretical concepts of sustainability have been accepted by most political authorities, there is little comprehension of its practical implications for policy validation and implementation.

Among the models explaining tourism development, Butler's hypothetical model of a resort's life cycle is widely used to describe the growth of resorts in many different contexts, although its validity and universality have not yet been proven (Getz, 1992; Agarwal, 1997; Prideaux, 2000). Despite the debate about the use of Butler's model as being explanatory of tourism evolution, many researchers argue with most (if not all) the stages proposed by Butler, although others propose some kind of modification. Models presenting the physical appearance of seaside resorts have attracted less research interest and are focused on the urbanisation of seaside resorts from expanded tourism activity. Additionally, some governments have followed the enclave form of development in an attempt to minimise potential negative impacts arising from tourist-host encounters, although the majority prefer the spread type of development in order to increase economic linkages within host communities.

It is evident that tourism is an agglomeration of actions taken by the public and private sectors and local residents to meet the needs of travellers, to achieve economic welfare of the society, to increase the quality of life and to improve the various components of the physical environment and cultural heritage. However, tourism like all activities, is not just an 'economic blessing' but can also be a 'social and environmental blight' (Young, 1973; Kavallinis and Pizam, 1994; Brown, 1998). It may have both positive and negative consequences, depending on the volume and type of tourists, the level of institutionalisation of tourism and the socio-economic and cultural conditions of the host society. Nevertheless, as tourism has grown and increased in significance, governments and researchers

have realised that tourism can expand the local economy, can enrich people's lives and protect and maintain environment and culture.

The understanding of tourism impacts through the above review confirms a need for planning to ensure the elimination of the negative effects of tourism and the reinforcement of positive ones, as well as the incorporation of the local community desires into the planning process. The next chapter considers how planning approaches for tourism, when properly implemented, have a role to play in limiting the negative impacts of tourism and helping tourist destinations to develop further and reap as many benefit as possible from tourism activity.