

CHAPTER THREE: TOURISM PLANNING

3.0 INTRODUCTION

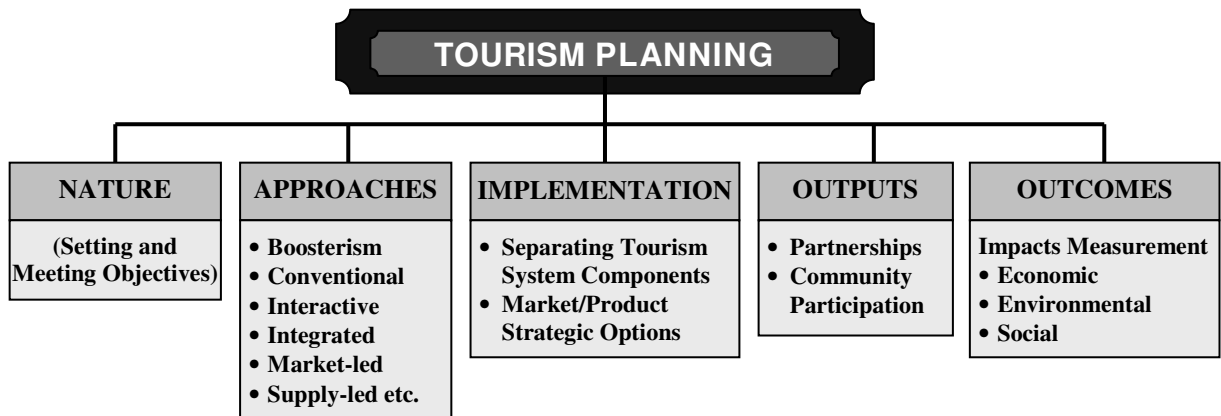
Planning is about setting and meeting objectives. Although various approaches have been developed in general planning, e.g. boosterism, integrated, interactive, collaborative, bottom-up etc, a literature review of tourism shows that not many authors have been concerned with tourism planning. Akehurst (1998) explains this by the fact that plans are developed by consultancy firms that rarely publish or divulge their 'secrets'. Only over the last decade some authors have been concerned with aspects of tourism planning (e.g. Inskip, 1991; Gunn, 1994; WTO, 1994; Wilkinson, 1997b; Timothy, 1998; 1999; Tosun and Jenkins, 1998). Similarly, for the implementation of tourism planning, few approaches have been proposed, mainly various product/market options and systematic approaches.

Early tourism research (Ogilvie, 1933; Alexander, 1953) into the outcomes of tourism planning was restricted primarily to the measurement of the economic impacts for destination areas, due to the ease with which economic impacts may be measured, compared to environmental and social impacts (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Archer and Cooper, 1998; Kontogeorgopoulos, 1998) and the attempt of local governments to optimise economic benefits (Allen et al., 1988; Stynes and Stewart, 1993). In order to maximise economic benefits many governments allowed the private sector to take important decisions about tourism development in an unrestricted and unplanned way (Hawkins, 1992). However, the focus of the private sector and tourism planning was naturally oriented toward short-term economic gains, through the construction of facilities which attract foreign visitors. As a result, too little attention was paid to socio-cultural effects on host communities and environmental problems for receiving destinations, which in the long-term, may outweigh the benefits (Seth, 1985; Jenkins, 1994).

Thus, unrestrained tourism development easily diminished the image of many destinations, to the extent that they attract only low-spending mass tourism. As a result, serious socio-economic and environmental problems emerged. Since tourism activity relies on the protection of environmental and socio-cultural resources for the attraction of tourists, planning is an essential activity for the success of a destination.

It is the aim of this chapter to investigate the planning process in the case of tourism, by providing a framework whereby tourism planning processes might be better described and explained (Figure 3.1). In doing so, this chapter explores the main components of the planning process, starting from the nature of planning, continuing with the various planning approaches and the ways that these broad approaches are implemented, and ending with the outputs (what appears on the ground) and the outcomes (measurement of planning impacts). By following this process, planners can have a basis for evaluating whether or not the objectives of tourism planning have been fulfilled.

Figure 3.1: The components of the tourism planning process



3.1 THE NATURE OF PLANNING

Planning is an essential activity to achieve the goals of tourism development. As Murphy (1985) suggests:

Planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic and environmental benefits of the development process. To do this, planning becomes 'an ordered sequence of operations, designed to lead to the achievement of either a single goal or to a balance between several goals' (p.156).

Gunn (1979) was one of the first to define tourism planning as a tool for destination area development, and to view it as a means for assessing the needs of a tourist receiving destination. According to Gunn (1994) the focus of planning is mainly to generate income and employment, and ensure resource conservation and traveller satisfaction. Specifically, through planning under- or low-developed destinations can receive guidelines for further tourism development. Meanwhile, for already developed countries, planning can be used as a means "to revitalise the tourism sector and maintain its future viability" (WTO, 1994, p.3). To this end, Spanoudis (1982) proposes that:

Tourism planning must always proceed within the framework of an overall plan for the development of an area's total resources; and local conditions and demands must be satisfied before any other considerations are met (p.314).

Every development process starts with the recognition by local/central government, in consultation with the private and public sector, that tourism is a desirable development option to be expanded in a planned manner. In order successfully to design a development plan, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the development objectives to be achieved at national, regional or local levels. According to Sharpley and Sharpley (1997), these objectives are:

A statement of the desired outcomes of developing tourism in a destination and may include a wide range of aims, such as job creation, economic diversification, the support of public services, the conservation or redevelopment of traditional buildings and, of course, the provision of recreational opportunities for tourists (p.116).

The nature of these objectives depends on national, regional and local preferences grounded in the country's scale of political, socio-cultural, environmental and

economic values, as well as its stage of development. Development objectives may be:

- political, such as enhancing national prestige and gaining international exposure;
- socio-cultural, the encouragement of activities that have the potential for the advancement of the social and cultural values and resources of the area and its traditions and lifestyles;
- environmental, e.g. control of pollution; and
- economic, such as increasing employment and real incomes.

On the other hand, objectives can represent a combination of political, socio-cultural, environmental and economic aims, although they should take into consideration the desires and needs of the local community in order to retain its support.

Unfortunately, objectives are often in conflict each other and cannot all realistically be achieved (WTO, 1994). For example, if the two main objectives of a government are to achieve spatial distribution of tourism activity and increase tourist expenditure, these objectives are opposed, since to increase tourism expenditure, tourists should be attracted to the capital or the largest cities of the country, where more alternatives for spending exist, e.g. in entertainment and shopping. Therefore, Haywood (1988) proposes that the choice of objectives will have to be limited to those aspirations which the industry is capable of meeting or are the most appropriate to serve.

3.2 PLANNING APPROACHES

This section will present the major approaches to tourism planning. A major tradition to tourism planning, or as Hall (2000) debated a form of non-planning, is 'boosterism'. According to 'boosterism', tourism is beneficial for a destination and its inhabitants; environmental objects are promoted as assets in order to stimulate market interest and increase economic benefits and barriers to

development are reduced (Getz, 1987; Hall, 1991; Dredge, 1999). As Page (1995) remarked “local residents are not included in the planning process and the carrying capacity of the region is not given adequate consideration” (p.177). As a result, this approach does not provide a sustainable solution to development and is practised only by “politicians who philosophically or pragmatically believe that economic growth is always to be promoted, and by others who will gain financially by tourism” (Getz, 1987, p.10).

Tourism evolution brings many problems to the local community, i.e. overcrowding, traffic congestion, superstructure, and socio-cultural deterioration. Most of these problems can be attributed to laissez-faire tourism policies and insufficient planning (Edgell, 1990), and although some destinations have benefited from tourism development without any ‘conscious’ planning, there are others suffering from inattentive planning (Mill and Morrison, 1985).

Although the majority of countries have prepared tourism development plans, many of these plans are not implemented, and others are only “partially or very partially implemented” (Baud-Bovy, 1982, p.308). This may be due to ‘conventional planning’ as defined by Gunn (1988), that “has too often been oriented only to a plan, too vague and all encompassing, reactive, sporadic, divorced from budgets and extraneous data producing” (p.24).

Rather than conventional planning, Gunn (1994) proposes interactive planning, Bramwell and Sharman (1999) suggest collaborative planning and Timothy (1998; 1999) recommends co-operative and participatory planning, all directed along the same lines, the incorporation of the local community’s opinions and desires in the planning process. The reason for this is that:

Better decisions can be reached by means of a participative process, even though it is far more difficult. This shift in emphasis does not mean that research and concepts by professional planners are abandoned. Rather, it means that many other constituencies, other than planners, have experiences, opinions and constructive recommendations. Final decisions have a much better chance of being implemented if publics have been involved (Gunn, 1994, p.20).

As a result, interactive planning proposes top-down, together with bottom-up input, for the better implementation of plans. On the other hand, Braddon (1982) proposes that tourism planning should be “market oriented, providing the right product for the consumer - the tourist” (p.246). Inskeep (1991) states:

A completely market-led approach provides whether attractions, facilities, and services the tourist market may demand could result in environmental degradation and loss of socio-cultural integrity of the tourist area, even though it brings short-term economic benefits (p.30).

Therefore, he proposes that in order to avoid this situation a ‘product led approach’ is more applicable. This approach is also mentioned by Baud-Bovy and Lawson (1977) with their “product analysis sequence for outdoor leisure planning” (PALSOP) where emphasis is put on the ‘product’ (or in other words the supply), indicating the need for a ‘supply-led’ approach to tourism planning. According to Inskeep (1991) the supply-led approach implies:

Only those types of attractions, facilities, and services that the area believes can best be integrated with minimum impacts into the local development patterns and society are provided, and marketing is done to attract only those tourists who find this product of interest to them (p.30).

Mill (1990) and Gunn (1994) agrees with Inskeep (1991) that only integrated planning can reassure communities that the type of development results will be appropriate. Therefore, Baud-Bovy (1982) declares:

Any tourism development plan has to be integrated into the nation’s socio-economic and political policies, into the natural and man-made environment, into the socio-cultural traditions, into the many related sectors of the economy and its financial schemes, and into the international tourism market (p.308).

Tourism planners should learn from mistakes made elsewhere and realise that the planning process is not a static but a continuous process which has to integrate ‘exogenous changes and additional information’ (de Kadt, 1979; Baud-Bovy, 1982; Gunn, 1994; Hall, 2000). Therefore, tourism planning should be flexible and adaptable; to cope with rapidly changing conditions and situations faced by a

community (Atach-Rosch, 1984; Choy, 1991). Nevertheless, many decision-makers and developers are often located at a very considerable distance from the destination under development which means they may be unaware of, or unconcerned about any costs resulting from tourism development (Butler, 1993b). As Gunn (1988) remarks, planning is predicting and “it requires some estimated perception of the future. Absence of planning or short-range planning that does not anticipate a future can result in serious malfunctions and inefficiencies” (p.15). Therefore, Wilkinson (1997b) proposed that strategic thinking should be incorporated into planning. Strategic thinking is defined as:

A continual processing of external and internal information and adjusting to changing situations. The manager looks out into the future and identifies the changes the future may bring: changes in markets, changes in products, changes in technology, or changes in regulatory or financial environments. The plan becomes a statement of how to deal with these changing conditions. The plan is subject to continuous evolution as the manager attempts to achieve a strategic competitive advantage in a changing environment (Porter, 1985, p.467).

Next, tourism planning can take place “at various levels ranging from the macro national and regional levels to the various micro local planning levels” (WTO, 1993, p.39). As Pearce (1995b) proposes, plans prepared at one level should be focused almost exclusively on that level, although it should be ensured that they fit into the context of the other levels, since planning at one level can be influenced by planning at another level. For example, some countries, such as France and Spain rely heavily on regional tourism plans to complement the national ones.

To sum up, the evolution of tourism development planning can be broken down into five stages (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998, p.103):

- *Unplanned tourism development era*: during this stage tourism planning is ‘uncommon, unpopular and an unwanted idea’, and therefore tourism emerges as an unplanned activity.

- *Beginning of partly supply-oriented tourism planning stage*: this stage is characterised by the construction of basic infrastructure, such as hotels, restaurants, transportation etc.
- *Entirely supply-oriented tourism planning stage*: at this stage, planning is directed toward the creation of facilities that satisfy increased tourism demand, although it ignores most resulting problems.
- *Market or demand-oriented tourism development planning stage*: at this stage, tourism planning is focused mainly on greater numbers of tourists and how to satisfy them.
- *Contemporary planning approach stage*: after the increase in the number of tourist arrivals and the ‘careless and myopic tourism development planning approaches’, environmental, socio-cultural and economic problems increase which attracts the attention of developers and planners.

3.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF PLANNING

Little planning literature in tourism concentrates on the implementation of planning approaches through the use of appropriate tools and techniques in the planning process. These techniques are:

3.3.1 A systems approach to tourism planning

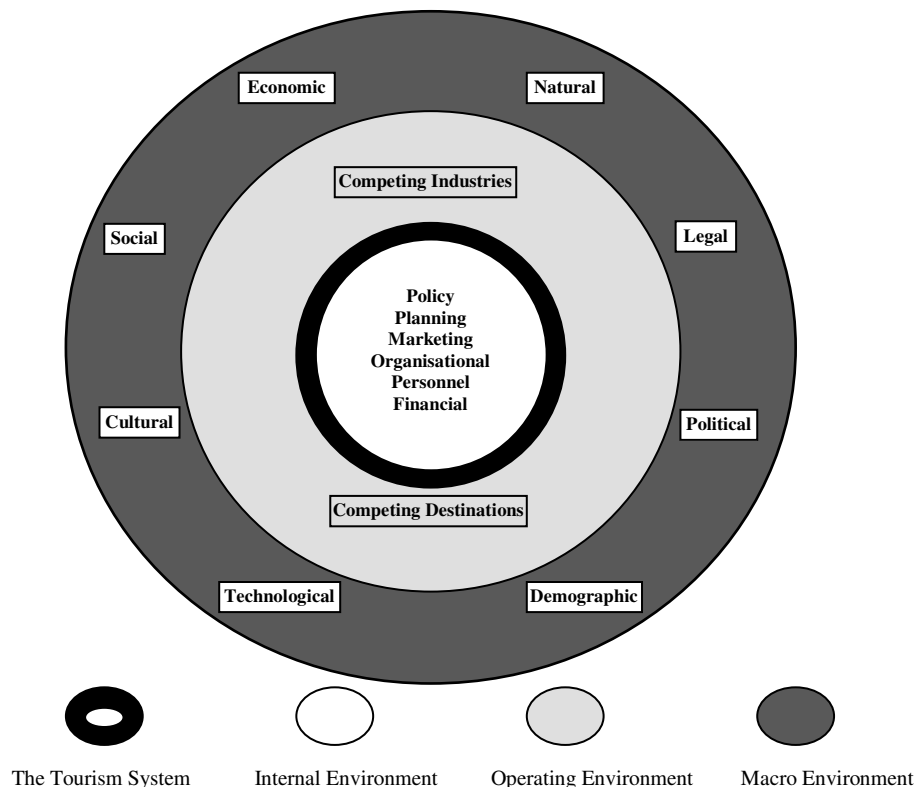
For a better understanding of the relationships within tourism, it is necessary to separate the components of the tourism system, in order to reduce its complexity and to identify the relationships of the components before drawing them back together (Pearce, 1989, p.280; Liu, 1994). According to Tosun and Jenkins (1998), this approach has “the advantage of taking a broader view instead of being myopic and isolated” (p.104). As a result, a systematic approach to tourism planning has been adopted by various researchers (e.g. Mill and Morrison, 1985; Gunn, 1988; Pearce, 1989; Inskeep, 1991; Harsseel, 1994; Page, 1995; WTO, 1998).

Among the researchers who have adopted the system approach, Mill and Morrison (1985) considered four components of the tourism system, namely market, travel, destination and marketing, while Leiper (1990) identified: the tourists, the geographical elements and the tourism industry. Harsel (1994) viewed the tourism system as a mixture of demand and supply components and Laws (1991, p.7) went further by identifying the following features of the tourism system:

- The inputs (e.g. the supply of tourism facilities and tourism demand);
- The outputs (e.g. the tourism satisfaction); and
- External factors conditioning the system (e.g. tourists' preferences, political environment and economic issues).

Liu (1994, p.21) identified three environments of the tourism system (Figure 3.2):

Figure 3.2: The three environments of the tourism system



Source: Liu (1994).

- *The internal environment* includes policy, planning, marketing, organisational, financial, and human variables.

- *The operating environment* includes the tourists (domestic and foreign), the suppliers of the input (capital, labour, land, technology, materials, power etc.), the competition from other industries (e.g. leisure) and the competition from other destinations.
- *The macro-environment.* As planning is a ‘many sided phenomenon’ (Tosun and Jenkins, 1998), the system approach supports that successful tourism planning is essential to incorporate socio-cultural, economic, political, technological and geographical variables.

To sum up, as the components of the tourism system are inter-related, tourism development of a country or region should be examined as a whole. “Components exhibit a high degree of independence. The behaviour of the whole system is usually something very much more than the sum of the parts” (Wilson, 1981, p.3).

3.3.2 Market/product strategic options

Empirical studies of general planning practices have presented a wide variety of popular planning tools and techniques for the fulfilment of development objectives, using various market/product strategic options.

From the review of the market/product strategic options shown in Appendix A it is apparent that the four authors (Ansoff, 1965; Henderson, 1979; Porter, 1980; Gilbert, 1990) share a similar motivation by proposing alternatives on how a firm (or destination) can achieve leadership in the market through competitive advantage. For the achievement of this, strategists suggest a type of differentiation/leadership. Ansoff (1965) views differentiation as new products for new markets and Henderson (1979) suggests differentiation through products with high market share in a fast growing market (star products). Gilbert (1990) proposes a move from a position of commodity to a position of a status area, through a development of tourism product benefits and Porter (1980) views leadership from three angles: low-cost, differentiation and/or focus strategy.

Although a low-cost strategy is widely applied to most consumer goods, competitive advantage through low-cost is not advisable for tourist destinations. This is because a low-cost strategy reduces profit margins of destinations leaving them unable to invest in environmental preservation, infrastructure, services improvement and promotional initiatives. As a result, this strategy leads to the attraction of a low-spending market. As most package tourists are concentrated in time and space, the local resources are exploited to the maximum degree, with all the consequent adverse effects.

Although ‘star product destinations’ should have a high market share, they should not exceed the carrying capacity of the destination and destroy local resources. An increase in the number of visitors does not always mean benefits for the destination. Higher-spending visitors may bring better results. If a destination promotes and sells new or existing quality products to new or existing environmentally-friendly markets, it may pass from a position of commodity to a position of status which may be achieved through an improved image which may attract higher spending, loyal customers. This market may respect the environment and the host society’s welfare and may bring more benefits than costs to the destination. Thus, demand may not be incidental, but intentional. This can be achieved only if development is planned and not occasional.

The above-mentioned strategies can be used by developers as tools for the formulation of planning approaches and for the enhancement of their strategic decisions. The essence of strategy formulation is an assessment of whether the destination is doing the right thing and how it can act more effectively. In other words, objectives and strategies should be consciously developed so that the destination knows where it wants to go. To this end, strategy formulation should be carried out with the involvement of the community, so as to ensure their help for the achievement of the plans. In summary, not all destinations will be in the position to expand or achieve sustainability in the future. Only the destinations that choose the best strategies may be reinforced with a competitive advantage that will bring them the most benefits from tourism development.

3.4 OUTPUTS OF TOURISM PLANNING

From the implementation of the approaches discussed above the following planning outputs emerge.

3.4.1 Partnerships in tourism planning

In the tourism industry, there are examples where partnership arrangements are highly effective for the success of tourism planning and development. Since the public sector is concerned with the provision of services, the resolving of land-use conflicts and the formulation and implementation of development policies, and the private sector is mainly concerned with profit, partnerships between the private and public sector on various issues can benefit destinations (Sharpley and Sharpley, 1997). As Timothy (1998) highlights:

Co-operation between the private and the public sector is vital ... a type of symbiotic relationship between the two sectors exists in most destinations (since) public sector is dependent on private investors to provide services and to finance, at least in part, the construction of tourism facilities. Conversely, without co-operation, tourism development programmes may be stalled, since private investors require government approval of, and support for, most projects (p.56).

Examples of partnership include National Tourism Organisations (NTOs) working collaboratively with tourism industry operators to develop attractions and facilities; regional tourist boards providing a range of services for their commercial members, including hoteliers, attraction operators and coach companies; and local authorities co-ordinating the development of privately funded tourist facilities in their areas (Youell, 1998, p.177). Partnership arrangements can also be identified within the private or the public sector. For instance, tour operators very often contract with accommodation providers and local authorities work together with the NTO to promote a destination.

3.4.2 Community participation in tourism planning

Community involvement in tourism can be viewed from two perspectives: in the benefits of tourism development and in the decision-making process (McIntosh and Goeldner, 1986; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 2000).

For residents to receive benefits from tourism development “they must be given opportunities to participate in, and gain financially from, tourism” (Timothy, 1999, p.375). However, benefits from tourism are often concentrated in the hands of a limited number of people who have the capital to invest in tourism at the expense of other segments of the community (e.g. lower class, uneducated and poor people). Therefore, Vivian (1992) finds many traditional societies repressive since they often exclude large numbers of people from the development and planning process. As a result, Brohman (1996, p.59) proposes that tourism benefits and costs should be distributed more equally within the local community, allowing a larger proportion of the local population to benefit from tourism expansion, rather than merely bearing the burden of its costs.

Pearce et al. (1996) have seen community participation from the aspect of involving:

individuals within a tourism-orientated community in the decision-making and implementation process with regard to major manifestations of political and socio-economic activities (p.181).

Potter et al. (1999, p.177) refer to the term of empowerment as “something more than involvement” and Craig and Mayo (1995) suggest that through empowerment the ‘poorest of the poor’ may be included in decision-making. According to Potter (1999):

Empowerment entails creating power among local communities through consciousness raising, education and the promotion of an understanding within communities of the sources of local disenfranchisement and of the actions they may take. It may also

involve the transfer of power from one group, such as the controlling authority, to another (p.178).

Shepherd and Bowler (1997, p.725) reviewed the literature and identified four major propositions for public participation:

1. public participation as proper, fair conduct of democratic government in public decision-making;
2. public participation as a way to ensure that projects meet citizens' needs and are suitable to the affected public;
3. developments carry more legitimately, and less hostility, if potential affected parties can influence the decision-making process; and
4. decisions are 'better' when expert knowledge is publicly examined

Murphy (1985) has identified a wide variety of interpretations associated with the concept of community participation in the planning process. Painter (1992) observed three types of participation: *pseudo* where attempts are made to offer a feeling of community participation, mainly restricted to informing and endorsement, *partial* where community is given some opportunities to influence the development process, but the final decisions are taken from the authorities, and *full* where each individual has equal influence on the outcome of the process.

Through participation, communities can shape their own lives and the society they want to live in and how to sell it (Timothy, 1998). Communities are the destination of most travellers, and therefore "tourism industry development and management must be brought effectively to bear in communities" (Blank, 1989, p.4). According to Hall (2000) community participation in tourism planning is "a bottom-up form of planning which emphasises development in the community rather than development of the community" (p.31).

Since each group of people has different needs and receives different costs and benefits from tourism development, they can have different views towards the development of their community (WTO, 1993). Thus, it might be appropriate to

involve the community in the development process. When communities do not have input into the process they may feel that they lose control of their communities, as they may prefer to exploit their resources in ways that will protect their environment and culture (Holland and Crofts, 1992; Thomlison and Getz, 1996). Undoubtedly, ‘bottom-up’ input together with ‘top-down’ is “the best way to avoid confrontation and achieve harmonious development” (Pigram, 1990, p.7). Only through the co-operation of businesses, citizens, local authorities and governmental and non-agencies, can a balanced tourism development be achieved.

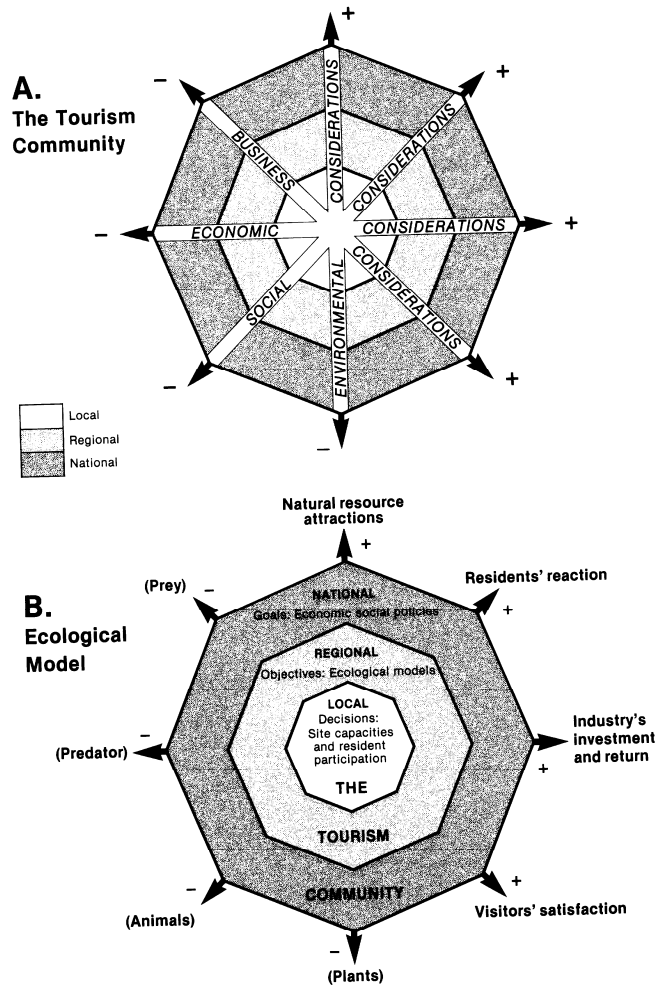
Smith (1984) identified four prerequisites for planning participation: opportunity and legal right, access to information, provision of resources for the public to get involved, and genuine public (broad involvement of the public rather than selective). Additionally, Painter (1992) identified three major forms of community participation:

1. Information exchange. The outcome of the process is determined by the available information, e.g. through surveys on community opinions, public hearings and media representations.
2. Negotiation through face-to-face contact and public discussions between a usually small number of individuals and the public authority.
3. Protest. In this case, there are oppositional direct actions, rather than co-operative forms of participation, such as demonstrations, strikes and blocking traffic.

Some authors (Murphy, 1983; 1985; Joppe, 1996) based community development on an ecosystem approach. They suggested that since “the host community is the destination in which individual, business and government goals become the tangible tourist products and images of the industry” (Murphy, 1985, p.181), the ecosystem approach “ensures that all interested parties truly have the opportunity to shape the outcome by determining the process” (Joppe, 1996, p.315). Murphy (1985) was the first to associate tourism with an ecosystem (Figure 3.3), where in “destination areas, visitors interact with local living (hosts, services) and non-

living (landscape, sunshine) parts to experience (consume) a tourism product” (p.167). Only when all interactions result in ‘an equilibrium state’, can an ‘ecological balance’ be achieved (Murphy, 1985, p.167).

Figure 3.3: Ecological model of tourism



Source: Murphy (1985).

Murphy (1985) with his model paid attention to the opinions of the local population and indicated that “since tourism involves putting the whole community on show, including its residents, it needs to consider and involve the same residents in the planning and management decisions” (Murphy, 1988b, p.133). Concurrently, he identified the limits of a community’s carrying capacity in the planning process. Haywood (1988) observed that “tourism and tourists are consumers and users of community resources, (therefore) community is a

commodity. The naturalness of the community, its way of life, its institutions, and its culture are bought and sold. In fact some communities are intentionally planned and constructed for consumption by tourists” (p.105).

Pearce et al. (1996, p.218) proposed the idea of social representation in tourism and suggested that it can be used to understand the emerging social views and subjective cultures of developing tourism communities, as well as voicing community input into the shaping of sustainable tourism development. As Schroeder (1996) suggested, residents can help the building of a propitious image through their contact with tourists. The opposite can occur when the host population proceeds to anti-tourist protests to incoming tourists, something that will affect negatively visitors’ satisfaction and the extent of repeat visitation.

Potter (1999) remarks that although since the 1970s various agencies have promoted community participation in practice most of the time community participation has little influence in policy making. Likewise, Dowling (1993) remarked that although “research into community attitudes towards tourism is reasonably well-developed, incorporation of such views into the planning process is far less common” (p.53). On the other hand, although there is evidence that informed citizens are willing to be involved in the development process and the future of their communities (Keogh, 1990), past experience in planning has shown that communities have limited knowledge of tourism development (Pearce et al., 1996),

There are occasions where the government (which very often has the role of planner and developer) is unwilling to negotiate on particular problems for political reasons or because of other interests (Pearce et al., 1996, p.191). Inskip (1991) disapproves of the reluctance of some governments to pursue community involvement and noted: “planning is for the residents of an area, and they should be given the opportunity to participate in the planning of its future development and express their views on the type of future community they want to live in” (p.27).

Only by having the locals on their side can tourists hope to cohabit peacefully; and only then host community can make sure that the environment to which tourists were attracted in the first place will be safeguarded for the lasting economic well-being of the local people, and for the enjoyment of a continuity influx of tourists (Dogart and Dogart, 1996, p.73).

Although governments have realised the great potential of tourism for economic development, they ignore the importance of public participation in planning, and choose very often top-down planning that leaves host communities with little input and control over the development of their community. A number of factors may be found that hinder and constrain participatory development. According to Botes and van Rensburg (2000, p.42) they range from institutional to socio-cultural, to technical, to logistical, and are spread over a seemingly endless spectrum. Botes and van Rensburg (2000) also identify that these obstacles may be external, internal and a combination of both. As they state:

External obstacles refer to those factors outside the end-beneficiary community that inhibit or prevent true community participation taking place. External obstacles suggest the role of development professionals, the broader government orientation towards promoting participation, the tendency among development agencies to apply selective participation, and their techno-financial bias. Internal obstacles refer to conflicting interest in groups, gate keeping by local elites, and alleged lack of public interest in becoming involved. Some of the obstacles such as excessive pressures for immediate results and techno-financial bias include both internal and external characteristics (p.42).

According to Shepherd and Bowler (1997) many community members may lack specific expertise or education and, therefore, their participation may be considered unnecessary. Timothy (1999) gives as an explanation for limited involvement of the community in the decision-making process during the infancy of the tourism industry in many developing countries indicating that there is little experience and knowledge of the industry's dynamics by community members. Tosun (2000) identifies as a limitation of community participation in developing countries the requirement of costly administrative procedures (time, organisational skills and money). There is the fear that community involvement

may delay schedules of plans or may force developers to revise projects (Jenkins, 1993; Shepherd and Bowler, 1997). Since resources are scarce in many developing countries, developers and planners prefer to allocate them to physical investments rather than to bureaucratic formalities. Hall (2000) identifies as a problem in the incorporation of the community to tourism planning the structure of the government. As he mentions:

The nature of systems of governance leads to difficulties in ensuring that tourism policies at different levels of government are adequately co-ordinated and that decisions and policies at one level are not at odds with decisions at another (p. 32).

Often authorities cannot reject or oppose decisions undertaken by transnational tourism organisations because of the fear that they will lose economic returns. As a result, the tourism industry often is controlled by outsiders. Tosun (2000) asserts that “public bodies may not want to spend their limited financial resources on organising community participation whose benefits appears to be relatively long term. Private sector may avoid practising participatory tourism development strategy since it involves contradictory investment criteria” (p.624). In addition, community participation “may lead to conflicting objectives amongst the local aims” (WTO, 1994, p.10).

Concern is also being expressed that participation will not obtain a representative or collective community view, and residents are often “sceptical of community involvement, for past practise has tended to be ineffective in their empowerment to affect decisions, and use time wisely” (Godfrey, 1993, p.250). Moreover, it should be considered that many community members may be more interested in their own interest rather than their community’s (Chesterman and Stone, 1992; Jenkins, 1993).

To sum up, greater community involvement may mean more time wasted in reaching decisions and consequently it is seen as unnecessary and unwieldy. As Haywood (1988) remarked, the costs for such a policy are not only financial but also “executive burdens, such as the possible dilution of power, the lack of time to

interact with citizens, the patience to educate others, the forbearance to be educated by outsiders, the determination to improve negotiation skills, the courage to risk some loss of control over matters previously internal to the industry, and, ultimately, the danger of failure and the pain of bad publicity” (p.107).

3.5 MEASURING TOURISM IMPACTS

The aim of planning is to evaluate whether objectives have been fulfilled through measuring the economic, environmental and social impacts.

3.5.1 Economic measures

A review of tourism studies shows that development is mainly associated with economic prosperity. Therefore, the most frequently used measures in tourism research have been concerned with the economic impacts. Frechtling (1994a, p.359) asserted that tourism economic potential can be understood as the gross increase in the income of people located in an area, usually measured in monetary terms, and the changes in incomes that may occur in the absence of the tourism activity. Measures dealing with the direct benefits of tourism include labour earnings, business receipts, number of jobs, and tax revenue (Frechtling, 1994b).

The focus of tourism economic research is based on the measurement of the economic benefits of tourism to communities. Most work (e.g. Archer, 1977; Liu et al., 1984; Ruiz, 1985; Jackson, 1986; Milne, 1987; Witt, 1987; Archer and Fletcher, 1988; Oosterhaven and van Der Knijff, 1988; Wanhill, 1988; Fletcher, 1989; Khan et al., 1990; West, 1993; Archer, 1995; Archer and Fletcher, 1996; Henry and Deane, 1997) has been based on the concept of the multiplier analysis which is based upon the recognition that the tourism impact is not restricted in the initial consumption of goods and services but also arises through the calculation of the direct and secondary effects created by additional tourism expenditure within the economy. There are four different types of tourism multipliers application in common use (Jackson, 1986; Fletcher and Archer, 1991): sales (or

transactions), output, income and employment. The extent of the multiplier depends on the size, structure and diversity of the local economy.

3.5.2 Environmental measures

In an attempt to eliminate environmental costs, many countries have included in their legislation Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) for all projects, including tourism. The aim is to predict the environmental consequences of a proposed development activity, and to ensure that potential risks are foreseen and necessary measures to avoid, mitigate or compensate for environmental damage are identified (ODA, 1992, p.90; Green and Hunter, 1993). EIA usually examines the following (Cooper et al., 1998, p.156):

- Environment auditing procedures;
- Limitations for natural resources;
- Environmental problems and conflicts that may affect project viability; and
- Possible detrimental effects on people, flora and fauna, soil, water, air, peace and quiet, landscapes, and cultural sites.

A variety of other indicators can be used, often included in EIA procedure, to measure environmental impacts, such as climate change, urban environmental quality, natural resources, eutrophication, acidification, toxic contamination, waste, energy and transport indicators (OECD, 1994).

3.5.3 Social measures

According to Cooper et al. (1998, p.180) the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are the most difficult to measure and quantify, because they are often highly qualitative and subjective in nature. There are two key methods for collecting information for social impact measurement:

- primary research through surveys or interviews including attitudinal surveys, the Delphi technique and participant observation (Crandall, 1994); and

- the analysis of secondary sources found in government records, public documents and newspapers.

3.5.4 Other measures

Apart from the above measurements of tourism impacts, recent attempts have been made to develop more comprehensive indicators (Lundberg, 1974; de Albuquerque and McElroy, 1992; Sezer and Harrison, 1994; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; McElroy and de Albuquerque, 1998), such as:

- The Travel Intensity Index (the ratio of visitors to local population);
- The Tourism Intensity Rate (the number of visitors per 1,000 population and per square kilometre of total land area);
- The Tourism Penetration Ratio (the number of visitors x the average length of stay divided by the population x 365);
- The Tourism Density Ratio (the number of visitors x the average length of stay divided by land area x 365); and
- The Human Development Index (HDI) used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) that integrates financial and social variables.

Since attitudinal surveys are considered the most important method of investigating the host community's attitudes and perceptions of tourism, the following section will present past research of community attitudes to tourism impacts.

3.6 RESEARCH INTO COMMUNITY OPINIONS ON TOURISM IMPACTS

In the tourism literature, many studies have tried to investigate the opinions of residents on tourism development and their desire for further tourism expansion. According to Phillips (1994) and Andriotis et al. (1999), it is important to realise

that local communities are not fixed in their attitudes, nor are they likely to share identical attitudes.

Therefore, in many impact studies, it has been argued that attitudes towards tourism development may be due to several factors (independent variables). In an attempt to investigate these factors, many researchers have divided the total population into subgroups. Such a method “enables planners to appeal to, and enlist the support of highly positive segments of people. Conversely, it permits the anticipation of points of resistance which need to be addressed if tourism development is to go ahead successfully” (Ritchie, 1988, p.210). The major single-factors found in the literature are:

- *Economic reliance on the tourism industry.* Positive attitudes from residents increase with an individual’s economic and/or employment dependency on tourism (Rothman, 1978; Thomason et al., 1979; Murphy, 1981; Pizam and Pokela, 1985; Ap, 1990; Caneday and Zeiger, 1991; Glasson et al., 1992; Snaith and Haley, 1994; 1999).
- *Distance from the tourist zone.* The distance of residents from the tourist zone very often explains variations in attitudes (Pearce, 1980; Sheldon and Var, 1984; Murphy and Andressen, 1988; Glasson et al., 1992). More specifically, negative impacts of tourism decrease as the distance between the individual’s home and the tourist zone increases (Pizam, 1978; Long et al., 1990). However, a study by Belisle and Hoy (1980) found that the greater the distance from the development, the more negative the attitudes toward tourism.
- *Degree of tourists-residents ratio.* Duffield and Long (1981) illustrate that communities with a small tourists-residents ratio tend to be positive about tourism. Thus, as tourist development increases and becomes pervasive, the level of satisfaction in the local community correspondingly decreases. Allen et al. (1988) compared the impact of tourism development on resident’s perceptions in 20 rural communities and found that “lower to moderate levels of tourism development appeared beneficial, but as tourism development increased, perceptions of residents took a downward trend” (p.20). Therefore,

Doxey (1975); Dogan (1989); Ryan et al. (1998) suggest that in the initial stages of tourism development, residents have a favourable opinion of tourism, but end up with a negative outlook.

- Socio-demographic characteristics. According to some researchers gender (Pizam and Pokela, 1985; Ritchie, 1988), education (Husbands, 1989; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Jones et al., 2000) and age (Murdock and Shriner, 1979; Brougham and Butler, 1981; Dogan, 1989; Husbands, 1989; Jones et al., 2000) can explain attitudes toward tourism. However, the majority of researchers (e.g. Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Brayley and Var, 1989; Husbands, 1989; Mok et al., 1991; Allen et al., 1993; Brown and Giles, 1994; Ryan et al., 1998; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000) found that socio-demographic characteristics do not to any significant degree explain variations in residents' attitudes.

Pearce et al. (1996, p.81) asserted that communities having little contact with others, have greater difficulty in dealing with tourism than those with a longer history of dealing with other cultures, and they gave the example of Bermuda (Manning, 1979) and the larger Greek islands (Loukissas, 1982) noting that these islands have few difficulties in dealing with tourism because of their long history of contact with other cultures. Researchers, such as Murphy and Andressen (1988); Snepenger and Johnson (1991); Lankford and Howard (1994); Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996); and Pearce et al. (1996) have identified additional single factors. They include: occupational status, number of minors in the family, size of household, length of residence, residents' involvement in tourism decision-making, birthplace, perceived impacts on local outdoor recreation opportunities, voting/political patterns and differences in perceptions between those living in the less developed peripheral areas and those living in the capital city. Unfortunately, research into these variables is limited and therefore their significance in explaining community's attitudes has not been proven.

Similarly, although residents' image of their community may be used to explain their attitudes to tourism development not many authors have made any attempt to prove it. Alternatively, research on tourism image has been focused on the

influence of destination image on tourism behaviour and choice (Hunt, 1975; Pearce, 1982; Gartner, 1986; Phelps, 1986; Chon, 1990; Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; 1993; Lubbe, 1998; Walmsley and Young, 1998; Coshall, 2000; Tapachai and Waryszak, 2000). Hunt (1975) defined tourism image as the impression held by people about a state in which they do not reside. However, it is important for planners to investigate the opinion of people on their state's image, in order to achieve their support on tourism development.

In the literature, the two major perceptions of image are the cognitive and the affective (Hanyu, 1993; Baloglou and McCleary, 1999; Vaughan and Edwards, 1999). The cognitive perception of a destination's image from the residents point of view is how residents would describe the physical attributes or features of the area, such as landscape, built environment and people, and the affective is "the interpretation of the cognitive perceptions by the individual into feelings of like or dislike" (Vaughan and Edwards, 1999, p.3). Both the cognitive and affective perceptions form the overall image of an area (Stern and Krakover, 1993; Baloglou and McCleary, 1999).

Milman and Pizam (1988) found that residents of Florida believed that tourism development had improved their own image of their area. Schroeder (1996, p.72) suggested that residents of North Dakota indicating a more positive image were more likely to recommend their area to others and be more supportive of state funding for the promotion and development of tourism. In this sense, residents of Frederickburg, Texas who are satisfied with and proud of their community's image, are willing to work hard to maintain it (Huang and Stewart, 1996). "Compliments from outsiders can affect residents' perception of their own community and can ultimately influence their behaviour" (Huang and Stewart, 1996, p.29). To this end, Schroeder (1996) supported:

Improving the resident's image could help develop political support for increased tourism spending and could help make residents better ambassadors for their state or region (p.73).

Residents attitudes have also been investigated using multiple factor studies, which acknowledge that residents attitudes are made up of both positive and negative perceptions of the economic, social and environmental implications of tourism development. Thus, such studies have attempted to classify people according to the extent to which overall perceptions are positive or negative; whilst accepting that they are made up of negative and positive perceptions of different intensity (Andriotis et al., 1999). For example, according to Madrigal (1995):

Residents are forced to take some kind of position on development. Residents who share perceptions may be considered part of the same nested community, whereas residents with competing views of development belong to different nested communities. Membership does not necessarily have to be formally stated; rather membership in this context refers only to those individuals whose reactions to decisions lead to similar perceptions of outcomes (pp.87-88).

As a result, segmentation of residents based on attitudes held, has resulted in the finding that any host community is not homogenous but comprises a number of groupings of like-minded individuals.

Studies of residents, based on the multiple factors behind residents' attitudes are limited in number in the literature. Figure 3.4 presents information about the findings of some of these studies, which reflect that there is a continuum of segments according to the degree of positivity in attitudes ranging from advocates to haters, although the number of groupings along this continuum varies from study to study.

Figure 3.4: Multi-factor studies and degree of positivity towards tourism development

Degree of Positivity	Davis et al. (1988)	Evans (1993)	Ryan and Montgomery (1994)	Madrigal (1995)	Ryan et al. (1998)
High +	Lovers (20%)	Lovers (20%)	Enthusiast (22.2%)	Lovers (13%)	Extreme Enthusiastics (17.5%)
	Love 'Em for a Reason (26%)	Selfish (3%)			Moderate Enthusiastics (42.5%)
	Cautious Romantics (21%)	Controlled (32%)		Realistics (56%)	Cautious Supporters (40%)
	In-Betweeners (18%)		Middle of the Roaders (54.3%)		
			Somewhat Irritated (24.2%)		
Low -	Haters (16%)	Haters (11%)		Haters (31%)	

Andriotis et al. (1999).

Other studies (e.g. Belisle and Hoy, 1980) have attributed the positive attitudes of residents toward tourism to a function of the incipient stage of tourism development. Consequently, in order to investigate all the aspects of tourism impacts through the stages of development, Brougham and Butler (1981) noted:

An ideal investigation of the social, cultural and economic effects of the tourist industry would need to look at a destination area both before and after the appearance of visitors and their associated phenomena (p.570).

Such studies have so far constituted something of a rarity in the literature depriving “researchers of the opportunity to measure change over time” (Butler, 1993b, pp.140-141). Only four studies have sought to examine perceptions of tourism impacts on a longitudinal basis. Getz (1986) investigated the long-term change in the human system in the Badednoch and Strathspey district of the Scottish Highlands and found that “tourism can have a significant, positive impact on attaining population stability and growth” (p.125). However, this study was focused on tourism impacts and population change and did not investigate the overall tourism environment. A second study by Getz (1994), in the Spey Valley, Scotland, investigated changes in residents’ perceptions of tourism and related

issues over a 14-year period. He found that residents' views were positive in both surveys, although an increasing negativity was apparent in the second study, mainly due to the failure of tourism to provide the desired benefits. Soutar and McLeod (1993) measured the attitudes of residents of Fremantle, Australia, regarding the impact of the America Cup competition in their city before, during and after the event. However, this study dealt with a single event, rather than the development of a destination area. A study by Johnson et al. (1994) in Shoshone County, Idaho, tried to investigate residents' attitudes over the developmental phase of a new year-round ski resort. Unfortunately, the low response, 34 percent in the pre-development stage, with a three percent increase after the resort opened, makes the assessment of residents' attitudes difficult.

The type of tourist very often influences residents' attitudes towards tourism impacts. Cohen (1972) examined tourism growth from the angle of varying traveller characteristics. He classified tourist experiences and roles as follows: the non-institutionalised (explorers and drifters) and the institutionalised (individual and organised mass tourists). Each of these types has different impacts on host societies. Similarly, Smith (1978) linked community impact from tourism development in terms of waves of tourist types. She identified seven tourist types in order of expanding community impacts, and increasing tourist flows (Figure 3.5). Smith (1978), like Cohen (1972) earlier, suggested that independent travellers and explorers, are more likely to directly experience local culture and lifestyles, and impact less on the community, compared to package tourists.

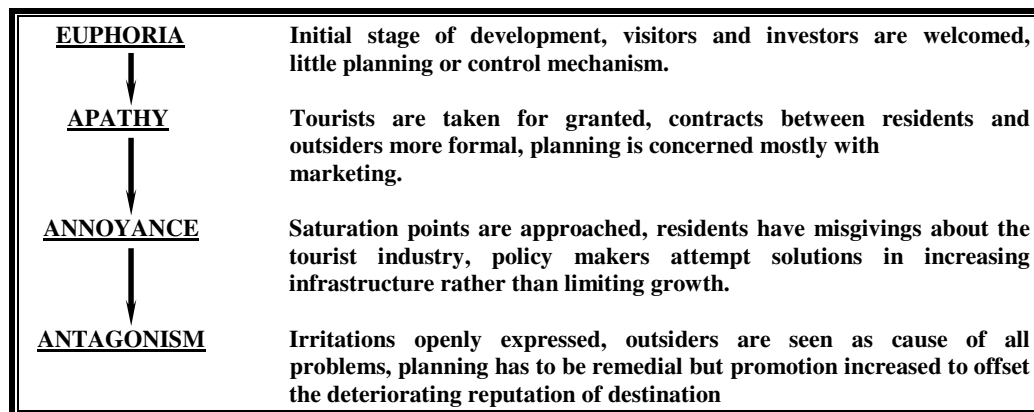
Figure 3.5: Typology of tourist types linked to community impacts

Type of tourists	Number of tourists	Community impacts
1. Explorer	Very limited	} Very few
2. Elite	Rarely seen	
3. Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	
4. Unusual	Occasional	} Gradually increasing
5. Incipient mass	Steady flow	
6. Mass	Continuous flow	} Substantial
7. Charter	Massive arrival	

Source: Smith (1978).

Cohen (1972) and Smith (1978), although they identified that each type of tourists has different impacts on the host community, they failed to incorporate the stages of development experienced by a community and as a result to explain why certain destinations fail or succeed, as Doxey (1975) did with his Irridex Model. In particular, Doxey (1975) investigated changes in residents' attitudes as a community moves from a discovery stage to moderate and finally to full tourism development. In particular, he proposed that community residents' attitudes pass through a predictable sequence of stages from euphoria in which residents are enthusiastic about tourism development and welcome strangers, to apathy, and from annoyance to antagonism in which irritation is expressed and outsiders are seen as the cause of all problems (Figure 3.6). Mathieson and Wall (1982) considered Doxey's Irridex Model as "an initial attempt to clarify communities on the basis of attitudes towards tourism ... there is a cycle of community attitudes towards tourism ... (and) at any time there will be differences in attitudes towards tourism within a community, some being for and others being against and, at the same time, the nature of the issues is likely to change" (p.189).

Figure 3.6: Doxey's IRRIDEX of resident irritation



Source: Doxey (1975).

All the aforementioned studies on tourism impacts are concerned with the perception of residents towards tourism development. In effect, there is limited research on the opinions of other community groups, such as businessmen and local authorities on tourism development. Exceptions include the following studies.

Thomason et al. (1979) compared the attitudes of three groups affected by tourism expansion: residents, entrepreneurs, and public sector providers, and highlighted significant differences between their attitudes towards environmental issues, with entrepreneurs having more positive attitudes than the other two groups. Tyrrell and Spaulding (1987) surveyed household, business and town official attitudes toward tourism growth in Rhode Island, and found that the three groups expressed favourable attitudes. However, households were more concerned over the location of specific tourism facilities close to home, because of traffic congestion and litter problems, although businesses and town officials believed the benefits of tourism in employment and earnings to be higher when tourism activity is close to home.

Murphy (1983, p.9) studied three decision-making groups (residents, business sector and administration) to test whether a certain set of related variables can successfully discriminate these groups. He found significant differences between the perceptions and attitudes of the three groups toward tourism development, with the business sector being the most distinct. Nevertheless, Murphy (1983) remarked that all groups were sufficiently close in their overall interest in their community's future.

Lankford (1994) examined residents', government employees', elected officials' and business owners' attitudes to tourism development, in 13 cities and six counties within the Columbia River Gorge region of Oregon and Washington. He found that although all the groups recognised the economic significance of tourism within their community and region, residents were more sceptical than the other groups regarding additional tourism development. Pizam (1978) focused on community views in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, with interviews with 1,636 residents and 212 entrepreneurs, where some incongruity in attitudes towards tourism impacts appeared with residents employed in non-tourism enterprises being the most negative.

Kavallinis and Pizam (1994) investigated tourists', residents' and entrepreneurs' attitudes towards environmental impacts and concluded that tourists were more critical of the environmental impacts than entrepreneurs and residents. In addition,

tourists considered the other groups to be more responsible than themselves for negative environmental impacts. They also concluded that residents considered themselves more responsible for the creation of negative impacts than the other two groups.

3.7 CONCLUSION

Tourism development has both positive and negative effects on a tourism destination. Communities are very often threatened with unwanted developments and face problems from unplanned or carelessly planned tourism expansion. In order to overcome these multi-faceted problems, comprehensive tourism planning is needed to maximise the benefits and minimise the costs or disadvantages of tourism development through the involvement of the local community who have to live with the tourists and the costs and benefits they bring.

The above literature review indicates that although there is a strong argument for the need for planning in tourism development. However, it is not important only to design a development plan but also to implement it. Therefore, it is necessary to develop policies that will be widely accepted by the local community. Planners and governments should consider the fact that there are limits to how much tourism a particular destination could absorb. Destinations need to consider these limits and plan their tourist industry accordingly. Planners and governments must continuously measure environmental and socio-economic impacts of tourism, in order to ensure long-term benefits for residents and tourists alike without damaging the man-made and natural environment.

Tourism has been seen by many governments as an economic development strategy and if a destination area wishes to maintain tourism as a long-term activity, it should be concerned through planning to differentiate its product from competing destinations through better preservation of its environment and culture, understanding the needs and desires of the local community and increased awareness in the community as to what the industry means in terms of costs and benefits. Planning for tourism will benefit only through input from a wide range

of participants including governmental and non bodies, local and regional organisations, businesses and the host population, since it is extremely difficult to formulate and implement a tourism plan without the strong support and involvement of all these groups.

To conclude, integrated and holistic planning can be considered as a mechanism for future and present problem-solving orientations and as a tool to provide a balance between the positive and negative effects of tourism (Atach-Rosch, 1984; Gunn, 1994). The encouragement of the involvement and the active participation of the local community in the planning process are of primary importance for keeping the control of the tourism industry in the hands of the local population and achieving a balanced tourism development.

After the literature review on development and planning the next two chapters will provide a basis for understanding the development and planning of tourism in Crete, in order the last Chapter to propose the preferred routes for the development of the island.