Part 3

Regional Development, Access and Impacts

Creating Tourist Access and Flows

Regional Clusters, Impacts and Management

Strategies for Emerging Tourism Destinations
Creating Tourist Access and Flows
ARE THE DIFFERENCES IN HOLIDAY TRIPS BETWEEN COUNTRIES ONLY STRUCTURAL? A COMPARISON OF 15 EU COUNTRIES

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of WTO statistics we know about tourism to and from different countries, tourism receipts of different countries, and tourism spending of different countries etc. Based on this data we can conclude that there are differences between countries in tourism spending of citizens. Usually, those countries, which have most arrivals, are not big tourism spenders. We do not know, however, what factors are behind this phenomenon, as we have not had large international data sets—in the strict sense of the word—on tourist behaviour. By strict sense it is meant, for instance, analogous formulations of questions in different languages, and approximately the same datum of data collection in different countries. Now we have this kind of data set—EUROBAROMETER 48.0 from the end of 1997 consisting persons aged 15 and over residing in the 15 member nations of the European Union the number of cases in the sample was respectable coming in at 16,186!

Here the crucial questions are, to what amount the differences in holiday frequencies between countries are structural i.e. due to the income level and structure, educational and occupational structure etc.. And to what amount are the differences due to the internal factors, i.e. for instance, to the cultural traits of countries.

INTRODUCTION

Income, a part of economic capital, is a self-evident factor having potential to impact on tourism behaviour. Tourism consumption has been found in earlier studies to be elastic to income changes. For instance, during the recession in the beginning of 1990s, the average total consumption expenditure of households in Finland fell by over 12 per cent in real terms between 1990-1994. Expenditure of tourism fell more, by over 30 per cent (Income and consumption 1996: 4, 5). We expect economic capital to covariate should this be covariant positively with holiday trips.

Traditionally, social class has been one of the most important background variables in sociology. In recent times, the impact of social class on social behaviour has been challenged. Discussions have been taking place on at least two levels. On the first level
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the impact of social class has not been disputed as such: the question that arises is what theoretically and practically is the most relevant class division.

At a more radical level the impact of social class has been challenged as such, i.e. it makes no difference what kind of class model is in question. According to Clark and Lipset class analysis has grown increasingly inadequate in recent decades as traditional hierarchies have declined and new social differences have emerged (1991, 397). Ethnic division, gender, and generation are examples of new or newly invented discriminating variables.

But this is not enough; the impact of all kinds of background variables can be challenged. this is the post-modern vision of the world (e.g. Beck 1993, Featherstone 1991).

Featherstone states: "...we are moving towards a society without fixed status groups in which the adoption of styles of life (manifest choice of clothes, leisure activities, consumer goods, bodily disposition) which are fixed to specific groups have been surpassed" (1991, 83).

In short, there has been a movement from collective expression to values and norms of individualism. However, there are differences in the further development of this idea. Some authors, such as the rational choice theoreticians or supporters of post-modern thesis, like Beck (1983), Bauman (2001) see the connection between class (independent from class definition) and behaviour disappearing. Others see this development as being connected in some indirect way with classes (a known education and a known way of life, e.g. Müller 1992). There are even visions, according to which the relation between social class and social behaviour has turned around: behaviour, for instance consumption, determines social class (Toivonen 1994).

However, on the basis of empirical studies the connection between social class, although somewhat diminished has not disappeared (Räsänen 2000, Toivonen 1991 and 1997). Therefore, our hypothesis with this variable is that upper strata (e.g. managers, other white collars) take trips more often than lower strata (e.g. unemployed, manual workers). It must be emphasised that this is not simply because of economic resources, as this effect is controlled by incomes. Instead, a better argument would be based on the norms and outlook on life of different social classes.

One of the most important developments, in the last 40 years, in the economics, economic sociology, sociology of education etc. has been the idea that the concept of physical capital as embodied in tools, machines, and other productive equipment can be extended to include human capital. (see e.g. Becker 1964). Human capital has been seen as important resource in human affairs as economic capital. Usually, human capital has been defined as education or years of education, and thus education was the indicator of human capital in this study, and we, therefore, expect educated people to have holidays more often than less educated people.
A little bit younger than these theories on human capital are the theories on social capital, which also can be connected with tourism. Coleman (1988) was probably the first to use this very popular term. According to Coleman social capital "is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors — whether persons or corporate actors — within the structure" (1988, 98). According to Coleman human capital and social capital are connected with each other: human capital and social capital are conditioned by each other. For instance, social contacts created in one’s alma mater are important elements during ones career. Coleman differentiates three types of social capital. The first of them is “obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures” and the third one “norms and effective sanctions”. These two forms are less interesting here. Instead, the second type of social capital is very interesting; namely “information channels”. This means, for example, that a person, who can keep up with information sources of a certain field, has social capital as an opinion leader. We can assume that one of the ways to acquire social capital is travelling, which means that people, who have social capital travel more than those people, who have less social capital.

The growth of senior tourism has been accepted almost as a self-evident fact. True, it is almost certain to grow because of demographic structural change. But if senior tourism growth is to be understood as changes in tourist activity between age groups occur, one striking feature that must be taken into account is the lack of comparisons between age groups based on large and reliable data material. However, earlier results indicate that age groups, which have most often tourist trips are not so old, not at least people in retirement age or over 60 (e.g. Dardis, Soberon-Ferrer & Patro 1994). In an earlier paper from the present author, an interesting result was found.

Tourist expenditure was highest in the over 65 age group, of those households who had tourism expenditure (Toivonen 2001). Thus, the situation in respect of tourism is more polarised among senior age groups than in other age groups. It is evident that while senior people have more time to travel, but at the same time they have travel constrains (e.g. economical, physical, and mental). In any case, in the basis of earlier studies it is difficult to put any internationally tenable hypothesis.

Gender is a necessary variable in the modern tourist behavior research. Some authors actually suggest that gender-aware frameworks for tourism analysis give the central research focus to gender (Kinnaird & Hall 2000). In fact, one of the most rapidly growing fields of tourism studies is the gender study of tourism. However, in these kinds of studies power relations, cultural differences, etc. of genders are in focus, not travel frequencies (Kinnaird 2000). Therefore, as in the case of age, it is difficult to present with arguments any internationally consistent hypothesis.

1 Robert Putnam in his book “Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community” (1995) claims that the United States is suffering from a severe breakdown of social capital, civic and social ties. The whimsical title of his book came from his discovery that fewer people were joining bowling leagues. But the discussion about this interesting topic - as such – does not belong here.
The last and most interesting factor in this study was the country of residence of respondents. We know on the basis of international tourism statistics, that countries who have the most arrivals, are not the biggest tourism spenders e.g. Greece and Spain (e.g. WTO Statistics. 2001). But there are no such previous studies, where other relevant variables are controlled. For instance, the differences between the income levels of countries even in the European Union are considerable, and things like these effect country differences.

Data
This study is based on the survey data — called Eurobarometer 48.0 — as mentioned above. The principal topic of Eurobarometer 48.0 focused on the experiences respondents reported concerning holiday trips. Respondents were asked whether they had taken a trip in 1997 and, if not, the reason they did travel. Whether they had ever been on a holiday and, if so, when they went on their first holiday and for what duration; what subsequent vacations they took; which countries and locales they visited; who accompanied them; and how they travelled to their destinations. Additional questions focused on where respondents stayed during their holiday, what criteria they used to select a holiday destination, how much they would spend in the current year for their holiday, what type of payment they used, what types of local products they purchased, what kinds of places they visited, and what kinds of events they attended. They were also asked who arranged their holiday, how they obtained information and how they rated tourist information in general, if they sought out tourist information before or while on vacation, and how satisfied they were if they had already taken a vacation during the year.

The universe of the sample were persons aged 15 and over residing in the 15 member nations of the European Union: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Multistage national probability samples and national stratified quota samples were used. The number of cases was 16,186. The size of the sample was approximately the same in all countries.

Starting with the Standard Eurobarometer for each of the participating countries a comparison between the sample and a proper universe description is carried out for internal weighting purposes. The universe description is made available by the National Research Institutes and/or by EUROSTAT. On this basis a national weighting procedure, using marginal and intercellular weighting, is applied. As a result, sex, age, region NUTS II (basic regions as defined by the EUROSTAT nomenclature of territorial units for statistics), and size of locality are introduced in the iteration procedure for each country. There are several alternatives for weighting, because the European Union has changed over time. We decided to select the weighting system called “EURO WEIGHT 15, which includes the 15 countries mentioned above. Closer information is available from the Internet-address: http://www.gesis.org/en/data_service/ eurobarometer/standard_eb/ebweight.htm. The number of cases of weighted data was 159,000,000 (Melich 1999), and it was analysed in this study. Divisions of both non-weighted and weighted data by country are seen in table 1.
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### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>non-weighted</th>
<th>weighted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>freq</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
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<td>Denmark</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Germany (West)</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
<td>1012</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1011</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>311</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>3.8</td>
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<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>1003</td>
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<td>Portugal</td>
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<td>6.2</td>
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<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1064</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany (East)</td>
<td>1036</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>1032</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1000</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>16186</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### Variables

The internationally comparable indicator of economic capital (incomes) was not easy to construct. In the original questionnaire there were 10 income groups for each country, but they were grouped on the basis of the currency of the country in question. To get incomes comparable we used “purchasing power parities” (PPP) of countries as the device. PPP are the rates of currency conversion that eliminate the differences in price levels between countries. Comparative price levels are defined as the ratios of PPP to exchange rates. They provide measures of differences in price levels between countries (Main Economic Indicators, January 1998).

The indicator of social classes or socio-economic groups was “respondent occupation scale, and its categories can be seen in table 2. It is not evidently based on some “class theory”, but it is not unusual that the commonplace thinking of class division describes quite aptly the stratification of a society and differentiates separate social groups (table 2).

So called “opinion leadership -index” was the indicator of social capital in this study. It was based on the answers to the following two questions: "When you, yourself hold a strong opinion, do you ever find yourself persuading your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views? If so, does this happen often, from time to time or rarely?" and "When you get together with your friends, would you say you discuss political matters frequently, occasionally or never?" Interviewees giving affirmative answers to both questions are labeled ++. Interviewees giving negative answers to both
questions are labeled --. Middle categories (+ and -) are constituted correspondingly. This variable forms an indicator of the individual’s potential to take an active role in the social process. (59) (Meinhard, M. E-mail May 28; 2001. Zentralarchiv fuer Empirische Sozialforschung: Koeln). More discussion on the opinion leadership index variable and its correlates – is presented in Ronald Inglehart’s book on “the silent revolution” (1977).

Table 2  Socio-demographic profile of data (in percentages, weighted data)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>At least one holiday trip 1997</th>
<th>No holiday trips 1997</th>
<th>At least one holiday trip to other country 1997</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 1100 USD</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101-2800 USD</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2801-4000 USD</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 4000 USD</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All income groups</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-economic groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other white collars</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual workers</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House person</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Years old when finished education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up to 15 years</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - 19 years</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 + years</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still studying</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinion leadership index</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>++ high</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-- low</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>22</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
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<td>15 - 25 years</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 - 64 years</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<tr>
<td>65+ years</td>
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<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Method
Of all the respondents, 52% in 15 EU countries (in continuing called “Eurocitizens”) had “been on holiday away from home in 1997” (formulation from the interview form). This means 48% of people had no holiday trips, 34% had one trip, 12% two trips, and only 0.3% had six or more holiday trips. Median of trips was 1.00 and mean 0.77. Because one night away from home was a criterion the 52% figure is low or is it? Also a question, from where we could count outbound trips, was included to the questionnaire: “In which country (ies) have you spent (or are you going to spend) all your holidays of four nights or more?”. 28% (from non-weighted data 32%) of Eurocitizens had been on holiday outside their own country.

Because the division of dependent variable was very skewed to the right, and therefore very difficult to handle with multivariate statistics, we omitted detailed frequencies of holiday trips. The dependent variable under scrutiny was then binary: who had or who had not a holiday trip. On the basis of the previous argumentation, binary logistic regression was selected for the multivariate analysis.

We only printed out three central parameters of binary logistic analysis. They were a modified pseudo-R-square or the so-called Nagelkerke’s R-square, the percentage of correctly classified, and odds ratios. For instance, significant tests were omitted because the number of cases was so big that every parameter was statistically significant.

Although logistic regression has many analogies to OLS regression, it is not the same method. One of the crucial differences is that there is no widely accepted direct analogue to OLS regression’s R-squared. This is because an R² measure seeks to make a statement about the “percent of variance explained.” However the variance of a dichotomous or categorical dependent variable depends on the frequency distribution of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
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<td>Country</td>
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<td>41</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>53</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>Spain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>64</td>
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<td>0*</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0**</td>
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<tr>
<td>The Netherlands</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>Portugal</td>
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<td>Great Britain</td>
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<td>Germany (East)</td>
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<td>Finland</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>Austria</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 0.3  ** 0.1

_Income, number of valid cases 108204
All other variables, number of valid cases 158993_
that variable. For a dichotomous dependent variable, for instance, variance is at a maximum for a 50-50 split and the more lopsided the split, the lower the variance\(^2\).

This means that R-squared measures for logistic regressions with differing marginal distributions of their respective dependent variables cannot be compared directly, and comparison of logistic R-squared measures with \(R^2\) from OLS regression is also problematic. Nonetheless, a number of logistic R-squared measures have been proposed.

One of the pseudo-R-squares is the one by Aldrich and Nelson. Their coefficient serves as an analogue to the squared contingency coefficient, with an interpretation like \(R^2\)-square. Its maximum is less than one. It may be used in either dichotomous or multinomial logistic regression. (Garson 2000). (Menard 1995, 22). Nagelkerke's R-Square is a further modification of pseudo-coefficients. The benefit of Nagelkerke's R-square compared to other "pseudos" is that it can vary from 0 to 1. For technical details, see Nagelkerke (1991). The percentage of correctly classified tells us, which is the percentage of cases forecasted to right category (have a holiday trip or not to have) on the "help" of the parameters of independent variables. Naturally, the bigger is the percentage, the better is the model.

Odds ratio can be defined as follows 'the effect of \(x_1\) on the predicted odds that \(y=1\) is equivalent to an increase (or decrease) of (odds ratio) units of \(y\). If odds ratio is 10, we may say that when the independent variable increases one unit, the odds that the dependent \(=1\) increase by a factor of 10, when other variables are controlled.' Thus, the odds ratio can be used to compare the relative importance of the independent variables. The values of odds-ratios of the independents are the ratios of relative importance of the independent variables in terms of effect on the dependent variable (Garson 2000).

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\(^2\) In this sense, the frequency distribution in this study was almost ideal: 52-48.
One of the most convenient things in odds-ratios is its ease of interpretation. It may be expressed as a percent increase in odds. For instance, consider the example of the number of publications of professors (see Allison, 1999: 188). Let the odds-ratio for "number of articles published" be +1.076, where the dependent variable is "being promoted". Therefore, one may say, "each additional article published increases the odds of promotion of about 8%.

Results
The profile of data by holiday trips is seen in table 2. Cross-tabulation reveals remarkable differences in the categories of independent variables in relation to holiday trips. For example, if we look firstly at all trips, 87% of people in the highest income group had been on holiday, while only 31% in the lowest income group had been on holiday. In the same vein, 66% of those, who had finished their education as 20 years old or more have had holiday, but only 37% of those, who had finished their education up to 15 years old or less have had holidays. Opinion leaders clearly had been on more leisure trips (58%) than those who were not opinion leaders (40%).

Most active tourists were 26-44 years old and those most passive were 65 or older persons. When analysed by country of residence differences were substantial: 75% of Danish people, 70% of Dutch people, 68% of Swedish people, and 65% of Finnish people have had holiday, while for instance, only 34% of Portuguese people or 42% of Greece people have had a holiday. Perhaps surprisingly, there were no differences between genders.

The profile of data for outbound holiday trips was similar to that of all holiday trips, but the level of percentages was lower. For example, only 14% of the lowest income group (incomes under 1,100 USD) had a holiday trip to another country. Perhaps the most striking fact is that differences between countries are very big. It is easy to understand that the percentage who have taken a holiday to another country, is in the case of Luxembourg the same (63) as to have a holiday trip, generally. It is difficult for residents of Luxembourg to stay inside the borders of their own country! The fact, however, is that only 5% of residents of Greece, 8% of residents of Spain, and 9% of residents of Portugal had even one holiday trip per year to a foreign country. As mentioned earlier, these differences between countries can be explained by some structural traits of countries.

In the building of models we follow the so-called hierarchical strategy. This means that we add variables as blocks to logistic regression equation. The first block was economic capital or incomes, and we see that it explains alone 13.5% of the variation of all holiday trips and 12.2% of holiday trips to other countries (model 1, table 3). We see also that the percentages of correctly classified are 63.1 and 72.8. This means that, if we only know the income level of respondents, we can classify them correctly in relation to having a holiday trip or not in 63.1% of cases. The percentage of correctly classified in the case of trips to other countries was higher (72.8), although the explanation percentage is lower. This is because the division of dependent variable is more uneven (28 - 72) in this case than in the case of all trips (52 - 48).
Table 3  Nagelkerke $R^2$ (x100) for various logistic models for holiday trips in 1997

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects</th>
<th>All trips</th>
<th>Trips to other countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagelkerke $R^2$ (x100)</td>
<td>% correctly classified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) I</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>63.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) (1) + SE</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) (2) + E + O</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) (3) + A</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>65.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) (4) + G</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) (5) + C</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>66.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Abbreviations:
I = income, SE = socio-economic group, E = education, O = opinion leadership index, A = age, G = gender, C = country

In the second model, socio-economic group was added, and the explanation percentages rose to 15.8 and 14.9 or 2.2 and 2.7 percentage units. We can consider growth in the explanation percentages substantial, because the income differences between groups were controlled. Human and social capital increased the explanation percentages by 2.2 percentage unit (all trips) and 0.6 % (trips to other countries) (model 3). The last mentioned figure is surprisingly low. It would have been more natural to expect, if human and social capital have an impact especially on the foreign trip frequency. The impacts of age and gender were quite marginal as one could suppose already on the basis of table 2 (models 4 and 5).

The impact of the country of residence of the respondent is evident. This is especially significant in the case of trips to other countries where the increase of explanation percentage is astonishing: 12.3 % percentage units (model 6), from 15.7 % to 28.0 %. The differences between countries could thus not have been explained by structural dimensions of countries, income level, educational level etc.

Odds-values of factors are documented in table 4. Because all independent variables were categorised, one of the categories must be chosen for the reference category. In this case, it was the first category of each variable. In the case of “all trips” this would mean for instance, that if a respondent belongs to the income category “over 4 000 USD” instead of category “under 1 100 USD,” the odds of having at least one holiday trip per year are increased to 479 %. Among socio-economic groups, we find that students clearly have the highest odds-values of 2.96 and 2.13. This is contrary to table 2, where managers and other white collars had higher holiday frequencies than students. This is certainly due to the incomes: when the impact of income is controlled, students are most eager to take a holiday trip.

---

3 The category of students was dropped out from the variable education, because it was redundant or otherwise, it was already included to the variable socioeconomic group.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All trips</th>
<th>Trips to other countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(under 1100 USD)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1101-2800 USD</td>
<td>2.09</td>
<td>1.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2801-4000 USD</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>3.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 4000 USD</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio-economic groups</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Self-employed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other white collars</td>
<td>1.44</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manual workers</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House person</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>2.96</td>
<td>2.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Years old when finished education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Up to 15 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 – 19 years</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 + years</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Opinion leadership index</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(++high)</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>– low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15-25 years)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 44 years</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 – 64 years</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(male)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Countries</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Belgium)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1.69</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany*</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Odds of countries mainly provide the same picture as table 2 (table 4). Only some additional detail information in comparison with figures in the table 2 can be found. We can see that some of the differences between countries were evidently structural. For instance, in the case of all trips, odds-value of Germany was even marginally lower (1.05) than that of Greece (1.07). The odds-value of Spain is as high as 1.37. In the case of trips to other countries, the picture found in table 2 was confirmed; there were very clear differences in odds-values between countries. Differences were thus by no means only structural.

We can not find reasons for country differences on the basis of this study. One evident explanation for this is that many of the most attractive tourist resorts are located in the countries with low holiday frequency to foreign countries. There is no need for residents of those countries to travel to foreign countries to find interesting tourist destinations. This is one of the acceptable explanations, because the differences in outbound holiday trips between countries are clearer than those difference in domestic and outbound tourism together (all trips). This can only be a partial explanation. Today, the consumer behaviour of people is still perhaps a little inclined towards their own country, although not totally. Not all those Finnish people, who own a mobile phone, have NOKIA. Not all those Swedish people, who have a car, have Volvo or Saab. We can also refer to cultural traits: countries with high holiday frequencies mostly have a Protestant tradition with high achievement pressures during holiday time.

Another type of explanation for country differences is that there was a lack of some important structural variables in the analysis. One of them was surely household type, i.e. single person, couple with children, couple without children, lone provider etc. For instance, single people have more freedom to take a holiday trip than couples with small children. This kind of variable was not included in the questionnaire. Another variable omitted here with a possible impact on holiday trip taking is the place and the size of residence within one's own country of residence. The questionnaire did contain the information on these things, but it was not systematic: from some countries were the size, locality and the area of residence available, from some other only one of them.

In addition, the questionnaire for this study did not include a question on religion or a question on the ethnicity of the respondent. Many of these 15 EU-countries are ethnically multicultural. Maybe, ethnicity (or in fact ethnic culture) would have been a very important variable in the study. For instance, it has been found, in the United
Tourism Destination Planning

States that African Americans have considerably less holiday trips and other leisure activities outside their home than whites (Floyd & Shinew 1999, Johnson & alii 1998, Philipp 1994).

Summary and discussion

It was found in this paper that the probability of taking a holiday trip increases with incomes, social class, education, and opinion leadership. Then, on the one side, the hypotheses on the positive connections between holiday trips and economic, human, and social capital were supported. On the other side, no substantial differences were found between age groups and genders. Residency of a country was found to differentiate very effectively the dependent variable, i.e. if one had a holiday trip during 1997 or not.

The analysis also revealed that differences between countries could not be counted for structural differences, for instance due to the income level between countries. This was the main result of the study. The explanation percentages (Nagelkerke) of the model, where country-variable was added after all structural (socio-demographic) variables, increased remarkably (from 18.5 to 20.0 in the case of all trips and even from 15.7 to 28.0 in the case of trips to foreign countries). One explanation for this result is that because the low intensity holiday countries are located in tourist resorts the result is due to the outbound tourism of these countries. Some omitted variables were discussed in the text.

It is evident that to find a competent explanation of the differences that were found, i.e. differences between countries, differences that were not found, and differences between genders, we must have some additional information. For instance, we need some data on cultural differences: are they norms, which command somebody to travel or prevent travel.

A second example: between genders in tourist activity in the aggregate level of this study as mentioned above showed no differences. But we can postulate that differences could have been found, if motivational and behavioural dimensions of tourist trip were included in the study. For instance, it has been found that female tourists often have more heritage and culture motivations to holiday trips than males, and males often have more sports and adventure motives than females (McGehee, Loker-Murphy & Uysal 1996). These types of inspections are possible on the basis of data used here, and hopefully such inspections will be completed in the future.

However, the next question under scrutiny by this author is to study interactions between countries, structural variables and holiday trips. For instance, is it so that in “low holiday trip frequency countries” rich and young people take holiday trips as often as rich and young people in “high holiday trip frequency countries”. Thus, differences are due to poor and old people, and holiday trip behaviour of European countries is assimilating.
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Meinhard Moschner Bachemer Str. 40 D-50931 Koeln


TOWARDS A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE ATTRACTIONS IN KYRGYZSTAN’S NARYN REGION: LESSONS FROM TASH RABAT.

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ABSTRACT

The success of a tourist destination is normally measured in terms of the flow of tourists and the impacts of the activities they undertake during their stay. Typically, the goals of destination planners are to achieve a regular flow of high spending visitors, in order to maximise the economic spin off whilst minimising the negative impacts on the physical environment and the local community. Given the priority which is afforded the former, the emphasis tends to be placed on the quantity of visitors and their spend, rather than the quality of the visitor experience and/or the quality of life for the host community. The flow of visitors to a destination is determined by a number of factors such as the market's knowledge of the place and, more importantly, its perceived benefits, the destination's accessibility and the expense of visiting the destination relative to alternatives available to the prospective tourists. Therefore, from a destination planning perspective, tourism resource and infrastructure analyses, strategic marketing and impact assessment are normally key elements in considering the success of a destination.

Since gaining independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991, cultural heritage tourism across Kyrgyzstan has developed in the absence of a clear strategy at either national or regional levels, in a piecemeal fashion. Within this context of political and economic transition, the following paper examines the key issues in developing cultural heritage attractions in the Naryn region of the country with specific reference to the tenth century caravanserai at Tash-Rabat on the Ancient Silk Road close to the Chinese border. This analysis will consider the case for a "bottom up" socio-environmental model of site planning, which combines not only national, but local and regional notions of cultural heritage. It also addresses relevant social, environmental and economic issues and recognises the place of history in the present and future of the community.

INTRODUCTION

Most tourism development agencies now put forth policy statements which pronounce the importance of local involvement and suggest that any tourism development, in addition to providing appropriate information about and access to the destination and
mitigating any negative impacts, should enhance the quality of life of local people. In practice, many of these policy statements are hollow and have no empirical support from those who promote them. Consequently, the majority of worldwide tourism development has followed a ‘top down’ model, which typically does not allow for community participation. From both supply and demand perspectives, one of the most significant consequences of applying this model to the development of cultural heritage attractions is that the official protection of heritage tends to be a prejudicial, narrowly conceived system. It is not readily accepted by the general public, in which heritage remains too securely tied to the historic artefact. This situation may be further aggravated in Kyrgyzstan by the fact that where preservation and interpretation of historic sites has occurred, this has been Soviet-led.

Lessons from the most successful international heritage tourism developments suggest that where models of heritage planning are broader in scope and define the wider cultural environment as the legitimate focus of conservation, a more integrated view of the past and ‘its interweaving with the present’ (Sullivan, 1993: 61) is achieved. This model is perceived as being more vital and relevant from both community and market perspectives. This paper therefore examines the key issues in developing cultural heritage attractions in the Naryn region, specific reference to the tenth century caravanserai at Tash-Rabat on the Ancient Silk Road close to the Chinese border. The analysis will consider the case for a 'bottom up' socio-environmental model of cultural heritage site planning, which combines an analysis of access, communication and flow issues with national, local and regional notions of cultural heritage. The analysis also considers the relevant social, environmental and economic issues in order to recognise the place of history in the present and future of the community.

Tourism in Kyrgyzstan: problems of access and the role of cultural heritage

Since the demise of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), the Great Silk Road has become a major focus for international tourism in Central Asia. In 1994 the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) launched a project to market the tourism product of the Central Asian republics as a linear attraction by capitalising on interest in the Ancient Silk Road. By 1997 this scheme involved 18 countries with Silk Road heritage (WTO, 1997). In Kyrgyzstan itself, tourism has been identified by government, as an important area for economic growth. Traditional tourist activities, centred on health and sports, have declined in popularity (although this remains the largest market in terms of visitor numbers) and Kyrgyzstan is now marketing itself as a destination for nature, adventure and cultural tourism. The major tour operators offer mountaineering, trekking, spelunking (cave exploration), climbing, skiing, hunting, botanical, ornithological and cultural and historic tours. Activities are concentrated in the mountains and along the route of the Ancient Silk Road. Please refer to Figure 1, which shows the location of cultural heritage sites in Kyrgyzstan and the routes of the Silk Road.

Highly organised tours are common in Kyrgyzstan, as they include many remote and underdeveloped destinations. The attraction of the Ancient Silk Road provides the rationale for a journey, for example from the capital Bishkek to Kashgar in Xinjiang.
province. A major constraint on this type of tourism has been the visa regulations, which make border crossings in Central Asia difficult. A WTO report has recommended maximum collaboration between Silk Road countries as key to facilitating sustainable tourism within Central Asia (WTO, 2001).

The document ‘Development of the Tourism Sector of the Kyrgyz Republic until 2010’ (Kyrgyz State Agency of Tourism and Sport, 2000) outlines the Kyrgyz government’s vision for stimulating and regulating the growth of tourism. This document identifies four main markets: health and recreational tourism, adventure tourism and mountaineering, Great Silk Road tourism, ecological tourism. However, factors potentially hindering the success of this development have been widely acknowledged in consultation documents (BDO Consulting, 1996; Dudashvili, 2000; Eckford, 1997; Khanna, 1996). Some of these factors reflect the wider political and economic context of Kyrgyzstan, in particular the creation of tourist flows, where access is hindered by:

- visa regulations and other problems with bureaucracy;
- the weak legal protection of tourists;
- poor internal infrastructure and physical environment constraints;
- political unrest in the South of the country;
- the inability of the State to fulfil favourable conditions for tourism development.

The cost of travel also limits the number of international and domestic tourists. At the same time, the underdeveloped infrastructure and minimal facilities attract ‘Elite’ tourists, who use pre-arranged, native facilities, but these are small in number and adapt easily to surrounding environments (Smith, 1989). Thus impacts on the destination remain limited.

At present, the country’s tourism product scarcely goes beyond its natural resources. The remote location of Kyrgyzstan on the periphery of the former USSR is largely responsible for the endurance of much of the country’s cultural heritage, which has experienced a renaissance in the recent period of independence. Whilst the preservation and re-emergence of cultural heritage are considered one of the major strengths of the tourism product in Kyrgyzstan, emphasis has hitherto been placed on the country’s natural resources when promoting the tourism product.

However, there is evidence of some attempt to harness the nation’s cultural heritage. This has centred on the Manas epos, the 1000th anniversary, which was celebrated in 1995. Manas epos reflects not only historic events, but also attempts to capture a tableau of local life that culminates in the sale of traditional handicrafts to visitors and the presentation of a list of outstanding monuments to, UNESCO World Heritage Centre in January 2001 for consideration. Similarly, there are ongoing efforts to build a sustainable cultural tourism market through WTO Silk Road project.
Tourism in Naryn Oblast

Naryn is the largest of Kyrgyzstan’s six regions (oblast), but has a population of only 265,000 because of its mountainous terrain. It is located to the South East of the capital Bishkek. The region and its eponymous main town (population of 30,000) take their name from the river Naryn, Kyrgyzstan’s longest waterway (600km). Two of the country’s four zoological lake reserves are situated in the Naryn region; Chatyr-Kol and Song-Kol. Due to the elevation and the continental climate, winter here can last for eight months of the year and tourist access to the reserves is restricted to the period mid-June until September. International tourism in Kyrgyzstan was originally concentrated in the Ysyk-Kol region, where there are a number of hot springs and sanatoria. Since the demise of the USSR, other regions have begun to profit more from international arrivals. The Naryn region contains one unique sanatorium (Chon-Tuz) for the treatment of pulmonary diseases, which is located inside a working salt mine. But visitors from outside Central Asia are rare. In the south of the region, high in the Tien Shan on the border with China, Marco Polo sheep, mountain ibex and snow leopards attract hunters.

Jailoo tourism is particularly abundant in the Naryn region. Jailoo tourism is a domestic tourism phenomenon. The word Jailoo is Kyrgyz for summer pasture and refers to an ancient way of life. In the mountainous Naryn region, these summer pastures are normally between 2500m and 3200m above sea level. From May onwards shepherds move up into mountain pastures with their livestock and families, reverting to the nomadic lifestyle lead before collectivisation. In July and August, as the weather becomes warmer they move to the highest pastures. This is coincides with the height of the tourist season. In 1997 private families and shepherds from the Kochkor area of the Naryn region began offering accommodation and food in the traditional bozhu. This initiative was extremely popular as international tourists could experience the hospitality of private families as well as the cultural and social life in its original environment. Jailoos are now available in all five districts of the Naryn region.

Jailoo tourism is mutually beneficial to host and guest and is actively encouraged by the Kyrgyz government through internationally funded projects such as Helvetas Agro. This represents a joint venture between the Kyrgyz and Swiss governments, under the generic name Shepherd’s Life. This project runs training seminars for tour guides and accommodation providers in methods of interpreting Kyrgyz culture and heritage for the visitor and in optimising tourism impacts. This type of education has been identified as an area for improvement in tourism development (Touche Ross & Co / International School of Mountaineering, 1995; KSATS, 2000).

The Naryn region is rich in heritage. The plains surrounding Song-Kol Lake are scattered with the burial mounds of Scythian warriors, some remain untouched while others have been excavated by Soviet archaeologists. Further north, near the town of Kochkor, the Kochkor valley has been extensively excavated since the late nineteenth century. This excavation has unearthed a number of significant finds including: Iron and Bronze Age artefacts, the remains of an ancient city wall, bone plates with unique engravings and ancient Turkic runic inscriptions from the eighth century.
Ferghana branch of the Silk Road runs through the centre of the region, diverging close to Naryn town with one branch leading directly south. It leads to the Chinese border crossing point at Torugart approximately 100km away. This ancient transit trail is one of the most popular routes for foreign tourists travelling through Central Asia, crossing almost the entirety of Kyrgyzstan from North to South. This route between Naryn town and the Chinese border passes three important heritage sites; Koshoy-Korgon citadel, At-Bashy town and Tash-Rabat caravanserai.

The town of At-Bashy (Horse’s Head) is built on settlements dating from the eighth century and was the capital of the Turkic khans in the thirteenth century. Further towards the Chinese border, the remains of a small citadel can be found at Kara-Suu, built by Karakhanids (tenth century) remained occupied until the thirteenth century. The fortress, named Koshoy-Korgon, consists of very thick mud walls, which are about five metres high in a square block formation measuring 300 metres long on each side. Manas, the legendary hero of the epic poem, is said to have buried his friend Koshoy within the fortress.

**Tash-Rabat Caravanserai**

The caravanserai at Tash-Rabat is one of the largest and most significant architectural monuments in Kyrgyzstan and the best-preserved caravanserai along Central Asia's Silk Route. Located in the Tash-Rabat valley, in the Naryn region of Kyrgyzstan at an altitude of 3,500 meters it can be reached by a dirt track, which traces the path of the Ancient Silk Road. It is situated 80 km to the East of the present-day, single crossing point on the Kyrgyz-Chinese border at Torugart so that it has become a popular stopping off point on Ancient Silk Road tours from and to China through Kyrgyzstan.

Scholars have not yet agreed on Tash-Rabat’s originally purpose. There are three main theories; a fortress, a caravanserai and a temple. One legend claims that the fortress was built by missionaries from Rome who lived here, teaching local people to give shelter to the needy. For centuries Tash-Rabat was a place of pilgrimage for Moslems and Buddhists, who have immortalised their names in numerous inscriptions on its walls. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Tash-Rabat was closed to visitors because of its proximity to the Sino/Soviet border. During this period, pilgrims were accommodated in small brick houses not far from Tash-Rabat.

The fortress is built into the side of the valley so that a large part of it is underground. Whilst the subterranean portion of the fortress was largely well preserved, the entrance and main dome underwent extensive restoration work in 1984. The building has a rectangular shape, 36 meters long and 34 meters wide. It consists of a large main hall and 31 smaller rooms with 11 arches and 21 domes. The plaster walls of the main hall exhibit preserved ancient paintings and Arab inscriptions. A corridor leads from the entrance to the main hall. On both sides of the main corridor there are three narrow corridors resembling tunnels each with 2-6 rooms. The rooms are rather small, on average 8-10 square meters. The domed ceilings of the rooms each have a small hole in the centre, which acted as a chimney.
Three of the corner rooms in Tash-Rabat have deep holes in the floor. Two of these were improvised prison cells sealed with large flat stones. The other is a tunnel, which is reported to lead as far as the Chinese border, about 30 kilometres away. An exploration of the tunnel at the time of the restoration linked it to a pothole some seven kilometres away.

Other features of the site include 18 Kalmak graves on the opposite side of the valley above the fortress, which probably date from the thirteenth century. Three of these were clumsily excavated and plundered by Soviet archaeologists at the time of the restoration of the fortress. Burial mounds with collections of large stones on top are said to be multiple graves, and smaller, flat stone circles single graves. The location of these graves, very close to the line of the Ancient Silk Road, demonstrates the strategic importance of the area. The area also has links to the Manas epos. Further along the Ancient Silk Road, towards the Torugart pass is the valley where Manas' son is said to have been born. The valley has great significance as Manas and his wife had been childless for a long period before settling there. Five hours ride by horse from the fortress, again in the direction of the border is the site of a fierce battle with the Chinese, which made Manas famous.

Despite its importance as a national historic monument, the site is maintained solely by a local caretaker who acquired the position on the death of his father in 1995. On payment of a small entrance fee, the caretaker will conduct tours of the fortress, providing some insight into its history, based on evidence found during the restoration. These Tours are conducted in the Kyrgyz language only. The fortress itself is entirely empty, the whereabouts of artefacts uncovered from the fortress and the graves during the restoration are unclear as this took place during the Soviet period. The site does not offer any illustrative interpretation of the site or its history, other than that offered orally by the caretaker. Lack of knowledge about certain aspects of the site, ignorance of methods of heritage interpretation and the Turkic tradition of oral storytelling may be responsible for this. The caretaker's knowledge does not extend to the Kalmak burial sites, these are only incorporated in the tour on request. However, in anticipation of increased tourist numbers, the caretaker has designed a three-page information leaflet. It is currently being translated into English and Russian by staff at the University of Naryn.

The fortress at Tash-Rabat is somewhat isolated, standing 60 km from the nearest town, At-Bashi. High mountains separate Tash-Rabat from the other medieval caravan routes between Semireche and Kashgar and the area is snowbound for most of the year, only accessible between May and September. The fortress itself is filled with ice in the winter months, as snow creeps through the holes in the ceilings. Visitor numbers remain extremely limited; before the restoration, approximately 1000 domestic visitors made the trip each year, usually for religious reasons. In 1996, the year after the 1000th anniversary of the Manas epos, Tash-Rabat had 800 international visitors. By the year 2000, this had fallen sharply to 500, due in part to negative publicity surrounding hostilities in the South West of Kyrgyzstan. The vast majority of international visitors

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1 Personal communication with caretaker.
to Tash-Rabat, arrive as part of an organised tour, sourced through one of the tour operators based in Bishkek. These tour operators are the main marketing agents for the site, which is advertised through their brochures and websites. Tash-Rabat is also featured in WTO Silk Road marketing literature. The Kyrgyz State Agency for Tourism and Sport ("KSATS") is currently working towards the publication of national and regional marketing literature.

**Socio-Environmental Issues in the Development of the Site**

Whilst, in many countries the importance of history as a tourism resource has tended to reinforce the ‘top down’ approach to the development of heritage sites, expressions of heritage in Kyrgyzstan have been less preoccupied with the built environment since the end of the Soviet period. Instead efforts have being centred on traditional handicrafts and cultural events. However, it is significant that the recent development of heritage tourism, under the direction of outside bodies such as the WTO and UNESCO, has placed greater emphasis on the country’s artefactual heritage. This commercial exploitation of Kyrgyz heritage resources has resulted in places becoming severed from the social nexus that gave them meaning. Much of the problem stems from an over-emphasis on heritage fabric – a focus on the search for special things rather than an experience or way of seeing the world (Russell, 1993; 1997). For Sullivan (1993: 61), the key issue is how to bring heritage into the future, in a way which may adapt, but which does not fossilise or destroy the intimate connection between the present and the past which is the boundary at which we intervene.

Russell (1997: 74) goes further by suggesting that ‘heritage can be used to generate critical views of this boundary as well as of the past and present, and to play a more positive role in shaping the future’. The notion of conservation that merely protects the past from the present is no longer acceptable; heritage must be meaningful to and necessary for the communities in which it is located. It must therefore combine the past and present by integrating with the social and political life of communities. In this way, the agenda for a valued local heritage can be set in community-based programmes. This will allow issues, such as, balancing the conservation of the heritage with the creation of employment based on the resource can be addressed. This is important because development agencies often see heritage tourism as a quick economic fix. Its real and potential effects on a community’s fabric are rarely considered by policy makers.

In the absence of a strategic plan for the development of Tash-Rabat as a heritage attraction, the local caretaker has taken the lead in the interpretation and marketing of the site. The community in which Tash-Rabat is located is small and, with the exception of the caretaker’s house, temporary as residents rely entirely on the jailoo way of life. The local community is only in residence between May and September, during which time it provides rents accommodation or horses to tourists. The motivation behind this community-led development of the site is entrepreneurial, rather than based on any sense of the historic value of the site.
The lack of identification with the significance of the caravanserai may be due to several factors:

- the restoration and exploitation of the site by Soviet archaeologists;
- the difficulties experienced by a nomadic people of identifying with a permanent structure. The construction of which was influenced by non-native cultures and
- the general absence of accurate information on the origin and use of the building.

Nonetheless, a clear benefit of this community-led development is the transfer of socio-environmental values from the local population to the visitor. Thus, the community-led development of the site reflects some of the more successful sustainable tourism development initiatives, which tend to endorse an integrated vision of the economic, environmental and social spheres including elements of social equality and community participation (Domiceli, 1992).

The ultimate purpose of heritage must be conservation and its relevance to the community and interest to visitors through the interpretation of whatever has been designated as significant (Dewar, 1999). In the case of Tash-Rabat, there are a number of 'histories' and/or themes, which could be employed. The analysis of heritage within an environmental context has highlighted the static nature of the vision for heritage conservation, in that is does not recognise or emulate the dynamic of natural systems. There is a tendency to focus on an object in isolation and freeze it in time without either contextualising it within its relevant space, or reflecting the successive changes in culture. Tash-Rabat's sequent occupancy throughout its long history and its situation with respect to the Silk Road, means that the dynamic nature of its heritage should be a key consideration in the development and interpretation of the site.

The role of interpretation in the development of the site should not be underestimated. Ferreira (1998) argues that interpretation is,

"The most important and effective method available to help people understand their environment, their role in their environment, their place in the world and their responsibility in the world. Interpretation certainly is the 'core business' of any agency charged with protecting and preserving our natural, cultural and historic resources."

Whatever the objectives of the interpretative programme, there is general agreement that interpretation must communicate the significance and uniqueness of place (Uzzel, 1989; Stewart and Kirby, 1998) and increase the visitors' understanding of the need for conservation (Croft, 1996). An interpretive setting is not just a space in which people recreate; it is a meaningful dynamic context in which human interaction takes place. The key challenge for Tash-Rabat must face is to find a workable model that maintains an appropriate balance between the multiple objectives of heritage interpretation. One which, given the complexity of the site's heritage and its natural and socio-cultural
environments, creates opportunities to foster a desired sense of place on the part of both
visitors and the community.

One approach to evaluating alternative formulae for the site’s development is to
examine how others have approached similar problems elsewhere. The literature gives
examples of best practice at national, regional and local scales (Ferreira, 1998; Green,
1999) yet all too often nationalism, individualism and notions of uniqueness or
difference mean that the wheel has been re-invented. Furthermore, Green (1999)
suggests that there is international commonality when it comes to interpretative
excellence. Among the shared characteristics are contact, concrete experiences, group
learning, shared experiences, adventure, inspiration, enthusiasm, ownership, hands-on,
participation and challenge. One of three models is normally advocated: ‘the heritage
region’ (Weiler, 1992), ‘the ecomuseum’ (Riviere, 1985; Mayrand, 1985) and ‘the
heritage centre’ (Sterry, 1996). They all embrace the philosophy of integrating cultural
development and environmental protection. They have assisted communities in the
process of learning to define their local inheritance and use it as a platform to build a
future. In all three cases, interpretation is the key to success in that it conveys the
narrative of meaning and understanding of heritage and provides a synergy between a
commercial activity within a tourism context and a bond between the community, the
culture and the environment (Schofield and Thompson, 2001).

Summary

Tash-Rabat is one of Kyrgyzstan’s most important cultural heritage attractions.
Hitherto, access to the site has been constrained by its remote location, its situation at
altitude in the Tien Shan range, its extreme climate and its relative expense. Under
these circumstances, perhaps this important cultural heritage attraction can survive the
ravages of both commercialisation and the negative bio-physical and socio-cultural
impacts that tourism development, under the prevailing political and economic climate,
can potentially... In the medium to long term, however, given Tash-Rabat’s unique
character and outstanding beauty, the effective interpretation and communication of the
site’s benefits to potential markets is a crucial factor in its development and
sustainability. Hopefully, this will take place sympathetically under the supervision of
UNESCO.

The importance of the above factors notwithstanding, in heritage development the
imperative issue is to understand the human investment in landscapes, in place-making,
and in adapting nature to provide a human habitat. The determination of the social and
environmental interactions is, therefore, the critical factor. In many cases, this seems to
have been forgotten or overlooked. Heritage tourism is forming an increasingly
significant element of the tourism product offered by Kyrgyzstan. Heritage attractions
are of critic importance, when selling particular areas and regions such as Naryn.
Given Tash-Rabat’s history as a place of pilgrimage, the interpretation of all historic
aspects of the site must be sensitive to both the wider cultural environment and the
process of change. This can be facilitated by integrating cultural development with
environmental protection. Socio-ecological responsibility is an essential prerequisite for
the development of sustainable heritage attractions in this country.
References


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Figure 1: Location of cultural heritage sites and Ancient Silk Road in Kyrgyzstan
THE ROLE OF URBAN TOURISM AND TRANSPORT IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT & REGENERATION

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ABSTRACT

Urban tourism in both historic towns and centres and in major cities, reflects a traditional spatial concentration and divide, often mirroring social, economic and land-use separation along industrial/modernist planning principles ("Athens Charter" 1933). The concentration of tourist activity and services has long been associated with overcrowding and other deleterious environmental and quality impacts. However, the opportunities from tourism are increasingly sought by non-city centre and peripheral areas seeking to develop visitor-based economies and amenities as part of local and regional economic development and regeneration programmes. The relationship between public transport and tourism as well as other economic and social activities, is a symbiotic one, however transport infrastructure and gateways have been seen at best, as benign aspects of tourism development, particularly in urban areas and visitor attractions predicated on car usage. The role of transport in urban regeneration, opening up new areas of visitor activity, is a key strategy, both for economic development and access for residents, as well as for redistributive policies which seek to relieve congested tourist honeypots and spread tourism over a wider area. This paper considers the contribution of public transport to tourism development as part of regeneration and redistributive policies, based on the Jubilee Line (Underground) and Docklands Light Railway extensions in south/south-east London and in comparison with Paris, Guggenheim Bilbao, Lyons, Sheffield and Manchester. The longitudinal study from which the paper draws, develops an impact model of tourism activity in London/sub-regions (flows, attractions, hotels) and its spatial distribution over time. It also offers a discussion of the methodological problems faced with measuring and attributing the indicators of change to tourism activity arising from urban transport and regeneration investment.

KEY WORDS

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between tourism activity and transport is symbiotic but is usually seen as benign. Transport access, whether private or public, is a prerequisite for any leisure facility beyond neighbourhood and local usage. Cruise ships, luxury coaches as well as some sightseeing railway tours (e.g. The Orient Express and several ‘heritage railways’ in the UK) exploit a demand for premium travel where the journey is seen as an end in itself. Nevertheless, for the vast majority of leisure consumers, transport is seldom considered an intrinsic feature of the leisure experience. In most cases, travel is something to be endured, not a pleasure to be enjoyed. With a few notable exceptions, during the second half of the twentieth century, transport facilities ceased to inspire travellers as architectural celebrations of departure and arrival. Most became places of utility, their poor image worsened by congestion, visible neglect and concerns over personal security.

In part this is due to disproportionate growth of mobility, for business as well as leisure, and poor maintenance of ageing public or semi-public spaces which may be hard to adapt to meet the expectations of modern travellers. On the other hand, the out-of-town leisure property phenomenon has been predicated on private car usage, from the multiplex to the leisure-retail and theme parks. When combined, these factors have since the 1980s contributed to a decline in town and city centre retail and leisure activities against a liberal planning regime unable to protect or attract leisure facilities and markets. This has manifested itself in the closure of cinemas, traditional leisure facilities (e.g. bowling, ice rinks, swimming baths), and increase in competition from out-of-town developments, as well as from changes in fashion and quality expectations. This can be measured in the diversity of activities, the physical environment (e.g. design) and the facilities on offer.

Transport Interchanges

During the 1990s, the UK experienced the beginnings of a revival not only in town centres, but of mixed-use development in particular. This includes the rediscovery of transport facilities - especially international airports, inter-city rail terminals and metro/underground interchanges - as a value-added property and conduit for leisure development, and vice versa. This is the case in urban fringe, city centres and areas undergoing urban regeneration through leisure and visitor projects. For instance, the ‘gateway’ mainline railway termini around the edge of central London, once the safe possession on the Monopoly board, now serve as flagship developments. Incorporating retail, hotel, restaurant and office developments such as Victoria Plaza, and Broadgate/Liverpool Street and Paddington stations. Broadgate, Liverpool Street is a prime example of how local people from neighbouring Hackney are replacing the city workers and visitors at the weekend. Making full use of its outdoor ice rink and surrounding shops, cafes and bars.

Two of the largest undeveloped central sites in London are on or adjoin railway lands, partly due to the availability of redundant yards and sidings. Paddington Basin is in the process of property-led rejuvenation, while the potential of Kings Cross/St. Pancras
remains untapped. Their density, high cost and ‘hope’ values has blighted the development of these sites. While restrictive planning and fragmented land-ownership (post-privatisation) further complicates matters.

British airports are of course a leisure-retail phenomenon in their own right, a talent now exported to other countries where air travel is a transitory rather than a shopping or ‘visitor’ experience (e.g. the USA). BAA (formerly British Airports Authority) has over 60,000 m² of retail space - space that is offered out to tender every three years. As aircraft get larger, boarding and waiting times get longer, passengers are captive shoppers for longer periods (“dwell time”). As a result, airports are beginning to embrace the “entertainment retailing” approach to exploit such traffic. This includes a wind range of activities from small stages for local performers to the integration of airport hotels within the terminal buildings rather than in soulless zones on the airport fringe. Heathrow, for example, has four caviar shops and is the largest single outlet for Havana cigars.

Harrison has also highlights the need for building designers and retailers to understand the purchasing psychology of people on the move: transient leisure consumers who browse their way through airports, ferry ports, railway stations and motorway service stations (1996). -It is interesting to note, that one in five bus passengers who arrive at these airport shopping villages do not go near an aircraft (Evans 1998).

Other airports are following suit, Barcelona aims to have each downtown anchor store located within the city’s airport, which is now a single level ‘street’ of designer shops and cafes, whilst the upgraded San Francisco International Airport incorporates a floor of shops and restaurants with a grand ticketing hall, and a new Bay Area Rapid Transit station (below).

**European Urban Renaissance**

In Greater Manchester, an impressive leisure-led “renaissance” has required large-scale transport investment. In the 1970s and 1980s, decline in city centre employment was attributed largely to traffic congestion, inadequate parking and a slow, fragmented public transport system, which offered a poor alternative to the car. Over time too many commercial properties remained vacant; out of town developments are a very real threat.

In 1982, a feasibility study identified six corridors suitable for Light Rapid Transit (LRT), which would offer a more cohesive transport alternative. These were linked at the centre by tracks along fully or semi-pedestrianized streets (Shaw 1993: 193). Ten years later, Metrolink broke new ground in the UK, by extending the LRT services to Bury and Altrincham. Building on this success, an extension to Eccles opened in 2000, serving (journey time from central Manchester 15 minutes), the £98m arts centre *The Lowry* at Salford Quays. This development comes at a price - this capital investment also required over £350m in site reclamation/renovation.. However, this programme of development continues, as the Government has pledged £250m towards further extensions to Oldham, Rochdale, Ashton-under-Lyne, Wythenshaw and
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Manchester Airport. Thus, the growing tram system is expected to play a key role in the regeneration of East Manchester, although timing is tight for the proposed service to the 38,000-seater stadium in Sports City for the Commonwealth Games, 2002. Similarly, the 10-mile ‘missing link’ of the orbital motorway (planned nearly 50 years ago) has been completed, and despite opposition from environmentalists, Ringway Airport continues to expand as an international gateway.

Manchester - along with cities which include Birmingham, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Glasgow - has self-consciously positioned itself as a 'European business and leisure capital' Following trends on Continental Europe that have seen substantial investment in urban transport and leisure facilities. This is investment is part of citywide re-imaging and place-making strategies, that have combined to raise visitor levels and spending beyond expectations. Barcelona, post-1992 Olympics, continues to invest in cultural and leisure facilities. The city values good urban design and public spaces, which have contributed to its award in 1999 (the first city to do so) of the RIBA’s Gold Medal for Architecture. Josep Acebillo, architect and former director of urban projects in Barcelona, criticised the British reluctance to involve local people in regeneration projects. He stated that: ‘if Margaret Thatcher had been Mayor of Barcelona, the city’s public realm would be nothing’, whilst Barcelona’s Mayor Maragall went further claiming ‘crime rates had dropped from 25% to 5% in 10 years, whilst in 10 years of law and order in London it rose one-and-a-half times’ (Fairs 1999: 1).

This regional capital, seat of the Catalan provincial government, has served as the main business and convention centre, but now hosts more leisure than business tourists each year. This is helped in part by the advent of low-cost scheduled flights, which makes cities like Barcelona and Dublin two of the most popular European destinations. Valencia, another provincial capital, is set to further Spain’s architectural tradition with an investment in a £2 billion waterside complex. The massive City of Arts and Sciences. (Designed by Santiago Calatrava) aims to transform the dried-up bed of the River Turia. This development will include a Science Museum, a Heisphere - a planetarium shaped like the human eye - together with an ocean park, music centre and Palacio de las Artes. These developments are planned between 2001-3.

Major regeneration zones also provide examples of transport-led office development linked to urban culture and the public realm. In contrast to its counterpart, London Docklands, Paris has transformed La Défense, making the Grand Arche one of the city’s most visited attractions. La Défense is only four minutes from the Étoile. It anchors the eastern end of the historic axis that stretches from the Louvre to the Arc de Triomphe. Served by a high-speed suburban railway (RER), it marries a number of new metro lines and stations and increased train capacity (double-decker) and a new TGV terminating at Euro Disney. The investment in public transport access to La Défense was also integrated with a policy of providing pedestrianized areas and facilities: ‘It is enough to walk through La Défense to see that here the pedestrian is king. The esplanade has done away with the car and strolling is once again a real pleasure’ (EPAD 1993) The high degree of pedestrianization supports a wide range of public entertainment, which includes exhibitions, festivals and an omnimax cinema, in addition to the Grand Arche itself. Leisure retail developments are also evident in Paris, most famously I.M.Pei’s Louvre
extension and underground shopping plaza entrance *Carousel du Louvre*. Increasingly therefore, cultural flagships are acting as the cornerstone of the development process. whereafter other uses follow. For instance the city of Bilbao has planned 35-story office tower (by Cesar Pelli, designer of New York’s World Financial Centre and Olympia & York’s Canary Wharf tower) adjoining the Guggenheim Museum.

Although La Défense was started in the 1960s and the Docklands only in the late 1970s, unlike its contemporary, La Défense was developed along carefully planned lines. It uses a mixture of public and private backing to generate new life. The short time-span foreseen in Docklands in 1980 of ten to fifteen years contrasts with La Défense, where the *Établissement Public D’Aménagement de la région de La Défense* (ÉPAD) was established in the mid-1960s with a 30-year life, has been extended for a further ten years. This contrasts sharply with the Docklands project, which in 1980 was deemed to have a life span of between ten to fifteen years.

One of the most significant symbols of city regeneration over the last decade has been ‘Guggenheim Bilbao’ (costing £50m). It is one of the first Guggenheim Museum based in Europe. It represents a collaboration between the Basque authorities and Guggenheim Foundation, which established the complex as the key development within the strategy of urban renewal. This cultural icon, designed by American Frank Gehry, has captured the imagination and subsequently a large proportion of the cultural tourism market with 3.5 million visitors to date. It is the ultimate in branded leisure property, which is also being sought in cities from Rio, Shanghai, to St Petersburg. In fact, Guggenheims have recently opened in Berlin (Deutsche Bank HQ) and even in Las Vegas, casino-style. In Liverpool, a Guggenheim, will complement the Walker Gallery as part of SOM’s masterplan for Port Liverpool. It is hoped it will do for this city what the Albert Dock (Tate ‘of the North’) achieved in the 1980s. While, in the home of the original museum, a US$850m proposal for a new Guggenheim (involving Gehry again) is under review. This development will include a library, educational facility, theatre, skating rink and a park, floating above four existing piers on Manhattan’s East River: ‘the museum not only as exhibition space, but as pedagogical institution and urban attraction, the old Guggenheim fused with the Rockefeller Center’ (Ryan 2000: 91).

“Bilbao babies are being born everywhere” is the comment on Gehry’s interactive Experience Music Project (EMP) in Seattle. Built as in homage to local hero Jimi Hendrix, it aims to capitalise on the thousands of visitors to Hendrix’s grave in Renton, Washington state, as Graceland has served as the shrine to Elvis. This may ensure its viability, in contrast to the National Centre for Popular Music, which languishes ‘temporarily closed’ only a year after opening in Sheffield, West Yorkshire, despite substantial Lottery and European funding (Evans 1995, Evans and Foord 2000). It would seem City location alone is not sufficient to generate interest - symbolic association is needed to overcome the arbitrariness of the new, as well as inherited cultural facilities. Whether aspects of popular culture can successfully be “museumified”, e.g. sport, pop music, is also questionable. Is it possible to reduce popular culture to collections of artefacts, memorabilia and recordings obtainable and better experienced elsewhere? Where collections are relocated to new museums, away
from their ‘roots’, their appeal can also suffer diminution, for example the Tower of London’s Armoury collection. Leeds “won” the right to display this collection with a commercially financed “theme-museum”, requiring sufficient returns (750,000 visitors) a year. After three years, annual visitors did not reach 400,000 in total (including free admissions) and with £20m of debts the government was forced to step in and bailout this particular regional Grand Projet. The unsuccessful bidder for the Armoury collection, Sheffield, would have appeared a more ‘vernacular’ home with its steel/metal crafts industry inheritance, and perhaps a more appropriate choice than the ill-fated pop music centre. In Britain, potential oversupply of cultural and leisure attractions through Lottery, regeneration and European Regional Development funding, has stretched visitor markets and project viability, within an essentially unplanned system.

Over-reliance on a single brand e.g. Guggenheim, also risks image decay as the brand dilutes, so as Bilbao’s Provincial president, Josu Bergara says, apparently with no hint of irony: ‘Other cities will have to find their own projects, not copies of the Guggenheim!’ (Crawford 2001). LSE Director, Anthony Giddens confirmed this when in Bilbao: ‘Money and originality of design are not enough. [...] You need many ingredients for big, emblematic projects to work, and one of the keys is the active support of local communities’. Consensus from the city residents was not apparent in this case. The imported Guggenheim concept was resisted by Basque independents and artists alike, but it was the opportunity for major infrastructure improvements and the economic development potential that such a physical and international icon would bring which convinced the regional government. It claims, it has recouped its initial investment in the project (£76m) and injected over £300m into the Bilbao economy.

Bilbao’s renaissance has also been facilitated by public investment in new rail, air and road systems in not only a planned and integrated way, but also through excellent design. Examples of this include a new airport terminal with a capacity for 2.5 million, designed by Calatrava; a new underground/metro running alongside both riverbanks, designed by Foster; and the Intermodal station at Abando, linking high speed train, bus, metro and car parking, as part of a mixed-use residential and commercial development, designed by Stirling & Wilford. This lesson has been heeded in the UK, with the advent of award-winning Waterloo Eurostar Terminal (Foster), and new stations and utilities (e.g. ventilation shafts) on the Jubilee Line Extension which boasts a roll call of modern British design firms (below).

Lyons, which is also competing for a Guggenheim, has both the TGV network linking Paris and an upgraded international airport (Tesse 1993), although, this regional capital has been denied a fast rail system. Like Manchester (e.g. Velodrome, Aquatic Centre, NYNEX), Lyons has sought convention, sporting events and festivals as cornerstones of its main competitive city strategy. This is on foot airport, road and rail (TGV) station developments. The success of this approach is mirrored in a number of French cities including Marseilles with a new TGV station serving a $1.2 billion development of a Euromediterranee international business centre, housing and leisure complex. In Lyons the creation of new stations has also improved the fast link between both airport and city, and interchanges with the TGV service, improving access and penetration of both
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domestic and international visitor markets (including ski charters serving the French Savoie region).

The French network will allow Paris to be by-passed with a massive transport interchange - air, TGV, RER - outside of the city at Roissy. Public transport will loop around Paris with the completion of the second and third motorway rings allowing more traffic to by-pass the capital altogether. A triangle of these major French cities is now linked by fast-TGV services within a 2 to 3 hour journey-time from Paris.

The emerging approach to city leisure and tourism development has therefore looked to integrated transport planning, provision and mixed-use developments, including hotels, around transport gateways and in consequence opening up undeveloped urban/fringe areas. In the latter case this is taking place where core visitor quarters are either saturated and/or land values have become prohibitively expensive. In the UK, the development of brownfield sites and areas in need of regeneration, is in accordance with the Urban Task Force recommendations (DETR 1999), and subsequent Urban White Paper (2000). This has culminated in a wide range of Government incentives and tax breaks to encourage property development for example conversion of space above shops and pubs to B&B accommodation. This policy has also sought to relieve congestion and price inflation (i.e. property, hotel rates) in visitor honeypots and historic zones, spreading visitor activity geographically more widely, with improvement in local economies, employment and land values as a result. This is arguably a more sustainable approach to development generally and mitigates against negative environmental impacts from leisure and tourism. This includes utilising off-peak transport capacity for leisure travel.

Measuring the impact and relationship between urban transport and property requires a longitudinal approach. Generally, this stretches beyond the life of regeneration funding programmes (3 to 5 years, e.g. Single Regeneration Budget), as the effects on local economies, land-use and communities are likely to be felt over the long- rather than short-term. In the USA, a good example has been a twenty-year study of the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system in San Francisco. This evaluation has found that the design and nature of new public transport has had a significant effect on the extent to which transport benefits can be maximized through increased passenger activity and reduced car usage. Similarly, the efficiency and design of interchange facilities are critical. Another finding of the evaluation of the BART network (which is still being extended) has been that the effect on land-use. It is only really significant where there are supportive policy conditions; a political culture that supports public transport; local community backing; and where a variety of other influences were also present, for example a critical mass of facilities and activities (Cervero and Landis 1997).

Whilst image and perceptual changes arising from new and improved transport are becoming evident, as the recent study of the South Yorkshire Supertram (SYS) concluded, visitor activity is still reliant upon new facilities, events and ‘animation’ (Lawless and Gore 1999). In a survey of visitors to Sheffield, the SYS was identified as the sixth most attractive development in the city (out of 13). These finding were also echoed in an exercise with local agents, however as the study’s authors maintain: ‘New
transport investment itself is likely to have only a marginal impact on visitors or inward investment. Other promotional activities and facilities are likely to have a larger impact on selling the city than is transport’ (ibid). Land use and leisure development without adequate transport access, or conversely, locating new transport systems in isolation from social amenities and other environmental investment, are therefore unlikely to achieve sustainable regeneration objectives. This became evident during the “unplanned” London Docklands regeneration, and was only solved through recent transport extensions and interchanges development (see below). Significantly, these were both completed after the London Docklands Development Corporation was wound-up in 1997. This is in stark contrast to La Défense in Paris.

**Jubilee Line Extension, London**

In the UK, the largest investment in public transport - at a cost of £3.5 billion – and with direct effects on new and established tourism activity, has been the extension of the Jubilee Underground Line (JLE). This links central London (Baker Street, Westminster, Waterloo) with south and east London for the first time - see Map 1.

![Map 1: Jubilee Line Extension and Docklands Light Railway Extension](image-url)

This development was first mooted in 1945, The history and development of this Underground extension, which is beyond the scope of this paper, has been tied into a 50-year history of politics, post-industrialisation, de-urbanisation and global property development, and more (Horne 2000). It is important to note, that it was recognised for the first time, that new public transport provision may over time have a quantifiable and sustained effect on visitor activity and leisure-related regeneration (Evans and Shaw 1999). Between May and December 1999, the Jubilee Line Extension stations finally
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opened, in time for the Millennium celebrations, the inauguration of the Greenwich 'Dome' and other cultural venues along this transformed section of the River Thames (e.g. Globe Theatre, Vinopolis). The JLE station 'corridor' now contains some of the most visited attractions in the UK (Tate Modern, London Eye) even excluding the temporary Dome at Greenwich, itself only accessible by serious numbers via the new JLE station at North Greenwich (Evans 1996, CELTS 2000). Hotel developments (and occupancy rates) not surprisingly are following suit. This is a critical test of addressing the central core-periphery divide in hotel and associated visitor activity in London where property is highly concentrated, and has remained so, in a central zone and west London-Heathrow corridor. Despite planning and policy initiatives by local, central government and agencies such as the London Tourist Board (LTB 1997), three central core boroughs (Camden, Kensington & Chelsea, Westminster) and Heathrow (Hillingdon) host 78% of all London's registered bed spaces. This represents a fall of less than 2% since 1993 when the Jubilee Line Extension was officially authorised by Parliament. The number of bed spaces in London has however increased by 8% during that time, including growth in both undeveloped areas, as well as existing tourist zones where conversion and change-of-use (e.g. from offices) has been preferred to new-build. This has effectively allowed planning policy exceptions to be made in boroughs where new hotel development is otherwise discouraged (Evans 2000).

The background to hotel provision, distribution and capacity in London over the past ten years has been a perceived shortage of bed spaces overall; an over-concentration in the central core (and a dearth in outer/south London), and a shortage of medium-price and budget range accommodation. London has had a persistent reputation as an expensive, poor value (quality and price) destination in contrast to other European cities (Evans 2000), whilst other factors, such as the loss of Bed & Breakfast (B&B) accommodation for social service usage, have exacerbated these problems. The established regional policy and strategic plans promoted by both the tourist board and planning agencies have been to improve quality and value-for-money (e.g. training/skills, classification/grading system, use of ICT etc); to encourage hotel development in outer London and away from the central core/Heathrow corridor; and to increase B&B accommodation through the relaxation of planning, fire & safety restrictions and rating (Tourism Concern 1999). The JLE corridor and related east London regeneration areas potentially serve these policy objectives, including the employment possibilities raised through local economic development and more sustainable development of tourism over a wider area.

Whilst the total number of bed spaces provides the main measure of hotel provision, the scale of hotel/B&Bs is also important in the same way that flagship attractions have a disproportionate effect on visitor activity, carrying capacity and image of the area in which they are situated. Larger hotels also tend to have more and higher quality amenities such as conference suites, leisure (e.g. health & fitness) and shopping facilities, attracting a different category of visitor and a higher employment/expenditure multiplier than smaller more isolated establishments. Table 2 summarises for London as a whole the breakdown of establishments by size, with decreases in recent years occurring in those with under-50 rooms, and during the 1990s increases at both the top and the very bottom-ends of the scale.
The high occupancy levels driving 4/5 star hotel development (annual average of 82%) is contrasted with small accommodation providers such as B&Bs (60%), although even this is much higher than the average occupancy rate in Europe. London hotels continue to have the highest room yields, despite their perceived poor value and high cost. The rapid growth of branded budget hotels with higher room capacity (e.g. Travel Inn, Travel Lodge, Holiday Inn) is also starting to impact numbers. Typically, based outside of motorway and in other in-transit locations, they have reported occupancy levels of 90% in the UK. They are now opening in lower land-value locations and in regeneration areas, including the JLE corridor (e.g. Ibis - Stratford, Canary Wharf, Greenwich (DLRE); Holiday Inn Express - N.Greenwich, Canada Water, Southwark; Forte Posthouse - Canary Wharf; Canning Town - Travelodge). However, as Harris points out, in contrast to the UK: ‘Another strong element which has contributed to the growth in the budget sector in both France and the USA is the level and quality of internal transportation systems. If these are insufficient, people will not be encouraged to travel’ (Harris 2001).

Table 2. London Stock of Serviced Accommodation 1993-1999

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>201+</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>+13 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101-200</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>+18 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-100</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>+1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-50</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>+1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-25</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>283</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>-24 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-10</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>-34 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>+38 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,241</td>
<td>1,007</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>1,02</td>
<td>1,05</td>
<td>1,15</td>
<td>-7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: LTB Annual Statistics

Hotel developments - new and upgrades - have therefore started to take place in less developed areas served by the JLE and other public transport facilities (notably the Docklands Light Railway Extension south to Greenwich and Lewisham – see Map 1).

Increases in bedstock in the riparian boroughs are apparent in Southwark - up between 30% and 38% between 1993 and 1998 and Lambeth where provision has trebled, whilst Greenwich has increased its hotel capacity by 50% since 1996 and Tower Hamlets by 60% since 1993.

In the boroughs in which JLE stations are located, the number of bed spaces increased by a total of 37% over this period compared with less than 13% for London as a whole. In the JLE corridor - measured by a 1km catchment area around each station (see Map 2) - the number of hotels has more than doubled since 1993. This has included chain (e.g. Ibis) and independent hotels, initially serving as cheaper rated ‘overspill’ to central venues running at capacity, but increasingly these are seeing ‘residential’ usage.
Tourists are now opting to stay in these areas, not just visit on day trips from the traditional hotel zones in central/west London, to historic areas of Maritime Greenwich and town centre and Bankside, Southwark. This reflects not just the presence of a range of leisure and cultural attractions and amenities (restaurants, parks and street markets), but the marketing of these destinations. Ongoing investment, in the public realm, by local authorities, regeneration partnerships (e.g. several SRBs/City Challenge areas - Cross River, Pool of London, Creekside, Deptford) and the private sector is also critical. Initiatives such as the South Bank Employers Group, Bankside Trust and town centre management consortia, have demonstrated that property-led regeneration alone is not sufficient to put and keep areas on the map. It must go hand in hand with policies that support the ‘soft infrastructure’ of joint destination area marketing and promotion, building/area conservation, as well as training programmes to facilitate local employment and service quality (CELTS 1998).

Map 2  Jubilee Line Extension Station Catchments
Visitor Attractions

The second indicator of the effect of new transport on leisure development activity is the number of visitors attending individual attractions and zones in the JLE corridor. This has been measured from an audit and mapping of facilities, at the pre-JLE (1993), before-JLE opening (1998) and initial opening points (1999). Visitor numbers are however under stated as some activities are not measured and open or uncontrolled areas seldom have verifiable visitor data. Surveys of visitors to street markets for instance, suggest that they are major attractions in their own right, e.g. Greenwich crafts markets attract 50,000 each weekend; Camden Lock and adjoining markets attracts nearer 100,000 (CELTS 2000). This particularly effects the Canary Wharf catchment (e.g. London Arena, Canary Wharf tower, free events etc) and open/street market activity along the South Bank and Bermondsey, and around Stratford town centre and developing cultural quarter (independent cinema, theatres). We estimate that the total number of visitors are actually c.10% above the declared figures (e.g. Docklands surveys estimated 1.5 million leisure visits in 1996), making this a conservative assessment.

The table below summarises the number of visitors to attractions in each station catchment from 1993 to 1999 and estimates for 2000, taking the 1993 base and then all attractions (i.e. those existing at the 1993 base point and those opening after 1993). In overall volume terms, visits to attractions already established by 1993 in the JLE corridor increased by over 20%, from nearly 14 million in 1993 to 19 million in 1999, whilst after 1993, this level increases to over 29 million in 2000. Even without the Dome-effect (4 million), visits to attractions opening since the JLE-approval in 1993 totalled over 8 million in 2000, representing nearly one third of total visits in the JLE corridor. This increase - which is both supply-led, i.e. new/improved attractions and transport access (over 90% of overseas tourists to London use the Underground, compared to 50% buses and 30% taxis), and demand-led as tourist arrivals in London during the 1990s record underlying year-on-year growth - is most marked in Southwark, where visits have trebled. London Bridge has also experienced a significant increase in numbers where in fact numbers have doubled Well-established tourist zones of Westminster and Waterloo have experienced a 20% increase. Underlying growth in tourist arrivals (56% increase in London 1993 -2000) has of course contributed to this scenario, this is far exceeded in the JLE corridor, which has experienced an unprecedented 80% increase over the same period. This reflects real term growth in visitor activity and in some cases a switching effect between attractions and locations. This has occurred, most notably at the Tate ‘Modern’ gallery and cultural quarter at Bankside, at the cost of the original, more isolated Tate ‘Britain’ gallery at Millbank, where attendance has declined since its sister gallery opened in May 2000.


Table 3. Aggregate Visits to Attractions in the JLE Corridor, 1993-2000 (000s)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Westminster</td>
<td>7,632</td>
<td>8,274</td>
<td>8,308</td>
<td>9,032</td>
<td>9,006</td>
<td>9,673</td>
<td>9,859</td>
<td>10,174</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterloo</td>
<td>4,438</td>
<td>4,429</td>
<td>4,425</td>
<td>4,488</td>
<td>5,233</td>
<td>5,294</td>
<td>5,827</td>
<td>8,782</td>
<td>188%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwark</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>2,066</td>
<td>2,114</td>
<td>2,471</td>
<td>2,262</td>
<td>3,891</td>
<td>350%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London Bridge</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>1,365</td>
<td>1,519</td>
<td>1,540</td>
<td>1,566</td>
<td>1,582</td>
<td>1,743</td>
<td>2,165</td>
<td>144%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermondsey</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada Water</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canary Wharf</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Greenwich</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canning Town</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Ham</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stratford</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>N/D</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13,97</td>
<td>15,12</td>
<td>15,32</td>
<td>17,36</td>
<td>18,20</td>
<td>19,22</td>
<td>19,88</td>
<td>31,800</td>
<td>120%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baseline</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17,016</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1993 Baseline Total includes Visitor Attractions already open in 1993 prior to the JLE ‘go ahead’ by Parliament. N/D - No data.

Whilst the cultural quarter of Bankside and office city of Canary Wharf, Docklands have both benefited from the tube extension and interchange enhancements, station catchments are likely to see latent leisure and other property development (e.g. offices, residential) include Bermondsey, and further east, Canning Town, West Ham and Stratford, the current eastern end of the JLE and proposed Channel Tunnel Rail Link terminus (CTRL). In Bermondsey, previously not served by an Underground station, a new Fashion Museum is under construction, housing Zandra Rhodes’ collection. A single specialist attraction may not on its own establish regular visitor activity, but by
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putting an unknown area on the map for the first time, ancillary facilities (e.g. cafes/restaurants) are already moving in and others will follow. London has a high repeat tourist profile and these visitors therefore look for both new and more unusual areas and attractions outside of the main tourist sites and areas. Further east, Canning Town provides a short bus and taxi link to both City Airport and the new ExCeL exhibition centre at the Royal Docks, operated by the NEC group and now third in capacity to Earls Court & Olympia and the NEC Birmingham. ExCeL's planning brief was based on the principle that 55% of visitors would arrive by public transport, and visitor levels, which could reach 42,000 a day. These local areas had little or no leisure or visitor facilities before and could not hope to attract or sustain significant visitor numbers or investment (e.g. employers, office premises) without the new public transport. Public transport access is also two-way: local residents gain more efficient access to other parts of the city for employment and leisure, an important factor since these areas tend to have relatively higher unemployment and poorer amenities (Shaw 2000).

New transport links can also divert leisure visitors away from local and non-leisure traffic, reducing congestion and conflict. For instance, the new station at Cutty Sark Gardens, Greenwich on the “Docklands Light Railway (DLR) Extension” was at first resisted by the line’s operators and some local residents/traders. This extension was to be privately financed from incremental passenger revenue (and ticket premium) and but it was felt that the existing mainline station at Greenwich was adequate to cater for regular, commuter as well as tourist traffic (the town receives over 2 million, largely day visitors a year). The environmental disaster, this would cause in a historic town with narrow pavements and heavy road traffic, as thousands converge from the old station to visitor zone (Cutty Sark, Maritime Museum, Royal Park and Observatory) was finally recognised (Evans 1994). However, the potential of a new station as part of a mixed-use maritime visitor centre and riverside complex, and additional transport revenue, made a £14m station development on this line feasible. This now serves as a leisure travel experience in its own right. The DLR extension and switch to off-peak leisure usage, together with new developments coming on-stream, has also compensated for the loss of commuter passenger traffic. As users switch from the existing DLR line to the new JLE, along the Bank-Canary Wharf-Stratford corridor, against pessimistic predictions of a net decrease of between 30% and 40% in passengers on the DLR system. The operators of the Docklands Light Railway are working with developers and the local authority to improve access to the line. For example at Heron Quay, where a major extension to Canary Wharf is under construction, the station is to be roofed over and an escalator link built to a shopping mall that will give covered access to the Jubilee Line at Canary Wharf.

To date, there has been an increase of two thirds in the number of visitor facilities - accommodation and attractions - in the JLE corridor between those existing prior to 1993 and those opened or due to open after 1998, half of these opening between 1993 and 1998, i.e. before the JLE went ‘on-line’. The largest change was in hotels, albeit from a low base of 14 pre-1993, to 32 in 1999; in entertainment and exhibition venues which increased from 14 to 24 over this period; and attractions and museums, up from 31 to 49. In terms of the distribution of these new facilities in the corridor, the South
Tourism Destination Planning

Bank/Bankside area saw a 50% increase in facilities overall, served by Waterloo, Southwark and London Bridge stations, whilst in Canary Wharf they doubled from a low base, mainly by increases in the number of hotels. The number of facilities also increased in Stratford from 1 to 6. Visitor attractions and hotels due to open from 2000 onwards will also increase the level and scale of amenities. This will take place not just in the touristic zones of Westminster and Bankside, but post-Millennium Dome in and around the Greenwich peninsula, and also with the build-up around Canning Town/City Airport and Stratford town - as a critical mass of activity and development moves eastwards.

Conclusion

Urban tourism and transport development is going through a new and mutually reliant phase. These developments are not yet on the scale of Continent, but if Labour manifesto commitments are implemented, further strategic projects (e.g. east-west Cross Rail £2.5bn; DLR spur to City Airport, £30m) will further improve London’s position compared with its European city competitors. The DLR spur for instance is to be funded by central government, City Airport, the London Development Agency, developers and builders finance, and such co-funding arrangements indicate the recognition that urban transport directly contributes to the regeneration and development process.

Off-peak leisure travel generates revenue for transport operators and can maintain the viability of some routes (e.g. Docklands Light Railway). Areas in post-industrial decline looking to major leisure/cultural facilities require accessible public transport in order to assist the regeneration process and to sustain visitor activity and attract local as well as tourist usage. Attributing leisure activity and development to public transport provision directly is complex, hard to place a value on and in the urban situation is often only part of the story. Other factors aside from the market, include image and quality of the leisure attraction and facility itself; a critical mass of facilities and amenities; marketing and promotion, including joint marketing initiatives targeting leisure passengers, and linking transport with venues through ticketing and information (e.g. maps, guides). Many cities in Europe (e.g. Paris, Gothenberg) now operate museum cards which cover public transport use, whilst some cities better exploit their river and surface transport as part of the visitor experience itself. It would be hard to imagine the new Tate Modern sustaining its first year’s 5.25 million visitors without the upgrading and opening of new underground stations, whilst the Greenwich peninsula post-Dome will also rely, eventually, on its new tube link to central London, a source of Canary Wharf’s new-found confidence. The impact on less developed areas of the JLE corridor will take longer, as the BART experience in San Francisco attests.

However, the development of branded and independent hotels and medium-scale visitor attractions in areas previously devoid of both, suggests that integrating leisure with transport is a strategy required to widen both the volume and distribution of tourism activity. One which any environmental impact and cost-benefit analysis of new public transport investment needs to more fully take account. This may not be limited to the medium-scale attractions - with the Wembley Stadium development stalled yet again - Stratford is proposed as ‘the perfect site for national arena’ according to Sir Peter Hall.
Hall, who in the 1960s was one of the academic ‘architects’ (sic) of the London Docklands Development Corporation, is closely associated with the reactive ‘Non-Planning’ approach to urban development. Good public transport access and interchanges, rather than single, or non-integrated provision, may well facilitate this, as the multi-mode transport systems serving major leisure complexes in Europe suggests. This demands an integrated transport and strategic planning approach to urban regeneration, beyond the limited time horizons of both political and development cycles, and as Ashworth concluded:

‘Urban tourism requires the development of a coherent body of theories, concepts, techniques and methods of analysis which allow comparable studies to contribute towards some common goal of understanding of either the particular role of cities within tourism or the place of tourism within the form and function of cities’ (1992: 5).

The JLE Impact Study has been established by London transport authorities in order to assess the impact of major public investment over the longer-term, and for the first time this includes the effects on leisure and tourism activity and development. It is obviously too early to quantify or attribute these effects, but the evidence to date suggests that the inter-relationship is significant, and the exercise will hopefully contribute to improved transport investment appraisal and development planning in the future.

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Regional Clusters, Impacts and Management
TOURISM PARADOX: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT VERSUS SCENIC LANDSCAPES – FRAMEWORK, IMPACTS, BALANCING AND SUSTAINABILITY

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ABSTRACT

It is a familiar paradox of tourism that by its nature it is inclined to bite the hand that feeds it. Relatively remote areas often with beautiful unspoilt scenery and rugged landscapes are powerful draws for tourists, yet the development of airports, holiday homes and hotels can threaten scenic landscapes. Not surprisingly questions of sustainable development arise in such conflicts and among the hard questions in legal terms., This paper seeks to examine whether the planning process is able to satisfactorily apply sustainable development concerns to the balancing and evaluative reasoning used by planners.

Development pressures on scenic areas in Ireland primarily along the western seaboard, though also in areas like the Wicklow Mountains, just south of Dublin, increased significantly during the late 1980’s and 1990’s.2 Sometimes these pressures provoked bitter conflicts between developers and environmentalists, with either side using the language of tourism to support their case. Developers claim the infrastructure is necessary to support tourism, environmentalists claim its absence is necessary to preserve highly scenic landscapes.

The purpose of this paper is to focus on a number of planning law issues, which arise when tourism development potentially threatens scenic landscapes. The paper does not deal with the complex relationship between tourism and scenic landscapes or even whether scenic or picturesque is too simple a value to use in relation to planning law and landscapes3. Rather the aim is to focus on the legal methodology used to resolve tourism and scenery conflicts. The issues to be considered are:

- the planning law framework
- planning impacts
- balancing the impacts, and
- sustainability

3 Ball & Swaffield, Picturesque sensibility, adventure and conflict: issues in landscape management for tourism, conference paper for ACPECT 2000, New Zealand, November 2000
The issues will be addressed through consideration of a number of reports connected with planning appeals relating to tourism developments in Ireland in the recent past.\textsuperscript{4}

Arising out of this examination it is hoped to

- gain insight into how one jurisdiction has dealt with such cases;
- highlight the nature of the specific impacts which arise when tourism developments are proposed for scenic areas;
- highlight the demanding and at times excessive evaluative task imposed by planning law on planners when attempting to balance the relevant impacts;
- highlight the new challenges which sustainability imposes on the balancing process.

Finally, some concluding observations will be offered concerning alternative legal means for using sustainability to protect scenic landscapes from inappropriate tourism developments.

The three cases to be relied on concern localities on the west coast of Ireland and came before An Bord Pleanala (national planning appeals board) as appeals usually brought by outside environmentalists against decisions by local authorities granting permission for the developments. The cases involved attempts to obtain planning permission to

- restore and greatly extend a hotel in Mulranny Co Mayo\textsuperscript{5}
- build holiday cottages in Currane Co. Mayo\textsuperscript{6}
- build holiday homes in Ventry Co Kerry\textsuperscript{7}

Interestingly, these localities in question are part of some 25 areas identified in one of the few attempts to formally identify scenic areas in the country in 1976\textsuperscript{8}. Bord Failte also proposed them for specific management in its ambitious tourism development plan in 1994.

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The Planning Framework - The Planning Authority Development Plan and other planning sources.

The initial point for identifying the broad framework for planning assessment is the planning authority Development Plan. Under the Planning and Development Act 2000,\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{4} The planning reports relied on in this study consist of lengthy written reports drawn up by inspectors of Bord Pleanala as an aid to the Bord in reaching a decision and contain detailed assessments of the planning issues involved. Usually, though not always, the Bord accepts an inspector’s recommendation and reasoning. The Bord’s written decision is often pithy and of limited value in forming a detailed understanding of the reasoning which lead to the result.

\textsuperscript{5} PL 16.105631
\textsuperscript{6} PL 16.103654
\textsuperscript{7} PL 08.103176. A few other cases of lesser import will also be mentioned, including Mulranny holiday cottages PL 16.104141

\textsuperscript{8} An Foras Forbartha, Outstanding Landscapes, An Foras Forbartha, 1976
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it is intended as the primary means for ensuring proper planning and sustainable development. In scenic areas of the west of Ireland where tourism is heavily concentrated it is axiomatic that Development Plans invariably identify important scenic landscapes and views and designate them in ways which seek to confer an appropriate degree of legal protection. Such plans, however, also invariably and heavily underscore the economic importance of tourism and commit the planning authority to future support for tourism developments. The difficulty often resides in reconciling these objectives.

Difficulties arise where a Development Plan fails to identify and list an important scenic view. This will increase the likelihood that the impact of a proposed development on that view will not be fully considered during the initial application phase. This is because the local planning authority will be bound by the omission in its own Plan. This can however be remedied on appeal, if an appeal is taken, where Bord Pleanala is not so constrained and the actual impact on the scenic view can be taken into consideration in reaching a decision.

This happened in Ventry where the local Plan entirely omitted from its protection views from a designated tourist road. This designation ‘could reasonably be taken to imply that it is a road from which scenic views are frequently available. In fact it is difficult to see that logic in listing views from a minor road and not listing similar views from a main road in the same general area’ 9

It is equally axiomatic that Development Plans can be written with greater or lesser attention to detail. It can hardly be over-stressed that the very purpose of a Plan can be negated if its statements in relation to landscapes and tourism, especially in high amenity areas, are too general and lack the particular approach needed to cope with site-specific applications.

For example, when tax legislation (Finance Act 1995) designated broadly defined tourism developments (between 1.7.1995 and 3.6.1998, extended to 30.6.1999) in all of the island of Achill and some neighbouring areas in County Mayo as qualifying for generous tax relief in order to restore traditional coastal resorts, this provoked a large increase in applications to build holiday homes. But the previously drawn-up Mayo County Development Plan was found seriously lacking more than once by planning inspectors from An Bord Pleanala dealing with appeals.

‘The entire Achill/Currane area is designated as one of Special Scenic Importance in the Mayo County Development Plan. [Nevertheless the] County Development Plan is a very general statement, with few specifics. At the local level of Achill and Currane, there is no detail and generally, no differentiation between existing settlements, empty upland areas and sites close to the shore. There is little indication where it would be appropriate to locate developments and where it would not - including the Tax Incentive based Holiday Home Schemes. Effectively, there is something of a policy

9 Ventry p 97
vacuum into which the Holiday Homes Schemes have been introduced, with ongoing controversy.

Not all views/areas are of equal scenic value even in remote rugged landscapes and some differentiation should and does take place. Typical scenic spatial designations used by Irish planners in Development Plans to protect ‘tourism’ landscapes can range from the specific - highly scenic area, scenic area, area of special scenic importance, visually vulnerable/sensitive area - to the more general - area of prime/high/secondary amenity importance/value, recreational amenity area, special recreational importance etc.

Views are also listed in development plans, but appear to be more universally defined as scenic. However, while a designation is useful in itself as indicating how the planning authority ranks the importance of the scenery/view, what is more significant, given the absence of national guidelines/rules prescribing the significance of particular designations is what the authority says the designations mean. These meanings, when described, can vary from the extreme of prohibiting development, to strictly controlling it, to requiring high quality in the finish of materials used on the front of a building.

The planning authority Development Plan is not the only source of guidance for planners dealing with applications affecting highly scenic landscapes. Reliance can also be placed on other professionally conducted studies of landscape use such as lapsed or draft local or county Development Plans, independently commissioned and conducted studies and previous planning history where relevant.

**Government Policy**

Further, and specially noteworthy, is that Irish planning legislation actually mandates both initial and appellate level planners in going beyond these sources and requires recourse to government policy where relevant. Section 34 (2) (a) (iv) of the Planning Act 2000 obliges the planning authority to have regard ‘ where relevant, the policy of the Government, the Minister [for the Environment] or any other Minister of the Government’.

An Bord Pleanala is similarly charged under s. 143 of the 2000 Act and must additionally take cognisance of the policies of all public and state authorities. The interpretation of these obligations is not only quasi-judicial, but arguably quasi-political as well. Problematic at the best of times, it veers towards the impossible when tensions appear in government policy itself.

Unlikely as it might seem, this actually happened in Currane, where on appeal the applicant for permission argued that since the development would be located in an area designated for special tax reliefs under the coastal resort scheme set out in the Finance Act 1995, permission should be granted. While the objectors argued that concerns expressed in a Department of the Environment policy document on sustainable

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10 Curran p 19, See also Mulranny holiday homes PL 16.10414, p 9
11 See also Hickie D, Evaluation of Environmental Designations in Ireland, Heritage Council, 1997, p 54-61
development regarding holiday homes projects meant that permission should be refused. Beyond acknowledging the relevance of these sources, it is clear the Inspector correctly treated them as part of the larger set of circumstances relevant to the assessment.

The Impacts

Due to the general nature of standard planning impacts relating to traffic, waste, pollution, water, sewage, and services generally, future maintenance they fall outside the reference of this paper. Instead, it focuses on the locational/social and landscape/visual impacts. The landscape/visual impacts of present interest are not so much specific visual impacts associated with the proposed development, such as the nature of external building finish or whether services cables are underground, rather it is those general impacts associated with the development as a whole.

Historically, impacts are judged, in planning terms, not only according to the degree of impact but also according to their conformity with policies identified in the Development Plan itself. Thus, planning authorities can at a policy level influence the importance to be attached to particular impacts through how they are dealt with in the Development Plan. This means impacts are not absolute but relative. This may be logical in its own right, but also raises concerns, since it makes it more difficult to absolutely prioritise objectives like the protection of scenic landscapes. Whether the concept of sustainability will alter this is considered later.

Assessing location/social impacts

Remote and scattered communities of primarily elderly/rural residents may feel threatened by the arrival of outsiders at a tourism development. Further, depending of its type, a tourism development may be relatively self contained and result in lesser integration with the local community in terms of contact, use of community facilities such as shops, post office, pubs etc. Generally planning authorities steer development into existing towns and villages thus reducing this risk. If mutually exclusive groups are created, it may give rise to future antagonisms and possible vandalism of unoccupied property. On the other hand a local community can totally support a project, particularly if it comes from a local rather than an outsider and may welcome the influx of new blood into the community.

In making the social assessment it appears a great deal depends on the scale of the proposal relative to the nature/settlement pattern of the existing community.

In Curane 'The settlement pattern of Curanne is not that of a nucleated village [...]. The pattern of development is one of low density, scattered houses.... But the current proposal is for a concentrated, relatively high-density scheme. This is not in keeping with the established pattern of density or scale.'

12 Department of the Environment, Sustainable Development – A Strategy for Ireland, Government of Ireland, 1997
13 At p 20
Earlier he termed the development ‘a significant, artificial entity’ \(^\text{14}\)

Where a development is within or part of a nucleated village it is more likely to gain planning approval. In another application for holiday homes within a village, on Achill Island, the planning inspector in recommending permission stated\(^\text{15}\)

‘This site is located within the village core and constitutes a proposal for in-depth development [...] the density of development and the disposition of houses on the site is acceptable and will blend in with the pattern of housing development within the village of Dooagh’

An earlier application relating to the same site, with a greater density and design and scale different from typical island houses, had been refused permission again on appeal, because it would ‘ [...] constitute over development of the site, would be visually obtrusive in the landscape and would be out of character with the pattern of development in the area’ \(^\text{16}\)

**Linguistic Impacts**

Among the social impacts of particular relevance, to tourism developments in more remote scenic areas, are linguistic ones. Typically, this is the effect, which the temporary influx of English speakers might have of the use of Irish by the host population.

In Ventry the proposed holiday village development was to be located in the heart of the Kerry Gaeltacht (Irish speaking area) and objections were raised as to the threat, which this would pose for the use of Irish in the area. The inspector assessed the possible impact in different stages by

- determining the extent of the Irish speaking area
- examining the way the County Development Plan dealt with the area
- assessing the actual likely impact - ‘the most difficult impact to assess’ \(^\text{17}\)

Two issues stood out in the inspector’s mind - the significant number of English speakers already catered for in the area, and the fact that the development would not greatly increase that number. The Board itself appears to have taken a different view of the likely effects for it cited in its decision the ‘adverse effect on the cultural heritage of this Gaeltacht Area’ as one of the reasons for the refusal of planning permission.

Clearly, the linguistic impact in scenic areas often cannot be divorced from social and economic questions and the choice faced by planners will lie between seeking to preserve the purity of language in a depressed area and promoting economic development. The inspector in Ventry dealt with the question in the following way.

\(^{14}\) Ibid
\(^{15}\) Dooagh, PL 16.109610, p 8
\(^{16}\) Dooagh, PL 16.101749, p ?
\(^{17}\) Ventry p 91
Assuming however that there is a significant commitment to speaking Irish and maintaining the use of it, I do not consider that some temporary increase in the use of English would have a lasting effect. In this regard, I am sure that the inhabitants of the area see it not as a type of reservation, but rather as a community which combines the maintenance of spoken Irish with a high degree of contact and interaction with the outside world 

Portraying interaction in the way this passage suggests, probably amounts to making a virtue out of a necessity. But, if one follows the inspectors reasoning it means unless some planning source, local or national, identifies preserving linguistic integrity as a special planning priority, it should follow that impact on linguistic integrity on its own will seldom prevent a tourism development. This is especially true where a depressed area already caters for mainly English speaking tourists (and most if not all Irish-speaking areas probably fall into this category). From this viewpoint the Bord’s decision seems culturally fastidious and may amount to a cultural example of sustainable development.

Assessing landscape/visual impacts
The tourism paradox is most acutely revealed, when the planning process deals with planning objections, based on the alleged detrimental impact a tourism development will have on the appeal/beauty of the landscape. While the instances of landscape/visual impact of tourism developments can be classified in different ways, the cases under review deal mainly with scenic impact and suggest the following classification:

- where existing tourism use helps mould the landscape/scenery itself,
- where there are no existing landscape/visual impacts from tourism developments.

A more comprehensive treatment of the impacts of tourism development on tourism landscapes would include a third category - impacts of tourism developments on wilderness areas. In many parts of the west of Ireland, while individual beauty spots may headline the tourism appeal of an area, the character of persistent natural wilderness arguably contributes more to this overall appeal. Examining such areas would draw in other considerations such as issues of environmental, scientific or wildlife importance, but this all lies beyond the ambition of the present paper.

There are two questions in to assessing visual impact - can the development would be seen and what is the appearance of the development itself? As regards the former, the greater impact occurs, where the development is likely to be noticed from public rather than private places since tourists will not generally have views from private areas. Thus, impact on views from roads and other points are given particular weight.

In Ventry the inspector stated

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18 Ventry p 92
19 Ventry p 97
'In considering views of special value, most weight is normally given to views from roads on the basis that there is general public access to these, but some weight would also be given to other locations to which there is general public access. Other locations mentioned from which the site can readily be seen are the harbour itself, the road leading down to the strand[ ...], the stand itself, the graveyard and Cuan pier.'

Visual impact is also determined by the appearance of the proposed development and can include a wide range of factors from location, site topography to development layout. This may include design features such as clustering, terracing, scale, and the use of impact minimisers e.g. softening and screening.

Where existing tourism use helps mould the landscape scenery itself

The tendency of a proposed development to reinforce the existing tourism character of an area, no matter how scenic, is a relevant planning factor in deciding whether to grant planning permission.

In Mulranny the inspector agreed in principle with this view.

'The authors of the EIS ... have not attempted to minimise the visual and landscape impacts, or the difficulties of mitigation, of the proposed development. But the visibility of the hotel structure and associated woodland is a long established feature of the local landscape. The Board is asked to recognise that tourism is a long established and necessary part of this local landscape, economy and community. Such tourism infrastructure must be renewed and upgraded from time to time.

Accordingly, the proposed alterations to the appearance and character of the area, which are acknowledged, are compatible with proper planning and developments of the area. They also have due regard for the established nature of land use, the role of the hotel in creating/sustaining the local landscape and the necessity of tourism to sustain the established community.

I consider this a reasonable viewpoint, in principle.'

In Ventry the existing tourist accommodation was considered part of the existing settlement pattern of the area and thus as part of the visual landscape. The inspector stated

'If comparison is to be made [between the scale of the proposed development of a holiday village and the existing accommodation tourist/permanent in the area], I consider that it should be made with the tourist accommodation capacity in the area, This includes two caravan parks, self-catering cottages, other self catering units, bed and breakfast accommodation and houses occupied by school children on Irish courses. There are no figures available showing these categories of accommodation but I consider that the temporary population capacity would be quite substantial. I consider

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20 Mulranny p 24
21 Ventry p 83
in that regard that the proposed development is not disproportionate in relation to the pattern of development in the area.'

However, the degree/nature of existing tourism developments is only one relevant factor and degree of visual impact remains a vital issue. Topography and tree covering can become important at this juncture in the balancing process, but will still only help secure permission if they can be judged to be likely to diminish visual impacts to an acceptable level. While trees can always be planted to conceal things, they take a long time to grow and might never or adequately screen a development. Further, if the development actually requires the felling and replanting of trees the issue of screening becomes more problematic and will be subject to closer scrutiny.

While it is obvious that concealment on a site can be a positive in terms of securing planning permission, it is not always easy or perhaps possible. The Mulranny case provides a good illustration of this, when the inspector referred to one part of a development, the holiday homes part, which was located in a concealed part of the site, 'the proposed western bedroom block extension and apartment block to the rear thereof are to be located in an area of steeply sloping contours and which contain some of the best trees on the site. It is not clear why this location was chosen rather than the relatively flat and clear ground immediately west of the hotel building and to the south of the chosen location.'

In Mulranny the inspector concluded:

'I consider the main hotel development would have a serious effect on the visual amenity of the area, especially when viewed from the south and south-west, i.e. the coastal road and beach/salt marsh areas.'

Where there are no landscape/visual impacts from existing tourism developments
The second instance of visual impact of tourism development is related to greenfield sites. It may be argued the term 'green-field' site is in a way a misnomer. As there are very few areas in the west of Ireland, which has not had some tourism development and which, therefore provides an existing pattern or character for the area which the proposed development can be judged against. Lack of sympathy with existing character as much as excessive visual impact can constitute ground for refusing permission.

The two reasons operated conjointly in Currane where the inspector stated:

'the appellants [objectors] have also claimed there would be adverse effects on tourism, due to a negative perception of the area arising from the development. There may be some merit in this argument. Most tourists would, presumably, come to and visit the area because of its natural scenery. Given the factors relating to visual amenity mentioned above [density and strong geometry of the proposed development of 18 holiday cottages] , there might be some negative impact on such perceptions'

22 Mulranny p 25
23 Mulranny p 24
24 Currane p 23
Sites for tourism developments are often located in coastal and mountain areas and are inherently likely to have significant visual impacts. The landscape is often open and exposed, much of the terrain is sloping and there is an absence of tree cover. Sloping landscapes will not easily permit concealment or ways to minimise visual impact and attempts to move developments closer to the shore bring their own difficulties.

A typical case in point is Ventry. Ventry is located at the western end of the Dingle Peninsula 'which is generally recognised as a highly scenic area' with 'mountain and coastal scenery of the highest scenic value'\(^{25}\). So visual impact played a role in this case, where the development would have consisted of 58 holiday homes and associated buildings stretching in a linear path for over half a kilometre.

In Ventry the site was 'open and exposed to view from much of the harbour surrounds, from the harbour itself and from the raids [...]\(^{26}\). It was also near dunes and on a seaward slope. The inspector commented\(^ {27}\)

>'Setting the development back towards the ridge is beneficial in terms of its impact on the beach but also moves it into a higher and more prominent position on the landscape. The mountains to the west form a backdrop but their distance, in which they are very much in the background, would tend to reduce their value as a backdrop.'

Ultimately the Board accepted the inspector's refusal recommendation because of this visual intrusiveness.

**Balancing the Impacts**

For anyone taking a close examination of how planning decisions are reached it is hard not to be struck by the god-like qualities required of both initial and appeal planners. Both are like the players in the computer game 'Age of Empire'. There is almost no circumstance relevant to human/social existence which they might not potentially be asked to assess and they must apply Solomon-like wisdom to a huge range of highly specialised areas to be able to make/recommend outcomes, which are judicially review-proof. In many respects, what is demanded of planners is much more than is demanded of a judge in most types of legal proceeding.

In the tourism cases under review planners had to deal with expert submissions/evidence from scientists (environmental, agricultural, fisheries, marine, biological, zoological, ecological), chemists, lawyers, accountants, engineers (roads, sanitary services) architects, socio-linguists and archaeologists.

As outlined above, the essence of development control decision-making is to balance impacts against a variety of considerations such as the area Development Plan and other matters. In cases of proposed developments affecting scenic landscapes the

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\(^{25}\) Ventry p 93  
\(^{26}\) Ventry p 112  
\(^{27}\) Ventry p 100
balance will require assessment of the importance of the landscape, the degree of visual impact and the extent of economic benefit predicted for the development to be weighed against each other. This can require quite a close, sophisticated and unfortunately lengthy analysis of the issues, which not all planners or lawyers are equally capable of.

Moreover, it is a balancing act, which is conditional on local, and national economic circumstances, which when poor may incline the balance in favour of development and conversely they are favourable, as in recent times may incline it the other way. There is little doubt that this ‘built-in’ variability is a disquieting feature of the decision-making process since in poor economic times the need for economic development may result in ‘bad’ decisions being made which, when they result in inappropriate developments in scenic landscapes will leave a permanent scar.

In the cases under review, there are no illustrations of this. However, when one reviews the Ventry study it would seem, perversely the opposite is true. Improved economic circumstances were identified as one factor of significance, which lead to a development being refused permission. In earlier more depressed times, permission had been granted for a development on substantially the same site, which all agreed would have had an even greater, more detrimental effect on the landscape and visual amenity. The earlier permission, which was never acted on, was for a ‘development of a hotel, leisure complex and 60 holiday homes. By any standard this was a much larger development that what is now proposed and the hotel in particular would have been a large structure in the centre of the site’.

During the appeal process in Ventry when the applicant pointed to the earlier permission as an argument in favour of granting permission, the inspector agreed, adding however that this depended on whether circumstances had changed in the meantime. He went on to say:

‘There has been considerable economic growth since 1992 and a significant expansion in the tourism industry. County Kerry appears to have participated strongly in all of these [...] The figures given in the respective Development Plans suggest [...] the south-west has performed better than most other regions in the attraction of tourists. I consider that the resulting increased pressures are in themselves a change of circumstances and that they tend to shift the balance between the potential for further development and the need for protection of the basic amenity resources’.

Balancing and Sustainability

Although current economic circumstances in Ireland may, in theory, tilt the balance in favour of greater landscape protection it is not a reason for satisfaction with the current approach. In the next economic downturn the reverse will apply. So decisions affecting scenic landscapes will be subject to the same undesirable variability. Something is needed to cancel this variable tendency and this is where, perhaps, sustainable development comes in.

28 Ventry p 115
29 Ventry p 116
Sustainability, as a concept has been around for upwards of a decade in official terms, and has entered the lexicon of policy and tourism literature. Unfortunately it is hard to avoid the impression that sustainability and its application to tourism has become an over used cliché.

Sustainable tourism appears to be based on the unquestioned premise that tourism development and environmental protection are compatible, if only more care and thought is put into planning, promoting and managing tourism developments. ‘the Irish Tourist Board was faced with the challenge of finding a mechanism for the protection of scenic landscapes which would also allow for sustainable tourism development’ 30. Similarly it is argued that ‘Sustainable tourism can be achieved only if tourism is developed in such a manner that it supports the social and economic prosperity of the resident communities and protects their cultural and natural environments’ 31.

What quotes like this fail to grasp, it is submitted, is that most damage to scenic landscapes comes from these very local communities. Communities who, through ignorance or desperation, seek or support development at unacceptably high cost. These quotes imply that a marriage of the impossible is possible.

In reality, the key issue concerning sustainability and its importance is, not the need to support local economies, but the need to operate an effective decision-making process. A process, which resolves conflict between development and the protection of scenic landscapes and which also ensures adequate guidance is provided to decision makers when making their assessment. While one study 32 has recommended a somewhat Utopian scenic landscape forum with a wide range of specialist committees, interest groups and others. This recommendation was not taken on board in the subsequent national tourism development plan Developing Sustainable Tourism and which, in this writers view, overestimates local appetites for participatory democracy., The only current and likely future forum for binding decision-making is the planning authority.

And, planning decisions, as is well known, are taken ultimately, not by local communities, but, where an appeal is brought, by the National Appeals Board.

In terms of Irish legislation sustainability has only just arrived at the heart of the planning process with its introduction in s. 10 (1) of the Planning and Development Act 2000 which requires the planning authority in its Plan to

‘set out an overall strategy for the proper planning and sustainable development of the area’

and the restriction in s.34 (2) (a) on the planning authority when dealing with an application for planning permission

30 Bord Failte and An Taisce, Tourism and the Landscape, Landscape Management by Consensus, Bord Failte1996, p 3
31 An Taisce and Mayo County Council, Mayo - Sustainable Tourism in the Coastal Zone, An Taisce 20000, Preface
32 An Taisce and Bord Failte, Tourism and the Landscape, Management by Consensus, Bord Failte, 1996
to considering the proper planning and sustainable development of the area, regard being had to a lengthy list of planning considerations which do need not be examined here.

The legal interpretation of sustainability and more particularly its role in the balancing process is a relatively new challenge for planners, lawyers and judges. The 2000 Act does not define sustainable development. While lawyers will undoubtedly focus at least initially on dictionary definitions of the term, the general ability of physical development to literally endure on the landscape suggests that a broader definition will have to be taken. One, which is fully cognisance of the fears over environmental degradation associated with excessive development.

In the present context, it would make for neat legal interpretation to suggest that the key legal function of sustainability is to address the variability aspect mentioned above. This could be achieved by placing a greater focus on, in the type of developments under review, the finite/depletable/absorbable nature of the scenic landscape and visual amenity. Yet, it is worth recalling that the planning process, even without the explicit mention of sustainable development, already requires the balancing of the different impacts against the factors listed above.

So, if the express statutory reference to sustainability is to have particular significance, it must be taken to mean something additional to what has gone on before. It must mean, it is submitted, something more than a sharper focus or awareness of the capacity of proposed developments to permanently damage the visual landscape in especially scenic areas. What that extra might be can be considered by looking at the Ventry case - where sustainability was in issue even though the case prefigured the 2000 Act, because the planning authority had had the foresight to include references to it in its Development Plan.

At three points in his lengthy report the planning inspector in Ventry referred to sustainability and its role in the balancing process.

'The current Development plan for County Kerry has a new aim to encourage developments guided by the principles of sustainability. The application of these to the tourism industry is, as agreed by An Taisce, orientated towards the avoidance of over development and the protection of the landscape. I do not consider however that a development of the type proposed would necessarily be inconsistent with these principles and the issue of sustainability as applied to tourism developments would appear to arise more essentially in the balance to be achieved between the benefits of a particular development and its impact on the landscape, something to be evaluated later in this report.'

Later when engaged in a lengthy balancing act, the inspector cited sustainability again but alongside his own concept of environmental capacity.

33 Ventry p 88
34 Ventry p 114
‘In the context of the Development Plan in general I consider that it is reasonable that the optimum balance be sought between the positive and negative impacts of any development. I would see a concept of environmental capacity as being relevant in this regard. This is based on the premise that the landscape in a scenic area such as this is a finite resource with limited capacity to absorb new development without significant damage being caused to it. The role of planning in this context is to see that this capacity is allocated to development in a way that maximises the contribution … to the local economy by way of local employment […].] I consider that this concept would be broadly consistent with the principles of sustainability. It is doubtful however whether the proposed development would provide the optimum benefit to this rural community having regard to its status as an Irish speaking community’

The report outlined some changes, which had occurred since the lapsed planning permission has been granted for a development on the same site, changes which would have had an even greater visual intrusion on the very scenic landscape. Finally, the inspector commented again on the relevance of sustainability and landscape impacts.

‘There have inevitably been other changes. One in particular is a broad aim to encourage developments, which are guided by the principles of sustainability. In my view it is quite simple to grasp this concept but much more difficult to apply it in practise. In relation to tourism I would consider that it would have some relevance in determining the balance between the impact of any development on the landscape and the local benefit of that development, a point discussed earlier.’

The cumulative impression of these remarks is that, when assessing landscape impact, the inspector appeared to share the view that sustainability requires a sharper awareness of landscape impact. Indeed, as will be seen, went on to rest his ultimate recommendation of refusal of permission (accepted by the Bord) largely on the basis of landscape intrusion.

However, it is important to note the in many ways admirable balancing analysis carried out by the inspector was not hugely explicit about

a) the rarity and unique importance of such a landscape, its substitutability, the nature of the benefits it offers, and

b) the sensitivity of the landscape and the nature of the long-term damage the development would cause to the landscape, indeed, arguably, the inspector’s conclusion could have been reached without reliance on sustainability at all.

The balancing process he undertook still involved an evaluation of the degree of economic benefit, which might result if the development went ahead. Had that benefit been greater, perhaps substantially greater (and had the site not been in a Gaeltacht area), the clear possibility existed that permission would have been recommended no matter how scenic the landscape was.

35 Ventry p 116
This is disturbing and one’s sense of disquiet is deepened, by the fact that when looking into the future, as all planning decision-making requires, any conclusions arrived at about economic benefit are inherently problematic. Projections about future economic circumstances are very difficult to assess reliably and the outcome can depend, perhaps too much, on the individual doing the assessing.36

In this writer’s view, and despite the express references to sustainability, the report by the inspector in Ventry does not contain a landscape sustainability analysis, which is different from the typical balancing required in a planning analysis (though it is possibly implicit throughout). Had such an analysis had been carried out, it would not necessarily have produced a different conclusion, but it would have added some perspective, which would have expressly created a precedence. Thus elevating the importance of a given landscape (not necessarily the one in question), to a point where no matter what the economic benefit the balance would still have to favour preservation of the landscape.

Given the weaknesses in the planning process, it seems appropriate in the final part of this paper to briefly note some possible alternative legal ways of promoting sustainability to the betterment of scenic landscapes.

Before doing this, a brief comment on the role of appeals under the planning process, since it bears critically on the effectiveness of planning law.

The planning cases under review - Mulranny, Ventry and Currane - all involved appeals to a national appeals body, which then reversed locally made decisions. The outcomes were positive in the sense that scenery was preserved over tourism development, but only, because appeals were brought usually by a combination of outsiders and locals. There are many examples of undesirable developments, which were not appealed and which continue to despoil scenic landscapes.

Outcomes like these justify the claim that it is undeniably desirable to have a planning appeals body, which is somewhat removed from local planning decisions. A body charged to hear scenic landscape appeals. It can seem like a neat idea to say it should take account of governmental policy in arriving at its decisions, even if the performance

36 Roseth J, Commissioner of the Land and Environmental Court of NSW, The Osprey versus the Bulldozer - Tourist Development and ESD conference paper presented at ACPECT 2000, New Zealand commenting at p 11 on a recent Australian planning case which sought to balance the economic benefits of a marine resort development against scenic impact - ‘There was no inevitability about the decision .... The legislation requires only that the council (and the Court on appeal) take into account the proposal’s impacts. There are no provisions prescribing the depth and extent to which the environmental impacts must be investigated or the weight that must be given to them in relation to other factors, such as economic considerations. A differently constituted court may have accepted a greater amount of uncertainty about the environmental impacts. The decision could well have gone the other way.’ (emphasis added)
of this task brings the evaluative function uncomfortably close to evaluating ideologies and political policies, as opposed to applying predetermined reasonably clear criteria. But an appeals board has no role if appeals are not made, and where an appeal is brought, if the appeal then has to be decided in a relative vacuum of planning guidelines and studies and plans, then one gets ad hoc decision making. In the cases under review, this may have had a desirable end result, but it does not produce consistent and predictable protection of scenic landscapes.

Alternative legal ways of promoting sustainability
In terms of legal frameworks prescriptive and discretionary approaches represent the two poles of possibility as to how issues of conflict between scenic landscape and tourism development should be addressed. Cultural experience and political choice determine where the balance between both poles is struck. The Irish legislation grants substantial discretion to planners in reaching their decisions and means that predictability is diminished and each case must be fought over to see whether a development will proceed or not.

Much depends on the initiative of local and outside opposition to testing the appropriateness of any proposed development and where this is not manifest, experience has shown the local planners may favour/have to favour economic advantage over environmental preservation. It is however a more inclusive approach since it permits local inputs to decisions reached.

To work effectively, the discretionary approach requires quality decision-making, which pre-supposes significant support for planners both in terms of training, resources, prior information and capacity for balanced evaluation of impacts. Prior information to permit proper evaluation or perhaps interpretation of landscape importance is particularly relevant to making sure the discretionary approach works. A recent Australian commentator stressed the importance of fuller information for planners to act on.

'it is absolutely critical that prior to a decision making regarding a development proposal which may impact upon a sensitive environmental area, such as a significant landscape, the decision maker should insist upon a full appraisal of landscape values of the subject land in the context of its locality. Preferably the identification of landscape significance should have been approached strategically on a district wide basis ahead of development proposals.' 37

The recently published draft guidelines on landscape character assessment 38 attempts to do this by proposing a methodology by which planning authorities can conduct landscape assessment generally as an aid to better decision-making. The draft urges planning authorities to conduct landscape assessment based on identification of landscape character (landform and landcover), landscape values (benefits to

38 Department of the Environment, Landscape and Landscape Assessment: Consultation Draft of Guidelines for Planning Authorities, Department of the Environment, 2000
community) and landscape sensitivity (capacity to absorb development). While providing a best practice methodology, its effective use will undoubtedly require a major effort from planning authorities, when arranging the assessment on all their mainly rural landscapes. Local authorities are traditionally under resourced in planning terms and subject to local political control. It seems highly unlikely that the recommended approach will gain currency for some time.

Thus, the draft guidelines are surely correct when they acknowledge

‘that planning law on its own is not sufficient to ensure the management, development and conservation of our landscapes and that other inputs from local and national agencies are required.’

The prescriptive approach to scenic landscape protection arguably falls outside planning law, as it is generally understood, since it allows minimum or no discretion and a much-reduced role for planners as decision-makers. The legislature whether by means of primary or secondary legislation, makes the choice as to which landscapes should be afforded what level of protection against development. Few states, so far as one is aware, adapt the prescriptive approach within their planning framework.

But states do adopt prescriptive approaches to protecting landscape outside their planning systems, where the value to be protected derives from the wildlife, natural or man-made heritage. Ireland is no exception. It has long standing bodies of law protecting national monuments, national and specific parks and wildlife habitats. The administration of this landscape protection is centrally carried out with little input from local authorities. It is more likely to be more immune to local political pressures and to be consistently and adequately funded and managed. Areas to be protected are designated nationally, after necessary local consultation according to nation-wide criteria and permission is required from a national source before activities affecting the value of the site can be undertaken.

The importance of this centrally managed approach to landscape protection, especially from a natural heritage viewpoint, is likely to increase in the future. This is particularly true as the implementation of the Natura 2000, a network of special areas of conservation, is gaining momentum and its domestic equivalent in Ireland – national heritage area designated under the Wildlife Amendment Act 2000 – also becomes operative. Huge work has already gone into the preparation and management of these designations.

Many of the areas, which these designations cover, are also either landscapes of scenic importance or else are wilderness/rugged landscapes. What this means is that, indirectly, a prescriptive approach to protecting scenic landscapes in environmentally important areas is already taking place. One can have hope that these indirect controls carry a greater potential for protecting nationally important scenic landscapes than local planning controls.

39 At p 7
Thereafter, the debate centres on whether scenic value is sufficiently important in itself to justify a directly specific national approach to scenery protection. Being realistic the debate seems somewhat moot, since if indirect means prove adequate, neither executive nor legislature seem likely to act further merely for the sake of formal appearances.

Conclusion
Despite the positive outcomes in the cases under review, it remains unclear whether the planning system, as presently constituted, can adequately protect scenic landscapes from insensitive tourism development. Too much depends on the dynamics of individual cases and the energy of opponents in pursuing planning appeals. Proper and balanced evaluation of all relevant impacts is a complex difficult exercise, which is aggravated by the shifting parameters of the planning framework and by too heavy a reliance on the uncertainties of future economic benefit. Indeed, the dependence of the balancing process on the way county Development Plans are expressed and interpreted and on prevailing economic circumstances is too potent. As a legal concept sustainability should add a new dimension to the balancing process required by planning law. It is too early to know, whether its recent introduction into the legal framework of planning, will result in an altered balancing process being used by planners when faced with the tourism paradox. At a minimum improved information and methodologies regarding assessing landscape importance are needed to help planners. But even this has it shortcomings, since it again requires complex evaluations on an almost daily basis. Alternative strategies can strike different balances between the discretionary approach of the planning process and directly prescriptive legislation. The prescriptive approach towards the protection of wildlife habitats and natural heritage sites may ultimately hold greater potential for fuller albeit indirect scenic landscape protection, based as it is on central state identification of relevant sites and central state resourcing and management of those sites.
CAN LOCAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS BENEFIT FROM EMPLOYING THE ISO 9000:2000 QUALITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM?

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ABSTRACT

In view of the need to establish a destination-wide quality management system as a source of quality improvement at local tourism destinations, this paper considers the applicability of ISO 9000:2000 for developing such a system. Through extensive content analysis of the standard and the analysis of potential opportunities and threats associated with the use of this model at the level of local tourism destinations, this paper attempts to answer the question, whether local tourism destinations can benefit from employing the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. It argues that the creation of a local tourism destination management organisation constitutes a prerequisite for effective employment of ISO 9000:2000 within tourism destinations. The paper concludes that despite some threats associated with the development of a destination-wide ISO 9000:2000 quality management system, local tourism destinations can benefit from employment of this system.

KEY WORDS

local tourism destinations, ISO 9000:2000, quality management system, improvement, competitiveness, standard, destination management organisation (DMO)

INTRODUCTION

Many researchers within the field of tourism agree that the future success of local tourism destinations depends on their ability to continually manage and improve the quality of local tourism destinations. The need for quality enhancement of tourism destinations is also widely recognised and supported by tourism public bodies (e.g. BTA, 2000; Go and Govers, 2000; European Commission, 2001). In England, for example, quality improvement is seen as an immediate priority for English tourism, as agreed at the Tourism Summit that took place in March 2001 (ETC, 2001). To date, in response to the recommendations contained in the English Tourism Council's policy
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"Tomorrow's Tourism", the tourism industry in England has undertaken a total of 14 initiatives within the area of raising standards and quality (ETC, 2001). These actions reflect the sector-specific approach to improving the quality of particular components of the destination tourism product (e.g. accommodation sector, attraction sector). While, according to Deming and other quality experts, setting the quality standards for particular products constitutes the first step on the road to quality enhancement, the employment of an appropriate system for managing quality within an organisation is the actual source of quality improvement (Evans and Lindsay, 1999). As no specific system for managing quality at local tourism destinations has been elaborated so far, the aim of improving quality within these areas seems hardly attainable. One way of overcoming the problem, of the lack of a specific framework for developing a destination-wide quality management system, is to consider the applicability of the generic quality management systems to managing quality at local tourism destinations. This paper discusses the outcome of a content analysis of the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system, which was undertaken with a view to answering the question posed in the title of this paper: Can local tourism destinations benefit from employing the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system?

The outcome of preliminary primary research into the level of awareness of the ISO 9000:2000 system among UK local tourism destination organisations are also discussed.

WHAT IS ISO 9000:2000?
ISO 9000:2000 is a series of international voluntary standards that provide a framework for developing quality management systems within organisations. Although it is a family of standards, guidelines, and specific tools, for convenience they are referred to under the generic title "ISO 9000:2000". The major components of the series include:

ISO 9000:2000, Quality management systems – Fundamentals and vocabulary
ISO 9001:2000, Quality management systems – Requirements

While referred to as a "new" quality management standard, ISO 9000 was actually first published in 1987 and then revised in 1994. The updated version of the standard was published in December 2000.

Within the ISO 9000:2000 family of standards, ISO 9001:2000 is the only standard that specifies the requirements for a quality management system, which should aim at enhancing customer satisfaction through meeting customer, statutory and regulatory requirements. Therefore, it is the only standard against which an organisation can be externally assessed for the purpose of obtaining a certificate of conformance to the standard's requirements (ISO, 2001c). Once an organisation has fulfilled the requirements of ISO 9001:2000, it can embark on the road towards further improvement of its quality management system and attainment of wider quality goals, such as exceeding customer requirements and enhancing satisfaction of all the stakeholders. This can be facilitated by ISO 9004:2000, which is designed as a
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framework for an organisation's self-assessment of its progress towards the attainment of these goals. As both ISO 9001:2000 and ISO 9004:2000 are structured in the same way and use the same vocabulary (defined in ISO 9000:2000) they are referred to as a "consistent pair" of quality management standards (ISO, 2000d). While the ISO 9001:2000 is expected to lead to increased effectiveness of the quality management system, the ISO 9004:2000 should lead to improved efficiency of the organisation, which will be ultimately reflected in the organisation's increased competitive advantage and an improved ability to respond to customer requirements (BSI, 2001a).

WHAT DISTINGUISHES ISO 9000:2000 FROM OTHER QUALITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS?
ISO 9000:2000 is by no means the only model for developing quality management systems. The European Foundation for Quality Management (EFQM) Excellence Model and the Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award are among the other most popular frameworks used by organisations to establish their quality management systems. While all these models (including ISO 9000:2000) reflect the latest developments within the management theory and practice, ISO 9000:2000 possesses three unique features: (1) the status of an international standard (2) an opportunity for certification and (3) stakeholders' input.

ISO 9000:2000 as an international standard
ISO 9000:2000 is an international voluntary standard developed by the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO), which is a non-governmental federation of national standards bodies from 138 countries world-wide (ISO, 2001d). The purpose of this Geneva-based organisation established in 1947 is to develop and promote common international standards that facilitate international trade (ISO 1999a). By the end of 2000, the ISO published 13,025 standards and standards-type documents. Among these, ISO 9000 is one of the best known standards developed by this organisation.

ISO 9000:2000 is truly international. National standards bodies from more than 120 countries currently support the standard (Praxiom, 2000). This distinguishes the ISO 9000:2000 standard from other quality management frameworks, which cannot be characterised by such a degree of international orientation.

As a standard, ISO 9000:2000 becomes an important common reference for quality requirements. It serves as the language of trade, since conformance to this standard carries a recognisable message about the ways in which a tourism organisation is managed.

ISO 9000:2000 certification
Conformance of an organisation's quality management system to the ISO 9001:2000 requirements can be assessed by an independent certification body (e.g. in the UK the British Standards Institute - BSI). This process, known as the conformity assessment process, constitutes the first step in the certification process. Subject to fulfilling the requirements by the organisation, the certification body then issues a certificate of conformance to the ISO 9001:2000 standard, which is verified on a regular basis (ISO,

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1 The potential opportunities resulting from the ISO 9000:2000 international standard status as well as from ISO 9000:2000 certification are discussed within section 6 of this paper.
Thus any organisation which goes through this process can obtain formal recognition.

**Stakeholders' input**
The ISO 9000:2000 family of standards resulted from agreements reached between national delegations of experts from businesses, governments and other relevant organisations (ISO, 1999a). The standard therefore takes into account and reflects the needs and interests of all stakeholders.

With the international nature of tourism and the increasing number of customers who demand an international standard of quality, the choice of ISO 9000:2000 as a framework for developing quality management system seems logical. The unique features of the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system that distinguish it from other well-established frameworks constitute the major reason why ISO 9000:2000 has been chosen as the basis for analysing the applicability of the existing quality management systems to local tourism destinations.

**WHAT MAKES THE STANDARD APPLICABLE TO LOCAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS?**
One of the major purposes of the recent revisions of ISO 9000 was to ensure that the new ISO 9000:2000 standard is explicitly generic and thus applicable to all types of organisations, regardless of the economic sector they represent, their size or their ownership structures. The definitions, approach, principles, requirements, and flexibility of the standard, combined with the simple and user-friendly language in which the revised ISO 9000 is written, fully reflect the generic nature of the standard.

In ISO 9000:2000 "quality" refers to "[...] all those features of a product (or service) which are required by the customer", while "quality management" refers to "[...] what the organisation does to ensure that its products conform to the customer's requirements" (ISO, 2000a). The standard therefore does not refer to the quality attributes of a particular product, but to the way in which quality is managed within an organisation. This is reflected in the eight quality management principles, upon which ISO 9000:2000 is based. The quality management principles represent the "state of the art" approach to managing quality in the modern world. They are carefully designed to reflect the needs of all organisations. Indeed, customer focus, leadership, involvement of people, continual improvement, factual approach to decision making, mutually beneficial supplier relationships, process approach and system approach to management are all important ingredients of contemporary quality management thinking and practice.

The process approach, as opposed to "procedure" approach, is central to the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. This approach is of particular importance in making the standard generic. ISO 9000:2000 defines a "process" as "[...] a set of interrelated and interacting activities which transform inputs into outputs" (ISO, 2001b). The key generic processes that should take place in every organisation are identified as the five sections of the ISO 9001:2000 requirements (see Table 1).
Table 1. Major requirements for a quality management system within the ISO 9001:2000 standard

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION*</th>
<th>MAJOR REQUIREMENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4 Quality Management System | 4.1 Establishing a quality management system.  
| | 4.2 Documenting the quality management system. |
| 5 Management Responsibilities | 5.1 Management Commitment.  
| | 5.2 Customer Focus.  
| | 5.3 Quality Policy.  
| | 5.4 Planning.  
| | 5.5 Administration.  
| | 5.6 Management Review. |
| | 6.2 Human Resources.  
| | 6.3 Facilities.  
| | 6.4 Work Environment. |
| 7 Product Realisation | 7.1 Planning of Realisation Process.  
| | 7.2 Customer-related Processes.  
| | 7.3 Design and/or Development.  
| | 7.4 Purchasing.  
| | 7.5 Production and Service Operations.  
| | 7.6 Control of Measuring and Monitoring Devices. |
| 8 Measurement, Analysis and Improvement | 8.1 Planning.  
| | 8.2 Measuring and Monitoring.  
| | 8.3 Control of Nonconformity.  
| | 8.4 Analysis of Data.  
| | 8.5 Improvement. |


Source: This table was prepared by the author, using the information from two sources: ISO, 2001a and Praxiom, 2000.

Furthermore, the key processes that lead to product realisation (Section 7 of ISO 9001:2000), which refers to "[...] the interconnected processes that are used to bring products into being" are also indicated. However, every organisation that develops its quality management system according to these guidelines is expected to define the scope of its quality management system. This system should cover all unique processes that lead to product realisation. ISO 9000:2000 introduces a concept of "permissible exclusions" to the scope of the standard, which recognises that owing to the nature of an organisation's product, customer requirements or applicable regulatory requirements, some of the requirements of the ISO 9001:2000 Clause 7 may not be appropriate to every organisation (Praxiom, 2001b). This makes the standard highly flexible allowing
organisations from different sectors to develop their own unique implementation frameworks, which reflect the needs of a particular organisation. The flexibility of ISO 9000:2000 is also reflected in the overall design of the standard, which specifies only what requirements need to be met. It does not, however, state how these requirements are to be met, which is left for an individual organisation to elaborate (ISO, 2001f).

In principle, the generic nature of ISO 9000:2000 makes the standard applicable to all tourism organisations. However, which organisations within local tourism destinations could practically use this standard?

**WHO CAN USE THE ISO 9000:2000 WITHIN LOCAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS?**

ISO 9000:2000 uses the term "organisation" with reference to the user of this standard, which is defined as a private or publicly owned company, corporation, firm or institution that has its own scope of activity, functions and organisational structure (Praxiom, 2001a). As the scope of activity is to be defined by the organisation, any tourism organisation operating within a local tourism destination can follow the ISO 9000:2000 framework for developing its own system for managing quality. There are three major reasons, however, that call for establishing a destination-wide quality management system, rather than a number of separate quality management systems to be employed by individual tourism organisations. These are the expectations of tourist, the unique features of the destination tourism product and the cost associated with establishing and implementing the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. Today's tourists (i.e. visitors who stay overnight at a particular tourism destination) expect satisfaction with their entire tourist experience at a given local tourism destination, rather than merely with the individual component(s) of the total tourism product (e.g. accommodation, catering, activities) that they consume within the destination at different times and places (Ryan, 1997).

When confronting the expectations of contemporary tourists with a fragmented local tourism destination product, one can easily realise that a tourism business that operates in isolation from other businesses/organisations within a given local destination will hardly be able to meet the widespread expectations of today's tourists. A well managed and quality conscious business (e.g. a hotel) will, in most cases, succeed in meeting the specific requirements of its customers; where those requirements, relate only to the scope of that establishment's activities. This will represent only a fraction of the total tourism product that the tourist consumes at the destination. Commitment to quality within an individual tourism establishment will undoubtedly increase the customer loyalty towards that particular business. However, it will not necessarily increase customer loyalty towards the entire local tourism destination within which that individual tourism establishment is situated.

Another reason that calls for the establishment of a destination-wide quality management system is the cost associated with the development and implementation of the ISO 9000:2000 system. Many tourism businesses that operate within local tourism destinations are micro businesses (employing up to ten people), whose profit margins are narrow. Within the service sector the cost of the certification process alone
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conducted by BSI ranges from £1500 to £2000 for micro businesses (BSI, 2001b). As the development of an ISO 9000:2000 quality management system is a long-term initiative, it is unlikely that individual tourism businesses within local tourism destinations will decide on such an investment.

A destination-wide approach towards quality management assumes that top managers of all those organisations at the local tourism destination - whether private, public or voluntary - which contribute to the development of the destination tourism product are involved in the establishment and implementation of the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. However, as ISO 9000:2000 refers to "organisations" as the users of this standard, a local tourism destination that wishes to follow the ISO 9000:2000 framework for quality management needs to establish a formal organisational platform for the joint activities of those organisations. Indeed, the existence of a formal local destination management organisation (DMO) constitutes a pre-requisite for developing and implementing a destination-wide ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. Some local tourism destinations already possess such organisational structures, in the form of public-private tourism partnerships, local tourism associations or local tourism marketing consortia.

The formal nature of such local tourism DMOs is reflected in the establishment of effective leadership and co-ordination structures. ISO 9000:2000 defines top management as " [...] a person or a group of people who direct and control an organisation at the highest level" (BSI, 2001a). Within the framework of a local tourism DMO, the top management group could consist of managers representing the key local tourism organisations that contribute to the development of the destination tourism product.

Given the need for the involvement of all those destination stakeholders whose activities contribute to overall tourist satisfaction and the complexity of relations among those stakeholders, local tourism DMOs need to be established at a very local level.

The specific geographical boundaries within, which a local tourism DMO operates, are determined by a number of items:

- the nature of the products that the DMO wishes to offer to its customers;
- by the scope of the ISO 9001:2000 quality management system that the DMO wishes to employ; and
- by the specific commercial and social considerations that the DMO needs to take into account while developing such a system.

Although, a collaborative approach to managing local tourism destinations has both its advantages and disadvantages a detailed discussion of these is beyond the scope of this project. It is apparent however, that the economies of scale associated with such an approach, together with the potential ability of a destination to meet the expectations of contemporary tourists, constitute major incentives for taking a formal collaborative approach towards managing quality at local tourism destinations.
WHY SHOULD LOCAL TOURISM DESTINATIONS DEVELOP THE ISO 9000:2000 QUALITY MANAGEMENT SYSTEM?

The establishment of a quality management system that follows the ISO 9000:2000 framework offers local tourism destinations a number of opportunities that address the many challenges that the destinations face today. These opportunities result from (1) the international orientation of the standard, (2) ISO 9000:2000 certification, (3) the unique principles and requirements of ISO 9000:2000, and (4) the compatibility of the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system with the ISO 14000 environmental management system.

Opportunities resulting from the international orientation of the standard

The tourism industry suffers currently from the existence of a number of non-harmonised standards across the world (e.g. accommodation standards), which constitute a significant barrier to international tourist trade. ISO 9000:2000 being an internationally recognised standard can help to reduce this problem. However, as a standard for managing quality, ISO 9000:2000 is neither exhaustive nor will it replace existing standards within the tourism sector. On the contrary, the new standard requires the management to conform to legal/regulatory requirements typical to the activities of a particular organisation. ISO 9000:2000 will nonetheless facilitate more rationalised, easier and fairer international tourist trade.

Opportunities resulting from ISO 9000:2000 certification

ISO 9001:2000 certificates are respected throughout the world and as a sign of acceptability can save local tourism destinations time and money in their attempts to prove that quality is managed professionally. Certification to ISO 9000:2000 of a destination-wide quality management system may enhance the destination's transparency, increase its reliability, give it market recognition and enhance its customers' confidence. The organisation's trading partners and consumers can make more informed choices and objectively assess the quality of the destination's performance prior to purchasing its product. Consequently, ISO 9001:2000 certification increases the appeal to the potential customers and therefore creates wider market opportunities.

Opportunities resulting from the unique principles and requirements of ISO 9000:2000

Principle 1: Customer focus

Customer focus is recognised to be one of the decisive factors of local tourism destinations' success. The question, however, is how to manage a destination in order to ensure such customer focus. The strong customer orientation of ISO 9000:2000 can help in answering this question. The standard requires that the top management determines customer needs and expectations, converts them into requirements and fulfils them (Praxiom, 2001b).

Customer focus, as interpreted within ISO 9000:2000, enables local tourism destinations to respond fast to market opportunities and increase customer
satisfaction/loyalty while making a more effective and targeted use of organisation's resources.

**Principle 2: Leadership**

Strong leadership is of particular importance to the success of local tourism destinations, which often face the problem of conflicting interests of the local stakeholders. Adherence to ISO 9000:2000 can strengthen the leadership at the destination level. The unique role of the leaders involves the provision of a sense of direction for the organisation and unity of purpose among members of the organisation. ISO 9001:2000 outlines some requirements associated with this principle.

In particular, management needs to be fully committed to attaining the goals of an organisation, establishing a clear vision for the organisation's future, setting goals and targets, designing organisational responsibilities and authorities and developing an effective internal communication process (ISO, 2001a). A strong commitment to this ISO 9000:2000 principle creates therefore an opportunity for local tourism destinations to reduce the problem of conflicting interests among the destination stakeholders. It will also contribute to the improvement of internal communication within the destination.

**Principle 3: Involvement of people**

This principle stresses the importance of people employed at every level in the organisation and their full involvement in the attainment of the organisation. Their contribution to specifying ways in which they wish to do their jobs is particularly important. To this end, ISO 9001:2000 encourages organisations to ensure that employees understand the significance of their role and contribution to the attainment of organisational objectives, and that they actively seek opportunities to enhance their skills, knowledge and experience (ISO, 2000c).

With tourism being a "people industry", adherence to this principle is of particular importance for local tourism destinations, especially where many employees work on a part-time or seasonal basis, with low pay being a common demotivating factor. Creating a culture of people involvement increases staff motivation, morale, accountability, quality consciousness and commitment to continual improvement. It may also open further opportunities for employees' increased innovation, creativity and increased job satisfaction, leading ultimately to reduced staff turnover.

**Principle 4: Process approach**

A lack of consistency of actions, duplication of effort and inefficient use of resources characterises many local tourism destinations. This is where the process approach may assist destinations in alleviating these problems.

The process approach to management requires viewing all activities and operations within an organisation as processes, i.e. activities that receive inputs from the environment and convert them into outputs, where the outputs from one process often directly form the input into the next process (ISO, 2001b). Section 4 of the ISO 9001:2000 requirements fully relates to process management. Organisations are
expected to start the design of their quality management system with identifying and describing the processes that make up the quality system and then monitoring and improving the performance of these processes. Requirements regarding some of the specific processes that lead to product realisation are discussed in Section 7 of the ISO 9001:2000 standard.

As the process approach is not very common at the level of tourism destinations, the application of ISO 9000:2000 can encourage a significant shift in the ways the destinations are managed. The process-oriented way of managing resources and activities within local tourism destinations leads to a more efficient attainment of the desired results and greater consistency of the destination system. Detailed attention to the activities that take place at the local level in terms of the interacting processes may result in an improved ability of the destinations to identify the missing or duplicated activities as well as the sources of inefficiency. This, in turn, will enable tourism destinations to prioritise improvement opportunities.

The process approach to managing quality at tourism destinations creates also an opportunity for greater integration of the local stakeholders, increased effectiveness in the use of resources, and greater predictability of results. As the process approach requires establishing clear responsibility and accountability for managing key activities, it also creates an opportunity for improved understanding among the key stakeholders and improved collaboration at the local level. These opportunities are further strengthened by the next ISO 9000:2000 principle, i.e. system approach to management, as an ISO 9001:2000 quality management system is actually made up of many processes.
Principle 5: System approach to management
In recognition of the need for a system approach to quality management, ISO 9001:2000 requires organisations to establish a formal system of quality management in which the processes identified by an organisation are integrated by means of input-output relationships. Identification of these linkages constitute the essence of a quality management system (ISO, 2000c). The ways in which specific processes within a system operate also need to be defined through the establishment of appropriate policies and procedures. Furthermore, the roles and responsibilities of the members of the organisation need to be specified. The quality management system established in such a way needs to be reviewed, measured and evaluated to ensure its continual improvement.

Local tourism destinations can greatly benefit from employing a system approach to managing quality. Not only will such an approach reduce cross-functional and cross-organisational barriers, but it will also ensure an effective and efficient use of resources. Furthermore, a clear structure of and interrelations between the activities needed for meeting the expectations of the customers will enable everyone within the system to understand the scope of their responsibilities; not only in terms of "what", but also in terms of "when", "how", "why" and "where". Thus a well-designed quality management system can ensure consistency of activities undertaken by the many providers of the tourism services within the destination and an improvement of in working practices. These should lead to offering a suite of tourism products that meet customer needs and legal/regulatory requirements.

Principle 6: Continual improvement
The rapidly changing expectations of tourists; growing stakeholders' expectations of the performance of a tourism destination and the economic, social and environmental benefits of investment in tourism at the local level, constitutes some of the major challenges for the management of tourism destinations. This is where the emphasis on continual improvement, one of the principles of ISO 9000:2000, can assist local tourism destinations in meeting these challenges. Indeed, continual improvement aims at "[...] continually increasing the effectiveness and/or efficiency of the organisation to fulfil its policies and objectives" (ISO, 1999b).

ISO 9000:2000 emphasises the need to make improvements to the processes and the overall organisation's performance on a continual basis. This is clearly reflected in the requirements of ISO 9001:2000, particularly within section 8 "Measurement, Analysis and Improvement". Specifically, a consistent approach to continual improvement is encouraged, this needs to be supported by setting improvement goals and by an ability to recognise and acknowledge the improvements. Continual improvement requires equipping employees with appropriate methods and tools, as well as the provision of essential training.

Such a dynamic approach to managing quality creates a number of opportunities for local tourism destinations. Not only will their ability to react quickly to market changes increase, but one can expect the overall performance of the destination to continually improve in terms of producing fiscal results. These expectations are in line stakeholders
requirements. Self-assessment, which is a driver for improvement and which is facilitated by ISO 9004:2000, may encourage local tourism destinations to look beyond the requirements of ISO 9001:2000 and strengthen their efforts towards attaining business excellence.

Principle 7: Factual approach to decision making
A shortage of data and information is one of the most fundamental problems facing many local tourism destinations. This normally affects such areas as:

- customer requirements
- customer satisfaction
- job satisfaction
- overall performance of the destination
- major tourism trends
- skills shortages
- investment opportunities

This is mainly due to the lack of resources for collecting such data, on a regular basis and the lack of motivation for conducting such extensive research at the destination level. ISO 9000:2000 underscores the need for taking a factual approach to decision making, which requires collecting reliable and accurate data with reference to each of the processes that take place within the organisation, analysing the data and determining where the quality management system can be improved. Such an approach will lead to making decisions based on facts, which need to be balanced with intuition and experience (Praxiom, 2001b). This principle and the associated requirements of ISO 9001:2000 create an opportunity for local tourism destinations to improve their database, which will lead to making more informed decisions.

Principle 8. Mutually beneficial supplier relationships
The nature of the tourism destination product calls for securing good relationships with the suppliers, which can be facilitated by following principle 8 of ISO 9000:2000. This section promotes the establishment of long-term mutually beneficial relationships with a limited number of suppliers (ISO, 2001a). Such an approach is essential for a quality management system to operate effectively, as an organisation and its suppliers are interdependent.

The approach to managing supplier relationships proposed within ISO 9000:2000 can contribute to the optimisation of a destination's costs and resources. The establishment of healthy relationships with suppliers, which require open communication, sharing information and agreeing on joint improvement activities, may increase the ability of the destination to create value for all involved parties. Furthermore, it will increase the understanding between the local tourism destination and its suppliers, leading to more co-ordinated actions aimed at satisfying the requirements of the consumers. Simultaneously, satisfaction of the suppliers will increase, as they will benefit from stability, growth, partnership and mutual understanding.
Opportunities resulting from the compatibility of ISO 9000:2000 quality management system with ISO 14000 environmental management system

Sustainable tourism development constitutes one of the two top priorities, alongside quality improvement, of the majority of local tourism destinations. As ISO 9000:2000 is compatible with the ISO 14000 environmental management standard in terms of the process approach and the use of consistent terminology, a local tourism destination can address both of these priorities within the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system. Indeed, the two responsible ISO technical committees (TC 176 and TC 207) are currently developing a single auditing standard (ISO 19011 - Guidelines on Quality and/or Environmental Management Systems Auditing), which will be used for auditing both the ISO 9001:2000 quality management system and the ISO 14001 environmental management system. It is scheduled for publication in 2002 (ISO, 2000a).

The establishment of one system that conforms to both the ISO 9001:2000 and ISO 14000 will save time and money. Two areas vital for local tourism destinations in addressing their two top priorities; the priority of improving quality and the priority of sustainable development, which will benefit both the consumers, the environment, and society.

The above analysis indicates that ISO 9000:2000 provides a framework for satisfying the needs of customers (i.e. tourists, trading partners and employees), constant progress and increased profitability of the local tourism destination. During the implementation process one must be fully cognisant, that the system have a number of inherent risks, such as over-dependence of individual tourism organisations this system; the free-riders syndrome; raising the expectations of the members of the local tourism DMO as to the benefits of the system; or treating the certification as the ultimate goal of establishing the system. Despite these potential threats, the implementation of the destinations-wide quality management system, the employment of ISO 9000:2000 can greatly benefit tourism destinations. Indeed, adherence to the principles of the system and wise implementation of the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system can even offset the threats identified above.

WHICH WAY FORWARD?
The latest survey conducted by the ISO, on 31st December 2000, indicates that while there were 408,631 ISO 9000 certified organisations across 158 countries - with Europe's regional share of 53,87 % and the UK's biggest individual share in the world of 19% - the tourism industry captured within the sector of "Hotels and Restaurants" accounted for only 0.3% of all ISO 9000 certified companies in the world (ISO, 2001e). Previous studies on ISO 9000 and the tourism industry (e.g. Augustyn and Pheby, 2000) indicate some of the reasons for the low popularity of ISO 9000 within the tourism industry. One of the most important reasons identified was the potential lack of awareness of the standard within the tourism industry.

The outcome of a recent (August 2001) preliminary primary study into the level of awareness of the ISO 9000:2000 system among UK tourism destination organisations confirms this thesis. A specifically designed e-mail questionnaire reached a randomly selected sample of 77 UK local tourism destinations that promote themselves on the
internet, of which 83% were situated in England, 9% in Wales, 1% in Northern Ireland and 7% in UK Islands. The overall response rate was 26%. Regionally, the response rate was 25% for England, 29% for Wales, 100% for Northern Ireland and 21% for UK Islands. 100% of the respondents represented the public sector, i.e. tourism units within local authorities. Only one out of 20 responses received indicated that the local tourism management unit was aware of the ISO 9000:2000 standard. The remaining 19 units (95%) were unaware of the standard. All of these 19 units expressed an interest in learning more about the ISO 9000:2000 standard.

If local tourism destinations are to benefit from employing the ISO 9000:2000 quality management system, the first step towards attaining this goal is to improve the awareness of the standard among its potential users. Both local authorities and private enterprises may play an important role in stimulating the establishment of destination-wide ISO 9000:2000 quality management systems. They will not, however, be able to do so without understanding the principles of the ISO 9000:2000 and the opportunities for tourism destinations that the application of this quality management system provides.

CONCLUSION

Competing on quality rather than price is what modern management theory and practice perceives as a success strategy. Competing on quality with reference to local tourism destinations means not only conformance to specific product-oriented standard; competing on quality means managing all processes that contribute to the development and delivery of the destination tourism product within the framework of a destination-wide quality management system. ISO 9000:2000 provides a useful, proactive and dynamic framework that local tourism destinations may follow in their attempts to establish such a system. The widespread opportunities for offsetting many of the challenges currently facing local tourism destination that ISO 9000:2000 provides, combined with the opportunity of gaining market recognition, makes following the ISO 9000:2000 framework for quality management a logical choice.
References


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ABSTRACT

This paper explores a theoretical approach to clustering to form a model for the potential development of small-scale regional tourism activities. Rural decline, the diminution of economic opportunity and regional inequity are evident in Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and many of the peripheral areas in North America and Europe. As a consequence, any opportunity that might lead to an expansion of regional growth, whether based on tourism or some other industry, becomes a compelling issue for policy analysis, particularly if it offers the prospect of enhanced employment and the maintenance of community values and lifestyles. This paper outlines an approach to the development of regional economies through tourism clusters based on an holistic model for application to micro-environments, where small communities create their own regional competitive advantages whilst retaining control of their own development processes. The model makes use of Porter's (1990; 1998) location and clustering principles, with an adaptation of his Diamond framework to allow for the significance of complementary products as the dynamic to initiate clustering in micro-environments. In this way, the paper moves towards the construction of an integrated and operational theory for use by public decision-makers and analysts alike.

KEY WORDS

Clusters; regional economic growth; tourism; micro-markets; complementarity; competitive advantages; public policy.

BACKGROUND

This paper marks the third stage in a project that is seeking to identify an optimal strategy for enhancing the growth of tourism activities in peripheral markets. Its particular concern is with rural environments where the opportunities for economic development are progressively diminishing; or, where they do arise, are based on...
technologies that are unlikely to bring substantive gains in wealth or employment to the existing residential communities. The project’s focus is not with the planning requirement per se, important though it may be, but rather with the demand for an holistic explanation of the forces for regional tourism growth and the compelling need to devise a policy framework for general application.

Earlier research, using the Antiques industry in Australia as a demonstration study (Michael, 1999), illustrated the existence of micro (or niche) markets which generate a demand for travel in regional areas that are often dominated by domestic tourists. In part, those observations simply confirm conventional wisdom, in that the development of many regional tourism activities appears to rely heavily on geographic accumulations of niche markets to provide attractive (or competitive) destinations. However, those results also imply that the more successful micro-markets exhibit a pattern of locational clustering that, in turn, appears to generate a range of accelerated economic and social benefits for some communities.

The hypothesis that suggests itself from these findings is that micro-markets of this type, when operating in a cluster formation, are capable of creating new tourism functions (or destinations) with a competitive advantage in their own right, if the appropriate circumstances exist. The issue for policy-making is how to convert this proposition into a valid and theoretically sound approach to development.

Given the problems of rural decline, the diminution of economic opportunity and regional inequity in parts of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and many of the peripheral regions in North America and Europe, any potential to expand regional growth warrants further exploration. The need is even more compelling where an industry, like Tourism, offers potential employment growth and the maintenance of community values and lifestyles. The concept of growth through Tourism Clusters reaffirms the principles that economic benefits derive essentially from multiplier effects, while social benefits usually stem from externalities, but it also brings the two into a combination that can be directed by local community interests to strengthen their own well-being. The intriguing element of this proposition lies in its micro scale, and its potential for small tourism communities to remain in control of their own development processes, thus adding a political dimension to the resolution of development possibilities that overcomes much of the contemporary resistance to central planning initiatives.

This paper brings together earlier work by the authors of separate considerations of micro-markets and competitive advantage into a single statement of the potential of clustering theory to contribute to the development of small-scale regional tourism (Hopkins, 2001; Michael 2001a). Much has been written on location and clustering in strategic planning (notably Porter, 1990; 1998) and on the related issues of collaboration and alliance management (Huxham, 1996; Garai, 1999; Garnham, 1996; Reed, 1999) as approaches to competitive advantage. Despite the volume of literature, it is rare for the theorists to contemplate the forces that actually initiate and enhance clustering development, and any analysis applicable to micro-environments is rarer still. Clustering theory does not offer a panacea for regional development, but rather
Tourism Destination Planning provides a conceptual framework for development policies in particular market circumstances that might create substantial and sustainable opportunities for local growth.

The application of clustering concepts in the real world over the last few decades is littered with as many examples of policy failure as there are of success, giving public-sector decision-makers good reason to doubt its potential as a development tool. In the past, part of the problem has been the absence of a comprehensive understanding of the processes that lead to clustering in small communities and of the impacts these have: but part of the problem has also been in the theory’s own internal inconsistencies that this paper seeks to resolve. Without a theoretical consensus, the analyst is left to rely only on case-by-case empirical assessments to identify the dynamics that lead to the successful clustering of a regional niche industry, or of the social implications that stem from it. This is hardly the basis for a consistent approach to policy-making.

This paper, then, establishes its context in a way that is matched with the objectives of economic development and the contemporary demands of community-based policy. It reviews the theoretical issues behind the concepts of clustering in micro-markets, and demonstrates the potential of clustering theory for application to tourism development in regional areas.

ISSUES IN POLICY AND THEORY - CLUSTERS OR ALLIANCES

The earlier approaches to regional tourism policy were often off-shoots of regional equalisation schemes, or based on sporadic icon developments driven by central planning initiatives. To some extent, in OECD countries anyway, these have been displaced by new concepts about the competitiveness of regions and the decentralisation of resource allocation decisions that deliver positive outcomes consistent with existing community needs and values (Hugonnier, 1999). Tourism growth policies, however, are only one element of the range of solutions that may help to stimulate a regional revival, and, of course, must be treated accordingly. They are relevant, nonetheless, in that Tourism growth offers multiple externalities (both positive and negative) that can contribute different solutions in some local circumstances. This suggests an approach to tourism development policy that incorporates it as part of a holistic approach to development. It must also recognise that tourism is a dynamic for change in those localities for which a competitive advantage can be created.

In the global marketplace, local governments, industries and communities are necessarily and increasingly being required to reassess their business and social strategies as they adjust to the dynamics of new technologies and increasing competition. In such an environment, formal tactical and strategic alliances are often presented as essential components of business strategy. However, such alliances can vary in their structure, their duration and their outcomes. It is important to understand these differences for “... (S)ome alliances are no more than fleeting encounters, lasting only as long as it takes one partner to establish a beachhead in a new market” (Kanter, 1994: 96). Garnham (1996) suggests that there are essentially three types of alliance:
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- **Opportunistic** – short lived associations formed to exploit a particular opportunity, e.g., short term tours;
- **Tactical** – for the medium term, e.g., Frequent Flyer programmes; or
- **Strategic** – established for the long term and often involving cross-equity holdings.

Alliances between commercial partners or firms provide one means to integrate related activities in an industry’s value chain. Airlines, for example, have strategic alliances on a global scale with significant **horizontal integration** in travel agencies, sometimes pursued in the form of takeovers or mergers (Garnham, 1996). Alliances may also have **vertical integration** (backward and forward) components that might also lead to increased control over the industry’s value chain. Tour operators for instance, sometimes integrate forward into retail distribution, marketing and sales, but rarely into the control of infrastructure, such as charter airlines or hotels. Airlines do not build their own planes or airports (backward integration) but commonly integrate forward into marketing, sales, tour-packages and charter flights.

Alliances form to enhance some of the key success factors associated with the development of a competitive advantage, and might present a logical strategy for firms that are geographically concentrated. Alliances, in the form of joint ventures, franchises or common marketing agreements are often based on varying degrees of integration or cross ownership or control, but for small-scale tourism development such strategies raise a number of problems: goal incongruity, high transaction costs, issues of trust and commitment, historical and parochial rivalries, the inability to include small businesses or to account for the interests of residential communities, to name a few. In a tourism environment, the reasons for establishing an alliance will obviously vary between destinations: some may be of limited duration and some may be influenced by parochial concerns. Some may work to enhance competitiveness, but most will not because the raison d’être for their existence is to enhance market power. Consequently, the need for an alliance, and the form it takes, ought to be subject to critical evaluation in each case.

Clusters, on the other hand, may have few if any formal agreements, thus reducing the substantial transaction costs associated with formal alliances, and eliminating problems associated with goal incongruity and trust. Clustering Theory offers one mechanism to deliver regional tourism growth that seems particularly relevant in those circumstances where a local community seeks to build or enhance a tourism function as part of its economic choices. The potential of Clustering Theory is that it provides a means to accelerate growth for all members of the cluster, while a strategic alliance simply concentrates the benefits of association in the hands of the member firms (which serves the interests of a region only if all firms happen to be members of the alliance). Clustered firms benefit not just from the multiplier effects (economic) and consequent social impacts (externalities) achieved by the geographic concentration of like industries, but from the symbiosis between firms which serves to increase the market size and accelerate the rate of regional growth. This distinction is important, for those policies that encourage alliances, for instance, may well prove to be anti-competitive, while those that seek to foster mere competition through location concentration may not
be effective at all. At best, both such policies can lead only to marginal gains based on economies of scale.

A policy approach based on clustering can generate a synthesis and interaction between firms that may lead to a cumulative acceleration of benefits from both economies of scale and of scope. Over the last decade, there has been a substantial re-consideration of clustering and location theory and its concomitant link to business strategy (Porter, 1990; 1998).

The general assumption behind clustering is a step beyond the simple benefits of economic specialisation, in that the co-location of like firms is presumed to produce a range of synergies that enhance the growth of market size, employment and product. Porter (1990), and others since, have demonstrated these approaches in macro regional analyses, but the problem, here, is that these approaches are largely descriptive and often reliant on hindsight. While they can provide indicators for planning, they are not particularly prescriptive for future policy development, and little has been done to apply these concepts to the needs of small regional environments. The clustering concept, however, suggests an even more effective force for growth in non-metropolitan environments when the activities of the co-located industries are based on visitation, in that increases in the demand for travel maximises the need for complementary growth by those industries that service visitor needs. Hence, the proposition that tourism-based cluster formations not only enhance multiplier effects through economies-of-scale, but also externality outcomes through economies-of-scope. In short, tourism clusters can accelerate the opportunities for new forms of economic wealth by creating a demand for a host of complementary activities that, in turn, generate their own rounds of multiplier effects.

The process of growth, of course, simultaneously brings new impacts and externalities to the host community that impacts on other factors critical to community development, not all of which may be welcomed. The problem is exacerbated with tourism development, for it necessarily adds visitors to an existing community, who sometimes challenge the status quo and local values - a theme that is well appreciated by researchers (for examples, see Hall et al., 1997). The social impact of clustering, however, remains a new field of research, although there is some guide in Seaton’s (1996, 1999) analyses of six specialised Book Towns in north-western Europe, where growth has been fostered around micro market clusters and common sets of social activity. The key to controlling social externalities might well lie in the small-scale of the development process, allowing local interests to stay in control of the choices being made.

**FORMS OF CLUSTERING**

The heritage for Clustering Theory lies in the disciplines of politics, geography and economics. In one sense, it is the logical extension of economic specialisation where co-location is argued to enhance the market benefits for participating firms. In simplistic terms, a group of co-located firms should create sets of operational synergies and shared externalities that reduce costs and increase revenues through a pooled
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customer base. Explaining precisely how firms can access those benefits, however, has proved to be far more elusive. Despite the problems, nevertheless, this understanding of clustering became an entrenched part of post-war regional economic development programs on the assumption that:

"... Generally, the more industries that are located in a given area the greater the external economies that become possible" (Mountjoy, 1966: 107).

This approach to industrial development was sometimes successful, but often not, and was thus generally discounted as a policy tool by the early 1970s, (albeit revisited by urban planners periodically in the form of industrial parks and like proposals). In the last decade, this view has been supplanted by the realisation that what matters for a cluster's success is the way it comes together; for it is the structure that generates the synthesis between firms. Where that structure is co-operative, rather than competitive, there can be a growth in the collective market size and the relational dynamics between firms that leads to commercial success. A co-operative structure is necessarily inclusive of all of a cluster's interests, where a competitive structure must necessarily be exclusive. The pursuit of both social and commercial goals becomes more effective when combined with strategies that are accepted and directed by the affected community's participation.

**Figure 1: Optimal Cluster Development for Micro Industries**

- **Horizontal Clustering**
- **Diagonal Clustering**
- **Vertical Clustering**

Contemporary Cluster Theory observes three distinct forms of cluster formations, stylised in Figure 1, above. Singly, each type of clustering appears as a form of economic co-location liable to enhance the market benefits for participating firms. In summary, each form of clustering can be described as follows:
Horizontal clustering refers simply to the co-location of like forms in a given geographic area. While the forms are competitors, as they sell a like product using similar productive resources, their co-location pools the potential customer base to increase total sales. Such co-location generates advantages in terms of labour supply, shared information and infrastructure, to reduce costs or the effects of externalities. Visible examples are routinely apparent in the distinct precincts of retail and manufacturing activity in every sizeable city.

Vertical clustering refers to the relative co-location of an industry’s supply chain that enhances productive specialisation. The geographic proximity between firms minimises logistics and distributional costs, and concentrates labour skills and market information. A simple demonstration might be a food cannery located in an agricultural region, with co-located warehousing, distribution and trucking firms – a supply chain complete from farm to retail delivery.

Diagonal clustering refers to the concentration of complementary (or symbiotic) firms, where each adds value to the activities of other firms, even though their products may be quite distinct. In this sense, diagonal clustering brings together firms that supply separate products and services, packaging them into bundles that will be consumed as though they were one item. For tourism and other service industries, this is routine – for example, a tourism destination requires firms to supply the activity, transport, accommodation, hospitality, etc. The co-location of many complementary providers adds value to the tourism experience; and the converse is also true, for the absence of key services restricts the development of other firms.

COMPLEMENTARITIES

The novelty in this approach stems from the inclusion of concepts of diagonal clustering, as it identifies the concentration of complementary (or symbiotic) firms, with each adding value to the products of other firms. In the context of regional development, it is the growth of complementary activities (or the breadth of product offerings) that accelerates wealth and employment opportunities.

The concept of diagonal integration has been used previously to describe the strong diagonal value chain relationships that are produced, especially in the tourism and hospitality industries, particularly through the expansion in information technology and communications, that allows firms to benefit from economies-of-scope, systems gains and synergies.

According to Poon (1994: 225), clustered firms, as well as those in alliances, experience positive efficiency outcomes and an enhanced capacity to influence the industry value chain by exploiting such forms of diagonal integration. An illustration is where a company may create tour packages that combine clustered or co-located transport, accommodation, food and entertainment services into products that reduce search and transaction costs for the tourist. Importantly for a regional community, such packages can also improve rewards for unrelated companies that are clustered at the same level of the tourism value chain (e.g. a local gift shop) and for those at different
levels in the value chain, such as between transport, accommodation and entertainment. Complementarities, therefore, are the product of diagonal clustering between firms who add value to those in more traditional horizontal or vertical clusters.

Diagonal clustering (the grouping of complementary firms) and diagonal integration (the grouping of complementary activities by a single firm or corporation) are relatively new approaches for tourism business strategists. Poon (1994) explored the potential for firms to add value to their activities by integrating or bundling complementary services into the total product they offered to consumers, in effect carefully diversifying their activities to meet the needs of a target group of consumers. In this way the firm taps the economies of scope and the synergies between products, rather than the economies of scale which are the focus of both horizontal and vertical clustering (Poon, 1994: 224). However, what applies to the firm also applies to collections of firms that can align themselves with each other to deliver an integrated product; hence, the application to small-scale regional tourism development.

Even with a better understanding of the role of diagonal clustering in developing economies-of-scale, Cluster Theory would still remain constrained by its own internal contradictions. In essence, it argues that a cluster formation will generate economic gains through economies of scale and the synergies that arise from a growth pole that leads to an expanding market. On occasion, these sorts of arguments have been demonstrated to apply and a cluster has emerged, grown and sustained itself; but others have failed. The answer to this conundrum lies in basic competition theory, for if the market is competitive it will attract new entrants that compete with economic profits, even if the market grows. This will continue until the rate of return is so reduced that no incentive for further new entrants to join the cluster will exist, in effect destroying the very motivation that led to the cluster’s formation in the first place. As a policy for growth, this is unsustainable. If cluster theory is to be operationalised, a better response is required.

Brandenburger and Nalebuff’s (1997) concept of Co-opetition provides an explanation of some value here. They add further to the use of diagonal clustering as a strategic tool by emphasising the critical role that complementary firms play in the consumer’s decision process. For them, a complementary product or service will add more value to a product than the product has alone, while a competitive product does the opposite. In the context of a tourism destination, for example, the strategy of complementarities would see firms seeking to add to the basket of values and choices that motivate the consumer to visit, so that each addition provides still further benefits for the visitor, either directly or indirectly. The strategy of competition, on the other hand, would see a firm seeking to capture the visitor to its own product offering, with the benefits of growth confined to itself.

If this is correct, a cluster of firms will structure its relationships in order to co-operate and expand the available market, with each firm continuously adding value to the others’ outputs. The cluster and its market should continue to grow so long as its competitive advantage does. Competition will continue, but with firms outside the cluster who will be seeking to draw custom away from it. While not new in itself, it
leads to the obvious implication for regional growth that business strategy is more about building the alignment of complementary activities than it is about competition.

"Thinking complements is a different way of thinking about business. It's about finding ways to make the pie bigger rather than fighting with competitors over a fixed pie. To benefit from this insight, think about how to expand the pie by developing new complements or making existing complements more affordable." (Brandenburger & Nalebuff, 1997: 14-15).

For regional tourism development, their maxim provides the focus for a policy that seeks growth, in that strategies that build structures for regional co-operation will deliberately sponsor the growth of complementary products and services to enhance the total regional outcome. The strategies for competition will, in reality, be strategies for competing with other regions.

COMPETITIVE MARKETS AND CLUSTERING

The strategic focus of cluster analysis, then, is to provide industry participants and regional communities with information associated with positive forms of clustering, rather than with traditional analyses of market competition. At the regional level, organisations "... create competitive advantage by perceiving or discovering new and better ways to compete in an industry and bringing them to market, which is ultimately an act of innovation" (Porter, 1990: 45). Innovation often means breaking out of the traditional ways of doing things, while competitive advantage entails the strategic management of the capabilities of an organisation that are valuable, rare and hard to imitate.

Figure 2: Porter’s Diamond of National Competitive Advantage
Porter's (1990) Diamond framework of National Competitive Advantage describes four main attributes, derived essentially from the manufacturing industry: (i) Factor conditions; (ii) Demand conditions; (iii) Firm strategy, structure and rivalry; and (iv) Related and supportive industries. These attributes contribute to and determine a country's competitive advantages; and, although they are interrelated and somewhat interdependent, they change over time and direct a nation's or a region's industrial development. In principle, much of the theoretical Diamond framework (Figure 2) can also be applied to tourism industry analyses in specified regions, as the interaction of these four attributes helps to explain a destination's level of competitiveness and the nature of its advantage in the region.

For tourism analysis, Factor conditions form the basis for creating or enhancing the competitive position of a destination. They comprise basic factors that may be inherited or endowed, such as natural resources, climate, location and other demographics that form the critical differentiators of the tourism product.

These might include more advanced factors as the destination becomes more competitive, such as those created through investment, infrastructure, culture and training, where their relative abundance, compared to some other competitive destination, contributes to the regional tourism industry's success. This approach requires a full assessment of the customer base (i.e. the demand conditions the destination is experiencing) and of the mechanisms for producing the local tourism product (whatever form they may take).

Similarly, there is a need to understand the strategies, structure and rivalry patterns of existing firms, to determine whether geographic concentration is convertible into more strategically sophisticated clustering relationships. Assessment of the degree of rivalry also helps determine whether a competitive or co-operative culture exists between firms in the industry value chain, and the potential alignments for complementarity that will effect the growth of firms that co-locate with them. There are, of course, a host of other factors that may impact on the firm's strategies. Theses include the possible role of regional champions, whether the region's industries are competitive or monopolistic, the rates of formation and failure of new enterprises, and the governance of competition; hence, each set of circumstances but must be treated individually.

The fourth attribute of Porter's diamond framework concerns the strength of related and supportive industries, which in micro applications would refer to firms as a substitute for industries. In a sense, it provides another interpretation of the significance of complementarities fundamentally linked to the establishment of a region's competitive advantage. Related and supportive industries are described as those that create products and services as a result of the co-location between firms, as occurs for example between hotels, restaurants and the entertainment sector.
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culture, sport, banks, personal services, etc.), where such services commonly co-locate around a tourism destination. If complementarities exist, then the cluster can expand to pursue a competitive advantage that promotes regional economic growth and development.

THE APPLICATION OF CLUSTER THEORY FOR TOURISM POLICY

This paper has sought to explore micro-market clustering theory as one possible approach for tourism development that might enhance a region's competitive advantage through specialisation, and so contribute to the reconstruction of economic and social opportunity amongst regional communities. It is premised on the notion that any new approach to policy must be inclusive of community needs and its application determined by local interests and values – for to assume otherwise would be to ignore the tenor of democratic demands. Indeed, development policies are often more subject to public interest criteria than many other forms of government intervention, as the potential for policy actions to accrue benefits that favour some interests and some localities, rather than others, can cause significant economic distortions and political disaffection across a wide gamut of the electorate (Michael, 2001b). Cluster theory seems better suited to meeting public interest criteria, because it encompasses all of the local community in the development process, rather than a policy based on strategic alliances, which services the needs only of those private interests that formally make up the alliance.

The tenets of successful clustering, which seems to drive competitive advantage based on the co-operative and mutually supportive linkages among the cluster's industries, have only been tested in areas which are already regionally successful, such as Silicon Valley and Boston Massachusetts (Porter, 1998). The approach adopted here is made pro-active for regional policy purposes by inverting the methodological structure. It uses existing market niche industries to identify key clustering success factors that might apply in specific local circumstances and searches for a dynamic alignment of complementary firms (economic activities) that add value to the total regional product. The desired outcome is a package of attributes delivered by a host of small businesses that the target consumer wants to consume as a single entity. While small-scale, the synthesis and synergy between the co-located firms continue to extract both economies of scale and scope that service growth and diversification. In combination, the two generate a new pattern of accelerator effects, but the form that growth takes remains directed by the existing community.
Micro-market cluster theory provides a path for the development or re-invigoration of regional communities based on the principles of competitive advantage, whilst remaining entirely consistent with the demands of global and national competition policy (i.e. consistent with the broad notion that market forces should be allowed to determine allocation, production and distribution decisions). It would appear particularly suited to applications where a tourism function has been identified as a region’s (or a particular locality’s) competitive advantage in that niche markets can be enhanced through shared economies of scale and expanded in scope through the development of complementary activities, thus combining multiplier impacts to stimulate the opportunities for regional wealth and employment.

The decisions and choices that confront the development of each cluster are unique, and remain embedded within the local community so that externalities and other social impacts need also to be managed at the local level in a genuinely democratic framework.

For this approach to be made practical there are issues that remain to be resolved by both researchers and policymakers. The most obvious is to find an effective means for identifying the range of complementary activities most suited to the delivery of a regional tourism product. These complementary activities, of course, will be different in every case, not only because each regional community seeks to deliver its own specialised and unique product, but also because the basis for visitation to a region varies. The search for complementarities is not simply a matter of determining cross-elasticity’s (although these provide one type of indicator); but, rather of the identification of those synergies which actually add value to the total outcome. One clear avenue for public sector support stems from the capacity of government to contribute to the search process at the local community level, for inevitably those communities will lack the means to generate such information. This implies that the first role for policy is to service the information needs of communities, positioning them to make their own choices without active intervention by central planning authorities.

The second role, presumably, is to find ways to actively encourage the co-location of new firms in new growth clusters: but, in ways that do not reduce competition or lead to monopolistic practices. Porter does not support the formation of formal alliances, in part because of their high transaction costs and goal incongruity, but he goes further, suggesting that governments should “… sharply limit direct co-operation among industry rivals” (Porter, 1998: 187) and should actively regulate against such entities because they reduce competition and lead to monopolistic practices. Instead, he points to the competitive multiplier effects emanating from clustering and geographic concentration, preferring to maintain that the role of government is really confined to adequately preparing the conditions in which all competitive firms can operate. If it were otherwise, government policy would deliver benefits to some firms while creating barriers-to-entry for others, effectively reducing the competitive attributes of the regional diamond.
While it is only the beginning, this approach to clustering theory appears to work with the dynamics of the micro-market that are amenable to public sector planning: potentially optimising the delivery of significant and sustainable economic, social and environmental benefits for regional communities. For the practice of policy, this approach is focussed on the creation of opportunity, but sees business and community development as inextricably linked. The political advantage, however, remains untramelled in that the choices for a community’s economic direction and the decisions about its core resource allocation have been devolved to the community itself in a way that remains consistent with the principles of competition. The incorporation of community development and externality analyses with business strategy, perhaps, improves our capacity to identify the processes for accelerating growth in specialised industries that the community itself wants to expand.
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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT OF TOURISM ON BALEARIC ISLANDS: AN APPLICATION OF THE TOURISM PENETRATION INDEX.

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ABSTRACT

The Balearic Islands have become one of the most important international resorts in Europe. In 1999, more than 11 million tourists visited this region, situated in the Mediterranean Sea.

From the beginning of the sixties, tourism became the main economic activity of this insular territory. As proof of this reality, more than 25% of the Balearic Islands’ GNP is produced in those sectors (hotels and other kind of accommodation and travel agencies) directly connected with tourism.

On the one hand, the Balearic Islands have achieved a high degree of real convergence in relation to Europe. In great measure, the good behaviour in economic terms could be seen as a consequence of the high specialisation on tourism activity. But, on the other hand, tourism has social and environmental impacts that are not so desirable.

A review to the literature show us that there are different ways to measure the economic, social and/or environmental impacts that tourism could produce. The majority of them are, however, qualitative, or, in the case of quantitative measures, unidirectional. In order to capture, in one measure all these impacts together, this paper tests the tourism penetration index (TPI), as introduced by McElroy and de Alburquerque (1998) on the Balearic Islands and other 20 Caribbean islands, which are also considered international resorts.

KEYWORDS

Islands, Impact, Balearic Islands, Tourism penetration index
Introduction

The Balearic Islands, located at the West Centre of the Mediterranean Sea between Barcelona and Algeria, have become, over the last decades, one of the most important resorts around the world.

Despite its small surface, the Balearic Islands have more than seven hundred thousand residents and receives more than eleven million tourists every year. The emergence of tourism in the Balearics as an economic activity can be timed back to the very beginning of the sixties, although we can find some tourist hotels active from since the first years of the twenty-century. As it can be seen in the next figure the number of tourists has been increasing since the sixties.²

Figure-1: Evolution of the tourists arrival to the Balearic Islands (1960-1999)

The growing demand has been paralleled by a strong increase from the supply side, as it is shown in table 1.

² Some of the main explanations for such an increase can be found in the development of the transport sector, geographical advantages and the new way of life that the economy’s recovery allowed since the fifties.
Table 1: Evolution of Tourism Supply (1980-1999)

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<td>103755</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>386916</td>
<td>100386</td>
<td>487302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>386337</td>
<td>93582</td>
<td>479919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>377676</td>
<td>91183</td>
<td>468859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>381078</td>
<td>92551</td>
<td>473629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>384953</td>
<td>96780</td>
<td>481733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>388510</td>
<td>98124</td>
<td>486634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>393850</td>
<td>101604</td>
<td>495454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>398687</td>
<td>106054</td>
<td>504741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>405052</td>
<td>109757</td>
<td>514809</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: “Evolución Económica de las Baleares; Sa Nostra” (different years)

The intensity of the effects of tourism, as a result of a spectacular increase of the supply to respond to the annual growing demand, can be seen all through the economic and social structure of the Balearics.

Figure-2: Balearic Islands’ GNP by sectors (1962 & 1999)

Source: “Evolución Económica de las Baleares; Sa Nostra” (different years)
In less than fifty years rural society has ceased to be the leading sector in favour of a highly tertiarised economy. Thus, in 1962 the Balearics were a weakly specialised economy: as it can be seen from figure 2, the rural sector constituted nearly a fifth of the GNP and the industry shared a 23%, which was even above the Spanish mean. The service sector amounted to a half of the GNP.

Opposite to the above percentages, in 1999 agriculture only accounted for 2%, meanwhile the industry had reduced its share to 8% and the third sector summed up to 80% of total GNP. That is to say, the Balearics has evolved towards a very specialised economy in the third sector, in much more of a scale than the other Spanish regions, even above other tourist areas such as the Canary Islands, Catalonia or Valencia.

### Table-2: Structure of GAV (Gross Added Value) by sectors (%-1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CCAA</th>
<th>Agriculture</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Building</th>
<th>Services</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Andalucía</td>
<td>14.03</td>
<td>16.46</td>
<td>8.46</td>
<td>61.05</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aragón</td>
<td>6.66</td>
<td>33.21</td>
<td>6.71</td>
<td>53.42</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asturias</td>
<td>4.10</td>
<td>30.44</td>
<td>7.73</td>
<td>57.73</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BALEARIC Isl.</strong></td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>10.27</td>
<td>8.10</td>
<td>79.36</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canary Isl.</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>9.91</td>
<td>10.09</td>
<td>75.35</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantabria</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>28.11</td>
<td>8.79</td>
<td>57.45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cast. La Mancha</td>
<td>12.55</td>
<td>26.71</td>
<td>12.03</td>
<td>48.71</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cast. León</td>
<td>12.17</td>
<td>26.57</td>
<td>8.55</td>
<td>52.71</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataluña</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>33.79</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>57.66</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Valenciana</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>29.60</td>
<td>7.62</td>
<td>58.54</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremadura</td>
<td>12.22</td>
<td>18.29</td>
<td>10.81</td>
<td>58.69</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galicia</td>
<td>9.58</td>
<td>24.50</td>
<td>9.47</td>
<td>56.45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>18.05</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>75.14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murcia</td>
<td>11.20</td>
<td>22.74</td>
<td>9.09</td>
<td>56.96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarra</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>40.03</td>
<td>7.14</td>
<td>47.62</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>País Vasco</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>38.58</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>52.95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rioja (La)</td>
<td>13.12</td>
<td>34.49</td>
<td>6.15</td>
<td>46.25</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceuta</td>
<td>0.97</td>
<td>8.06</td>
<td>5.02</td>
<td>85.95</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melilla</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>86.96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spain</strong></td>
<td>5.74</td>
<td>25.45</td>
<td>7.73</td>
<td>61.07</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Funcas (1999) & own elaboration*

If we look further at the regional value added accounts (see figure 3), we shall see that in the services sector, those directly related to tourism (as the hotels, apartments, travel agencies, bars and restaurants) account for a 25.7% of the GNP generated in the islands.

Meanwhile, the other sectors, which traditionally has been connected to the tourism activities such as transport, shopping and entertainment services, amount to more than
20% of the regional added value. Finally, it should be pointed out that the industrial, building and agriculture sectors have also benefited from the development of the tourist activities.

**Figure-3: The Balearic Islands’ GNP by subsectors (1999)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsector</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>7.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>9.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>10.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars &amp; restaurants</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitality</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separations</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transports</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communications</td>
<td>1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>financial institutions</td>
<td>7.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mobil rent</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>real estate rent</td>
<td>10.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private education &amp; sanity</td>
<td>17.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public services</td>
<td>13.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic services</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other services</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** “Evolución Económica de las Baleares; Sa Nostra” (different years)

This strong terciarisation of the economy, pushed up by the growth of the tourism, has its counterpart in the employment distribution among the different activities. Thus, most of the employment is found in the services sector, specifically either directly or indirectly within the tourist sector (see figure 4).

**Figure-4: Balearic Islands’ structure of employment (1999) by subsectors.**

**Source:** “Evolución Económica de las Baleares; Sa Nostra” (different years)

To sum up, it can be said that the Balearic Islands are highly specialised in the services sector, and in more detail in all those activities connected to tourism.
Level of Regional Welfare

The analysis of figure 5 illustrates how these islands have been a very dynamic region in economic terms since the sixties. What is more, the Balearics are one of the few Spanish regions that are above the European income mean.

Figure-5: Real Convergence of the Balearic Islands and Spain in relation to Europe

Source: Fundación BBV.

If we look at some commonly admitted indicators as variables that reflect the level of welfare of a region or country, see table 3, it remains clear that the Balearics Islands are well up in the ranking.³

Using these indicators, one can reach the conclusion that the Balearic model, well known as Balearizacion, has been very successful. Nevertheless, during the last years some authors and institutions have criticised this model. In detail, what has been criticised is not so much the economic specialisation but the sustainability of the model as a whole.

³ - The GNP per capita is an index intensively used to measure the degree of economic development. However, at regional level, there are fiscal compensatory mechanism among regions and different prices level, so, the GNP in terms of purchasing power is a commonly admitted measure of the regional welfare.
Table-3- Ranking of Regional Welfare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional GNP</th>
<th>Disposable familiar Income (Purchasing power)</th>
<th>Convergence GNP per capita, Purchasing power</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Market prices</td>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
<td>148.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrid</td>
<td>134.91</td>
<td>Madrid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataluña</td>
<td>124.46</td>
<td>Rioja (la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navarra</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>Navarra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rioja (la)</td>
<td>117.36</td>
<td>Aragón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pais Vasco</td>
<td>111.03</td>
<td>Cataluña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aragón</td>
<td>109.06</td>
<td>País Vasco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Valenciana</td>
<td>101.53</td>
<td>Cast. &amp; León</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canarias</td>
<td>96.21</td>
<td>C. Valenciana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantabria</td>
<td>90.63</td>
<td>Cantabria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilla &amp; León</td>
<td>90.36</td>
<td>Canarias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galicia</td>
<td>83.28</td>
<td>Melilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asturias</td>
<td>81.32</td>
<td>Asturias</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murcia</td>
<td>81.24</td>
<td>Cas. La Mancha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cast. La</td>
<td>78.92</td>
<td>Ceuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mancha</td>
<td>78.45</td>
<td>Galicia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melilla</td>
<td>74.74</td>
<td>Extremadura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceuta</td>
<td>68.79</td>
<td>Murcia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andalucia</td>
<td>68.26</td>
<td>Andalucia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremadura</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>Spain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Funcas (1999)

Economic Impacts of Tourism

In economic terms, there is no doubt that tourism has encouraged the economic development, as it was recognised in 1980 at the Manila’s Declaration on Tourism: “Tourism can be understood as an essential activity to the well-being of Nations, because of its direct consequences for the social, cultural, education and economic sectors of the societies and for its international relationships around the world”.

Traditionally, tourism has been seen as exportation from one region or nation to another region. Tourists travel and, consequently, a flow of currency to the resort is generated. In this respect, a first way of taking into account the positive economic effects of tourism is to see how the balance of payments evolves. Moreover, these new resources
Tourism has turned into new income and employment for those people who are directly related to the tourist industry.

Furthermore, the aforementioned resources indirectly help other sectors of the economy through the income spent on other regional products. In that sense, the tourist development has allowed the Balearics Islands to overcome, as a region, a low unemployment rate, as it can be seen in figure 6.

**Figure-6: Unemployment rate in the Spanish regions (1999)**

An easy way of demonstrating the economic incidence of the development of tourism is by means of the tourist multiplier. This is a measure designed to capture the direct, indirect, and induced effects that the tourist activity has on the income and employment of the local economy. According to Payeras and Sastre (1994), the tourist multiplier was 1.49 in the Balearic Islands, which means that from each peseta of tourist expenditure, the economy, as a whole, suffers an increase of 1.49 pesetas.

Without questioning these economic positive effects, it has lately raised some concerns about the social and environmental impacts of tourist activities. In this respect, the induced development of tourism is no longer considered as beneficial as before.5

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4 In 1999, tourism income was 6,863,74 million euros.
Sociocultural impacts of tourism

During the first stages of the development of tourism, the local population welcomes tourists for all the positive effects that it supposes, such as the modernisation of customs, the equality of sexes, and the widening of personal relationships.

Nevertheless, while the rivalry for local resources increases, the locals withdraw their initial support. A danger that can appear in those cases of mass tourism is the fact that tourists are not interested in getting to know the local culture, but to create their own ghettos in which they reproduce their customs and original way of living.  

Besides, when the tourist development reaches a determinate stage of maturity it is more likely that some negative effects emerge, such as the arrival and creation of excluded population, the increase of robbing, and so on. Table 4 shows some of the sociocultural impacts of the development of tourism pointed out by the World Tourism Organisation (WTO).

Table 4: Summary of some socioeconomic impacts generated by Tourism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors associated to Tourism</th>
<th>Positive Impacts</th>
<th>Negative Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of culture as a tourist attraction</td>
<td>Revitalisation of traditions, languages, Fashion of traditional cultures.</td>
<td>Changes on the traditions, Invasion of privacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct contacts between tourists and residents</td>
<td>New social opportunities.</td>
<td>Increase of commerce, Introduction of illness, Demonstration effect, Conflicts and tension on the local community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changes on the economic Structures and social roles</td>
<td>New socio-economic opportunities. Increase of equality.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of new structures</td>
<td>New chances related to entertainment.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases in the population</td>
<td>Improvements on sanity, education and quality of life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WTO (1997)

In the case of the Balearic Islands, there has been a demographic effect clearly connected to the tourist activity. Since the very beginning of the nineties, an important share of foreigners, mainly German citizens have decided to live in the Balearics, basically because of the good communications between Germany and Mallorca.

6 - See Mathieson and Wall (1982).
It is obvious that the high purchase power of these new residents can contribute to the dynamism of the economy. It is also true, however, that their higher purchase power increases the prices of some basic goods such as housing.\(^7\)

On the other hand, the own development of the tourist activity has increased the demand of workers, initially supplied by people from other Spanish regions and since the mid nineties supplied by an increasing proportion of foreigner workers. A good measure of the changes that the islands are suffering is the rate of immigration, which was of 3.5, 9 and 16.6 per thousand in 1994, 1997 and 1999, respectively.

**Environmental impacts**

The environmental resources constitute the main input of the tourist activity. In that sense, it can be said that the quick economic growth of the Balearic Islands has benefited of an extensive use of the environmental resources.

In effect, the development of the Balearic Islands as a tourism resort has been based on objective market opportunities (as the charter flights and the tourist packages). Further, this development has not been controlled and, until recently, there was not a strong concern for the environment issues. As a result, the environment destruction has been intensive, especially along the coast where tourism has been traditionally concentrated. Since the new increase of tourist arrivals during the nineties a new worry for the consequences of the growth model based on extensive techniques has arisen, as has been pointed out by the WTO (table 5).

### Table-5: The evolution of environmental preoccupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EPOQUE</th>
<th>ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>TOURISM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fifties</td>
<td>Enjoy and use</td>
<td>Exploration phase, Mass tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixties</td>
<td>Public Intervention and</td>
<td>Development, quick increase of tourism. Elements of environment as tourist attractions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighties</td>
<td>Worries about toxic particulias in the air, acid rain, hole in the ozone layer, etc-</td>
<td>Expansion of the new markets and technologies advancements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nineties</td>
<td>Deforestation, climatic changes, global impacts.</td>
<td>Eco-tourism, Sustainable development.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: OMT (1997)*

\(^7\) Alemany et al. (2001) demonstrates that since the nineties the habitants of the Balearic Islands dedicates the highest share of their income to housing among the Spanish regions.
As can be seen by figure 7, which points out the evaluation done by the Spanish citizens in relation to environmental policy, environmental issues are especially important in the islands, namely the Canary and the Balearic Islands.

**Figure-7: Evaluation of the environmental policies by Spanish citizens.**

![Evaluation of the environmental policies by Spanish citizens.](image)

*Source: “Centro de Investigaciones sociológicas” (CIS)*

To sum up, tourism supposes positive and negative effects on the economy, the society and the environment. The question which we address in the next section is: *Is there any indicator that unifies the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism?*

**The measurement of the economic, social and environmental impact of tourism**

Several different indicators have been proposed to measure the impact of tourism on local regions. Most of these measures are associated with qualitative definitions of saturation: the saturation of the infrastructures, congestion, inflation, the increase of residents’ hostility to tourists, the reduction of the culture attributes, and the satisfaction of visitants are some of the indicators widely used in the literature to measure the impact of tourism on the local communities. Such quantitative measures are only one-way indicators, that is to say, they only capture the economic aspects (its contribution to GNP or the employment), or the social aspects (visitants per local population), or the environmental aspects (hotel rooms per land unit).

In order to integrate the social, economic and environmental aspects that the tourist development implies for a region into just one measure, we used an indicator recently proposed by McElroy and de Albuquerque (1998). In fact, this index is applied to the...
Tourism Destination Planning

Balearic Islands taking as a benchmark 20 Caribbean islands, that have emerged as important international tourist resorts during the last years.

The Tourism Penetration Index

The tourism penetration index (TPI) is the result of three different indexes that measure the economic, social and environmental penetration of tourism.

Table-6: Tourist features (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Land (Km²)</th>
<th>Pop. (000)</th>
<th>Tourists (000)</th>
<th>Cruiser's Tourists. (000)</th>
<th>Tourism income /population ($)</th>
<th>density *1000 hab. (1)</th>
<th>Hub.X km²</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>91.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td>71.00</td>
<td>5,182.00</td>
<td>119.42</td>
<td>10.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>440.00</td>
<td>64.00</td>
<td>232.00</td>
<td>309.00</td>
<td>4,203.00</td>
<td>82.74</td>
<td>7.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aruba</td>
<td>193.00</td>
<td>69.00</td>
<td>646.00</td>
<td>297.00</td>
<td>9,652.00</td>
<td>204.16</td>
<td>37.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
<td>5,014.00</td>
<td>811.00</td>
<td>10,820.00</td>
<td>236.00</td>
<td>7,385.00</td>
<td>388.25</td>
<td>59.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>431.00</td>
<td>259.00</td>
<td>472.00</td>
<td>518.00</td>
<td>2,768.00</td>
<td>57.90</td>
<td>14.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>55.00</td>
<td>62.00</td>
<td>380.00</td>
<td>182.00</td>
<td>7,710.00</td>
<td>110.47</td>
<td>75.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonaire</td>
<td>288.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>63.00</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>4,000.00</td>
<td>134.71</td>
<td>3.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Virg.</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td>19.00</td>
<td>244.00</td>
<td>105.00</td>
<td>11,053.00</td>
<td>296.61</td>
<td>10.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayman Is.</td>
<td>260.00</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>381.00</td>
<td>867.00</td>
<td>12,641.00</td>
<td>245.58</td>
<td>17.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>444.00</td>
<td>144.00</td>
<td>209.00</td>
<td>218.00</td>
<td>1,403.00</td>
<td>37.15</td>
<td>5.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominicanica</td>
<td>750.00</td>
<td>65.00</td>
<td>65.00</td>
<td>234.00</td>
<td>615.00</td>
<td>40.54</td>
<td>0.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>344.00</td>
<td>97.00</td>
<td>111.00</td>
<td>257.00</td>
<td>608.00</td>
<td>30.45</td>
<td>5.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>1,373.00</td>
<td>421.00</td>
<td>660.00</td>
<td>470.00</td>
<td>884.00</td>
<td>27.54</td>
<td>6.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinica</td>
<td>1,060.00</td>
<td>412.00</td>
<td>513.00</td>
<td>387.00</td>
<td>971.00</td>
<td>46.92</td>
<td>5.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>102.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1,000.00</td>
<td>27.94</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>269.00</td>
<td>43.00</td>
<td>88.00</td>
<td>106.00</td>
<td>1,674.00</td>
<td>53.29</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>616.00</td>
<td>154.00</td>
<td>248.00</td>
<td>315.00</td>
<td>1,831.00</td>
<td>44.42</td>
<td>6.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
<td>34.00</td>
<td>33.00</td>
<td>439.00</td>
<td>886.00</td>
<td>11,364.00</td>
<td>248.50</td>
<td>119.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>389.00</td>
<td>121.00</td>
<td>65.00</td>
<td>135.00</td>
<td>579.00</td>
<td>18.22</td>
<td>3.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks/Caic.</td>
<td>417.00</td>
<td>17.00</td>
<td>93.00</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6,941.00</td>
<td>119.90</td>
<td>3.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Virgins</td>
<td>342.00</td>
<td>120.00</td>
<td>411.00</td>
<td>1,717.00</td>
<td>5,008.00</td>
<td>78.61</td>
<td>12.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) (Number of tourists*average days)+number of excursionists (cruiser)/(population.*365)*1000

The tourist expenditure per capita, which shows a high correlation with the economic development, the latter measured by means of the income per capita (Liu and Jenkins, 1996) was used. The average daily visitor density per 1000 resident population is the chosen variable to measure the social penetration. Despite that the former is an indirect measure to capture the way tourism disturbs the local population, we think it is an easy way to reflect the pressure that tourism effects on the tourist resorts, especially in tiny
islands. Finally, we have considered the hotel beds, per squared kilometre of land area, as an indicator of the pressure of tourism on the environment. All these variables have been shown in table 6.

These indexes were standardised in the following way:

\[
TPI_{ij} = \frac{(X_{ij} - \text{Min}X_i)}{\text{Max}X_i - \text{Min}X_i}
\]

\(TPI_{ij}\) represents the degree of penetration in island \(j\) with respect to variable \(i\). Thus, \(X_{ij}\) shows the value of variable \(i\) in island \(j\). In the same form, Max \(X_i\) and Min \(X_i\) show the highest and lowest values, respectively, of variable \(i\) for all the islands in the sample.

In this sense, if one island has a value of \(X_{ij}\) equal to the maximum, its value of the TPI will be one, and if its value of \(X_{ij}\) is the minimum, its TPI will be zero. All the standardised values are showed in table 7.

**Table-7: TPI values**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partial indexes</th>
<th>TPI scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weighted (2*a+b+c)/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist income/pop-</strong></td>
<td>Average daily visitors by 1000 hab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>($) (a)</td>
<td>(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>0.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aruba</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balearic Isl.</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.56</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>0.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonaire</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Virgins</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cayman Is.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominque</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinica</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks/Caicos</td>
<td>0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Virgins</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Own elaboration using the data of the previous table.
From these values, the TPI is the sum of the above mentioned three indicators:

\[ TPI_{j} = \sum_{j=1}^{3} I_{j} \]

According to the results, table 7, St. Maarten is the island, which shows the highest degree of tourism penetration index and the Balearic Islands is ranked in second position.

However, the above formulation equally weights the three impacts. It has been suggested in the literature that the economic impact (measured through the visitor spending per capita) can have a higher weight than the social or the environmental impact. In that case, we can take into account this fact, and it recalculated the TPI, so, the weight of economic indicator is twice the other two measures. As can be seen in the table 8, the results are almost the same: The Balearic Islands continue to be one of the resorts with the highest TPI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1993</th>
<th>Ranking Using TPI:</th>
<th>1999</th>
<th>Ranking Using TPI:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weighted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Weighted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
<td>St. Maarten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>Balearic Isl.</td>
<td>British Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Virgins</td>
<td>U.S. Virgins</td>
<td>Aruba</td>
<td>Aruba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Virgins</td>
<td>Aruba</td>
<td>Bermuda</td>
<td>Bermuda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aruba</td>
<td>British Virgin</td>
<td>Turks/Caicos</td>
<td>Turks/Caicos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>Anguilla</td>
<td>U.S. Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks/Caicos</td>
<td>Turks/Caicos</td>
<td>Bonaire</td>
<td>Bonaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonaire</td>
<td>Bonaire</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
<td>Antigua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>Barbados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>St. Kitts</td>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>Sta. Lucia</td>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>Curacao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>Curacao</td>
<td>Martinica</td>
<td>Martinica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
<td>Guadalupe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martinica</td>
<td>Martinica</td>
<td>Montserrat</td>
<td>Montserrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>Dominique R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>Dominique R.</td>
<td>Montserrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominique R.</td>
<td>Dominique R.</td>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
<td>St. Vincent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-8: Ranking of PTI (weighted & Unweighted) in 1993 & 1999

Along other indicators, such as the human development indicator, the TPI is a cross-sectional index. Because of that, we show how the TPI has evolved over the nineties. Table 8 compares the ranking of 21 islands in 1993 and in 1999 (using weighted & unweighted- TPI). Despite the fact there are some differences, it can still be said that both indicators reflect the same conclusions. Therefore, we can conclude that the Balearic Islands presents a high Tourism Penetration Index, not only in 1993 but also throughout the nineties.

Conclusions

This work has emphasised that the Balearic Islands are a clearly terciarised economy and, more concisely, are highly specialised in the tourist activities. This fact can be seen in their economic, social and environmental structure. Despite the fact that initial impacts of tourism were welcome, more recently some concerns have come up about the sustainability of the economic model. A new indicator, the Tourism Penetration Index (TPI), shows that Tourism in the Balearics Islands has intensive impacts in social and environmental terms. Taking into account that the Balearic Islands are tiny islands, the analysis of TPI introduces some doubts on the possibility of keeping this environmentally intensive economic model. Although the TPI could be considered as a simple and rudimentary index to measure the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism, it can be considered an early warning signal for measuring the tourism penetration and, so it can be used by policy-makers and other social agents.

According to the results of this study, the Balearic Islands is a region characterised by a high degree of tourism penetration. It requires that policymakers and developers of tourism must focus their actions and policies on ensuring that present and future generation enjoy the benefits that tourism imply. It is thus ease to see the measures introduced by the Balearic Government in the last decade. Examples are the idea of reducing the seaonality by means of promoting different tourism from the sun and beach (like rural tourism, eco-tourism, golf tourism, etc). As well as the regulation of the tourist building and, more recently, the approval of a tourist tax on tourist hotel and apartments stays, the so called as the ecotasa.

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Tourism Destination Planning


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Tourism Destination Planning

Strategies for Emerging Tourism Destinations
LOCAL GOVERNMENT WITH ACause: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NILLUMBIK AS A DESTINATION

Megan Ritchie, 
La Trobe University, Australia. 
Email: m.Ritchie@aw.latrobe.edu.au

ABSTRACT
Tourism planning and development in Australia occurs at three distinct government levels - National, State and Local. Whilst the National and State bodies associated with tourism play large roles in national policy development and international marketing, it is the much lower profile Local Government sector that drives tourism at the grass roots level. In Australia the responsibility for developing new tourism destinations rests squarely on the shoulders of Local Government. In recent years the roles and responsibilities of local government in Australia have expanded considerably and now reach far beyond the commonly perceived realms of roads, rates and rubbish. This paper examines the process engaged by Nillumbik Shire Council, Victoria, Australia, in developing their municipal area as a tourism destination.

KEY WORDS
Destination development, local government, tourism.

Background
Tourism destinations are today expected to meet the needs of tourists, residents and the commercial tourism sector. It is rare for such destination development to simply 'happen', and more often than not it demands a great degree of coordination. This paper asserts that in the Australian context at least, the responsibility for coordinating tourism destination development that satisfies visitors, hosts and operators at the local and/or regional level falls to the public sector, and more specifically, local government.

The Nillumbik Shire municipality, managed by Nillumbik Shire Council, lies just 40 minutes north of the metropolitan centre of Melbourne (population 3,466,025). The Shire is often referred to as a "Green Wedge", due to the proliferation of trees, open spaces, bush land, recreation reserves, river plains and protected areas. The Shire boasts 300 nature and recreation reserves and 63 sites of faunal significance, reinforcing the environmental focus and significance of the area. There has been very little marketing of these assets in the past and so they remain the well kept secrets of local residents (Nillumbik Shire population 53,506).

Nillumbik, as a destination, more than likely sits between the late exploration and early involvement stages of Butler's (1980) Destination Lifecycle. It is not a well-known
destination nationally or internationally, though it does draw a number of local and regional tourists, many of whom are attracted by the natural and or arts/cultural facilities within the shire. Destination advertising has commenced and there is the definite emergence of market segments. Over recent years there has also been pressure from both industry and some sections of the wider community for the public sector, in this case Nillumbik Shire Council, to provide infrastructure and further development of Nillumbik as a destination. These characteristics form part of Butler’s late exploration and early involvement stages (Butler 1980).

Commencing in 1997 Nillumbik Council has strategically planned for and championed the emergence of Nillumbik as a tourism destination through wide spread consultation with local residents, the business sector, attraction operators, accommodation providers and a myriad of government and non-government tourism agencies. The result has been the emergence of Nillumbik as a tourism destination in its own right. What makes the Nillumbik case unusual, is the leading and willing role that the local Council played in the development process.

Not only did Nillumbik Council support the development of the region as a tourism destination, but also it, in fact went substantially further and assumed the chief facilitation role for such development. Few other local government authorities in Australia have been so willingly forthcoming or strategic in the development of their areas as tourism destinations.

This research seeks to add to current literature in the field of destination development by assessing the role that Australian local government plays in developing municipalities as destinations. Utilising Nillumbik Shire Council as a case study it examines the way in which this particular local government authority has developed tourism within their area, and how this organisation’s methods compare to those recorded and recommended by previous authors. To date the role of Australian local government in tourism destination development has gone largely unrecorded and this research seeks to address this situation.

**Literature Survey**

**The Role of Government in Tourism Development in Australia**

Tourism and recreation development is increasingly being viewed by government jurisdictions as an important economic development strategy (Lankford, Williams, and Knowles-Lankford 1997, Lankford 1994). Government jurisdiction in Australia comprises three tiers: federal, state and local. Likewise, the tourism responsibilities of the public sector are distributed under the same three tiers. The first tier is comprised of federal organisations responsible for tourism marketing, research and national/international development. Organisations such as the Australian Tourism Commission, the Bureau of Tourism Research and the Department of Industry, Science and Tourism fulfil this function. The second tier of public sector involvement rests with the state marketing and industry bodies. Organisations such as Tourism Victoria, the New South Wales Tourism Commission and the Queensland Travel and Tourism Corporation hold responsibility in this area. The third tier is the much less studied, and less high profile, local government tourism sector.
Broadly speaking in the Australian context, the state and national bodies are responsible for the design and implementation of tourism strategies and national and international marketing campaigns. Local government generally shoulders the responsibility for promotion and development of regional product (McKercher and Ritchie 1996).

Earlier research tends to view the public sector’s role in tourism management as supply oriented, often involving the provision of infrastructure (Middleton 1985). In the past many tourism planners and public servants have viewed the public sector’s role as being simply the “issuer of development permits” (Pearce 1989). In more recent times however, the recognition of the expanding role of government has been more widely accepted (Emcorp 1996, Dollery and Marshall 1997). It has also become more broadly acknowledged that “in most communities pleasure travel (tourism) is a public-sector driven business” (Crompton 1990). Gunn (1994, p.435) makes the point that “…all private sector actors in the supply side components of tourism – attractions, services, transportation, information, and promotion - depend greatly on investment, planning and management policies provided by government”.

French, Craig-Smith and Collier (1995) comment on the difficulty of tourism planning in Australia. They suggest that the very nature of Australian politics precludes smooth integration between levels of government. The difficulty lies in having a three tiered system of government where national planning must be wary of cutting across state government independence and agendas. French, Craig-Smith and Collier (1995) make the point that whilst at a national level it may well be prudent to limit tourism development in a particular area and to encourage further development in another part of the country this presupposes that such a suggestion would be to the satisfaction of both state governments involved. Obviously, such satisfaction and consequent collaboration is not always forthcoming. Similarly, state government organisations must tread mindfully in order to stay well clear of local government toes. Land use planning, integral to future tourism development, is usually conducted at the local government level and the objectives of local government in this field may be very different to those of the state government involved (French, Craig-Smith, Collier 1995).

Local Government Responsibility

So far as involvement in tourism goes, the primary role of Australian local government has been as the provider of infrastructure. Car parks, rest stops, parks and gardens, Visitor Information Centres, swimming pools, convention centres, performing arts venues, signposting, and tourist trails are in the main provided by local government.

At times local government is also responsible for the production of publicity material promoting such facilities. Whilst the national and state bodies might be responsible for attracting tourists internationally and interstate, and for deciding how best to legislate the industry, it is the local government sector who essentially provide the actual service and fulfil the needs of tourists.
Elliott (1997) suggests that so far as tourism at the local level goes, local government is concerned about two main issues. The first relates to the impact of tourism on the local community, because it is local government’s responsibility to look after the local people. The second relates to the local government responsibility to develop the area economically and socially (Elliott 1997).

The degree and importance of local government involvement in local/regional tourism development is represented differently by several authors. Witt and Moutinho (1994) point out the value of local government involvement in tourism development. They argue that when local government sells the overall attractiveness of the area, it leaves individual tourist operators free to concentrate their marketing efforts on their own particular product or service, without first having to create the positive destination setting (Witt and Moutinho 1994). Morrissey (1986) asserts that because local government holds no material interest in the performance of any individual operator, it can well facilitate and coordinate strategies to improve local industry development overall.

French, Craig-Smith and Collier (1995) apportion considerable responsibility to local government. In their analysis of Australian local government involvement, they state that local government authorities play a major role in the tourism development process and summarise their responsibilities as

- planning
- development control
- providing basic infrastructure and
- providing and maintaining visitor facilities (French, Craig-Smith and Collier 1995, pp.306).

Defining Destinations
Tourism destinations consist of a complex range of products on offer and include both tangible and intangible dimensions. “Tangibility is provided by the physical stock of hotels, visitor attractions, means of access, parking facilities etc. Intangibility is provided by the image of an area...” (Palmer and Bejou 1995). Gunn (1994) discusses tourism development in terms of destination zones. He defines a destination zone as “...a geographic area containing a critical mass of development that satisfies traveller objectives” (Gunn 1994, p.27). The critical mass refers to a sufficiently diverse range of attractions and services to meet the needs and desires of visitors. Gunn (1994) argues that destinations require a critical mass of attractions to increase the demand for services – accommodation, retail, food for example, and that these services are the economic generators of a destination (Gunn 1994). Gunn (1994) also suggests that destination zones have four basic elements:

- transportation and access,
- a community with adequate public utilities and travel services,
- attractions that meet market needs and,
- efficient transport linkages between cities and attractions.
Tourism Destination Planning

Yangzhou and Ritchie (1993) describe a tourism destination as a package of tourism facilities and services, which like other consumer products or services, is composed of a number of multi-dimensional attributes. They define these attributes using Lew's (1987) guidelines, which state that destination attributes “consist of all those elements of a ‘nonhome’ place that draw discretionary travellers away from their homes” and that such attributes “include not only the historical sites, amusement parks, and spectacular scenery, but also the services and facilities which cater to the everyday needs of tourists (Lew 1987, pp.553-554). The earlier work of Gearing, Swart and Var (1974) groups such destination attributes into one of five categories: natural factors, social factors, historical factors, recreational and shopping facilities, and infrastructure, food, and shelter.

Tourism Destination Marketing

Tourism destination marketing is a collective or public good, in that it is both non-rival and non-excludable (Varian 1993, p.414 in Bonham and Mak 1996). It is considered non-rival because adding another firm does not reduce the amount of promotion available to one firm. It is non-excludable because once it is being provided it benefits all stakeholders or businesses, regardless of whether an individual firm in any way contributes to its production. Palmer and Bejou (1995) highlight the need for a high degree of collaboration amongst stakeholders when marketing tourism destinations. It is argued that individual stakeholder efforts generate less promotional impact than those founded on pooled resources (Palmer and Bejou 1995, Reid 1987). Palmer and Bejou (1995) also argue that it is unfair for only some stakeholders to fund promotion of the area. This is due to the fact that the benefits of such promotion will likely spread to all stakeholders, not just those who make a financial contribution. It is simply not possible to exclude the non-contributing businesses from benefiting. The collaborative efforts proposed by Palmer and Bejou (1995) depend on the formation of alliances within the tourism industry.

Several authors make the point that without public sector input, such alliances and collaborative efforts can be made difficult (Palmer and Bejou 1995, Crompton 1990, Gunn 1988, Stevens 1988, Boivin 1987).

Conclusion

Previous literature suggests that, at its best, local government has the capacity to drive tourism so that it embodies Elliot's (1997) social, community and economic values, follows French Craig-Smith and Collier's (1995) strategic planning and development principles and adopts Morrissey’s even handed coordination ideals. Whilst many local government authorities in Australia are forced by default (due to the absence of any other willing party) to play a leading role in tourism destination development, few appear aware of the complexities involved and fewer still appear eager or prepared to approach such development in a positive, strategic, planned and enthusiastic manner. These attributes are what make the Nillumbik case study worthy of discussion.

Methodology

The methodology employed for this research was a simple non-technical examination of the process employed by Nillumbik Shire Council in its attempt to develop the
Tourism Destination Planning

Nillumbik area as a destination. The examination compares the role adopted by Council in this process against the roles recommended by previous authors and those employed by other local government authorities in Australia. Much of the insight for this research comes from the author’s previous experience as a local government tourism manager and consultant.

Whilst the methodology employed for this case study was simple in nature, the set of methodologies employed by Nillumbik Shire Council within the process currently under examination were considerably more complex. These included survey methodology (both administered and self response) of resident and visitor sample populations, qualitative interview of Council representatives and tourism operators, and focus group discussions with ratepayers and other interested parties. The specifics of these methodologies and the findings of the same are outside the scope of this paper, but do however provide the basis of other soon to be, and/or recently, published research.

Discussion

Whilst many local government areas take a leading role in tourism development within their municipalities, many appear to do so in a reactive and ad hoc manner (McKercher and Ritchie 1995). What makes the Nillumbik Council case study interesting is that this particular municipal body made very definite attempts to approach the task of destination development in a planned, structured and well researched manner. Additionally, the manner in which Nillumbik management undertook to investigate possibilities for destination development could be described as pro-active and enthusiastic. This attitude is in stark contrast to many other municipalities where tourism development is handled in an ad-hoc and seemingly grudging manner (McKercher and Ritchie 1996).

Nillumbik Council management believed that tourism could likely be a valuable industry for Nillumbik, and they also strongly believed that this opinion needed to be substantiated by research and investigation. Council was adamant that the local community, current visitors, and local tourism operators should all be involved in the destination planning and development process (Rochford pers. com. 1996). To this end, Council committed to involve each of these parties and to ensure that the process was well structured and transparent.

Nillumbik Council and the Community

Murphy (1985), Simmons (1994), Ryan (1994), Keogh (1990), and Perdue Long and Allen (1990) all stress the importance of resident support for, and involvement in, tourism development and planning. Nillumbik Council heeded such advice and committed itself both financially and structurally to full community consultation and involvement in tourism planning and development.

Council arranged for community attitudes to be collected and gauged through a postal survey sent to every household within the Nillumbik municipal area and by means of a series of community workshops and forums. From these, an assessment of community attitude was undertaken and a scale of community support for tourism was developed.
The scale developed to assess resident's attitude's to tourism development was not dissimilar to those developed earlier by Ap and Crompton (1993), Butler (1975) and Dogan (1989). The scale classified residents as one of the following: 'supporters', 'opponents' or 'ambivalent', based on their survey responses to various questions. Interestingly, though somewhat incidental to this paper, the clear majority of residents in Nillumbik who took place in the survey process were found to be 'supporters'.

Madrigal (1995) argues for the segmenting of resident communities based on their perceptions of tourism development and their attitudes about the role of local government in the process. He suggests that this allows for more successful marketing of tourism to residents. Davis, Allen and Cozenza (1986) espouse a similar strategy. Nillumbik Council also adhered to this line of thought and based upon the findings of these authors built the task of marketing to residents into the Tourism Manager position description.

Armed with the above findings, Nillumbik management decided that marketing not only to visitors, but also to local residents would be a chief priority for the then to be recruited Tourism Manager. It was envisaged that the community segments identified by the research Nillumbik Council conducted would provide the incumbent with a firm starting point for resident marketing activities.

Nillumbik Council established itself as the interface between the community and the other stakeholders within the tourism system. Whilst the process of community involvement was government driven, it remained inclusive and allowed for wide community participation. That is, Nillumbik did not set out to ignore ratepayers and residents, as has previously been reported the case in other areas (Joppe 1996). Nillumbik Council did seek to involve the community and did assume the role of champion of the tourism cause.

The process of ensuring full community participation and consultation involved the investment of considerable funds. Nillumbik Council paid for the services of a consultant to involve the community and they paid for the administration of the postal survey to some 12,000 households. As Weissberg (in Lankford 1994) states, the cost of opinion-policy congruence between the community and local government can be considerable in terms of time and money, and in the Nillumbik study this was certainly the case.

Nillumbik Council recognised that the community were vital to the tourism development process and sought to involve them fully. They also recognised, as did Simmons (1994), that vital as community involvement is to tourism development, it should not and cannot dispense with the need for marketing and industry based planning approaches. Nillumbik Council, after firstly establishing the community's attitude toward tourism destination development as being positive, then sought to establish those of current visitors and the industry.
Nillumbik Council and the Industry (Product)
Nillumbik Council sought industry involvement and participation in the development of a destination marketing image through the use of public meetings, expressions of interest and individual operator interviews. In so doing they were seeking to form an alliance of some description between themselves and industry. The formation of such an alliance is widely advocated by previous researchers such as Palmer and Bejou (1995), Gunn (1988), Stevens (1988), and Boivin (1987). In trying to form such an alliance, Nillumbik were well aware of the difficulties particular to public sector/private sector alliances, as outlined by Ring and Perry (1985) and Rainey (1983), and so sought to invoke as open a process as possible.

The outcome of Nillumbik Council and industry consultation was a consensus that the best way forward was for Nillumbik Council to facilitate the formation of a local/regional tourism association, consisting chiefly of industry people but with local government and community representation also. This association, once formed, would then be in a position to advise council on tourism matters and to work with council’s future Tourism Manager on issues of tourism marketing and strategy.

In addition to the process of tourism operator consultation, Nillumbik Council also compiled a full inventory of Nillumbik tourism product. This was compiled in order to ensure that future tourism managers could be assured of correctly matching the said product to the markets identified through the visitor research.

Nillumbik Council and the Visitors
Nillumbik Council followed recognised marketing practice and undertook market research to better acquaint themselves with their current tourist market. Through several months of administered visitor surveys across a range of sites within the Shire they undertook a comprehensive examination of visitor motivations and requirements. This style of market research is well recognised and recommended for tourism research (Coltman 1989; McDaniel Jnr and Gates 1993; Morrison 1989; Seaton and Bennett 1996; Reid 1989; and Ryan 1995). Administered surveys were conducted over a nine month period, enabling Nillumbik management to confidently identify major markets and target market segments.

Nillumbik Council sought to segment visitors to Nillumbik demographically, psychologically, geographically, behaviourally and by the benefits they were seeking in visiting the area. The objectives of this study, with regards to visitors to Nillumbik, were firstly, to establish a visitor profile, and then secondly, to segment the visitor market outlining possible target markets. This was to ensure that future marketing could be well targeted, and also to provide operators with a better idea of the current Nillumbik market.

The Local Government Role in Destination Development – Nillumbik
In instigating the above measures Nillumbik Council assumed the role of facilitator in tourism development, becoming the interface between all other stakeholders involved. In electing to involve all parties within the tourism system, that is industry, the community and visitors, Nillumbik Council was attempting to make the process of
tourism destination development as democratic as possible, as is recommended by Lankford (1994). The Shire included the community in the process, as recommended by proponents of wider community involvement in tourism (Simmons 1994, Ryan 1994, Keogh 1990, Perdue, Long and Lawrence 1990, Murphy 1985, D’Amore 1983). In assessing destination development possibilities, including potential marketing ideas, they sought the views and inclusion of industry. This style of collaboration is widely suggested by many previous authors (Manuel, McElroy and Smith 1996, Palmer and Bejou 1995, Tonge and Myott 1995, Crompton 1990, Gunn 1988, Stevens 1988, Boivin 1987). And further, by seeking to include the views and behaviours of current visitors they were adhering to basic market research practice (Seaton and Bennett 1996, Smith 1990, Reid 1989, Coltman 1989).

The conflict of interest problems outlined by Madrigal (1995) in terms of the local government role in tourism development were largely non-existent in Nillumbik at the time of this study due to the presence of independent, appointed commissioners rather than councillors elected from within the shire boundaries.

The Nillumbik Council have been the lynch pin in the development of tourism in Nillumbik and have proven their commitment by attempting to accommodate the interests of community, industry and visitor. Their actions demonstrate their vision for strong destination development and a long term, sustainable tourism industry for the area. This broadening of the traditional local government role reflects the findings of Emcorp (1996) and Dollery and Marshall (1997).

In the case of Nillumbik Shire it has been local government that has facilitated and led tourism destination development. It was Nillumbik Shire Council who insisted on broad based community input for the plan and funded surveying of all Nillumbik households. It was Nillumbik Shire Council who insisted on, and again funded, surveying of the visitor population. And it was Nillumbik Shire Council who ensured that industry were presented with ample opportunity to be involved in the process of destination development through workshops, forums, personal interviews and calls for expressions of interest.

Nillumbik Council’s role, when judged by the process they employed and using past research recommendations for such a process as a measurement yardstick, appears to have been highly effective. They involved all three stakeholder groups, they acknowledged the value of community involvement and support, they sought to assess the current situation by surveying visitors and they attempted to form some type of marketing alliance with the local tourism industry.

In summary, the Council took on the leading role within the destination’s development. As facilitator, it sought to closely involve each of the other stakeholder parties and to ensure that the concerns and opinions of each group were heeded. It is unlikely that any other party within the system would have been sufficiently equipped or motivated to drive the process in this manner.
Suggestions for Further Research

To date local government involvement in destination development, particularly in Australia, seems to have been largely ignored and certainly under-studied by researchers. There exists considerable opportunity for research in this area to continue.

Whilst the aim of this paper was to examine the process employed by local government in attempting to develop a destination, longer term what remains to be seen is how successful Nillumbik Council’s actions will be in establishing and consolidating Nillumbik as a destination. Longitudinal study of this very question would provide an interesting and valuable postscript to this case study.

Additionally, whilst this research has highlighted the facilitation role played by local government in Australia, the author does not assert that this is the optimum system. Indeed, one might well ask whether local government are capable of being a stable gatekeeper when change within both local government management (Chief Executive Officers, Directors, and middle managers) and elected officials (Councillors) occurs so frequently. Again, this area would seem worthy of further research.

References


ABSTRACT

Tourism has played an important role in the development of several geographic areas. In Portugal, some rural destinations have been profiting from the positive impacts of tourism development. The significant value of natural and cultural heritage located in rural areas of North Portugal has enhanced the promotion of this region as a rural tourism destination. However, the long-term benefits of tourism are dependent on the development of a sustainable planning strategy (Middleton and Hawkins, 1998). This is partially due to the fragility of tourism resources in these areas and to the increasing competition created by foreign rural regions. Positioning analysis is an important frame of reference for tourism destination planning, providing useful input for developing strategies that permit the optimisation of resources and the achievement of a competitive position (Moutinho, 1995).

The positioning analysis presented in this paper is based upon 235 responses from visitors of North Portugal, collected in a one-year (1998-1999) airport survey (Kastenholz, 2000). Visitors were asked to indicate the importance of potential benefits of a rural tourism experience, and to evaluate the performance of North Portugal and of a freely chosen second destination on those benefits. An exploratory Principal Components Analysis permitted identifying northern and “latin” destination groups with similar images. The competitive position of North Portugal in relation to these destinations was analysed in further detail. This permitted the identification of potential ways of improving its destination planning and marketing.

The potential benefits of rural tourism

Although several researchers recognise “rural tourism” as a specific tourism form or product, a consensual definition of rural tourism has not yet been found. The simplest concepts define rural tourism as the tourist activity, which takes place in rural areas (Davidson, 1992; OCDE, 1994). The main difficulty with the adoption of this concept is the wide variety of interpretations of the concept “rural area”. A low population density, a predominance of agricultural activity, the prevalence of small settlements and the preservation of old ways of life are just some of the criteria that have been adopted to define rural areas (Lane, 1994).
Some researchers have also argued that not all kinds of tourism that takes place in rural areas can be classified as rural tourism. Therefore, it was suggested that the definition of rural tourism shouldn’t be confined to spatial criteria, but should also take into account other features such as. These features included the scale of development; the kinds of resources that form the basis of the tourist activities; and the kind of agents who control the development (Davidson, 1992; Lane, 1994). Considering some of these criteria, Davidson (1992) advocates that rural tourism has to be developed upon the potentialities of both natural and human environments and controlled by the local community. Some years later, Lane (1994) provided a more detailed and useful definition of rural tourism that has become a reference for several researchers. Lane (1994) states that rural tourism may include a wide range of tourist activities, as long as they assure the following criteria: be located in rural areas; be functionally rural (e.g. based on natural resources and traditional practices); be rural in scale (e.g. small scale in terms of settlements and buildings); be traditional in character and controlled by local people.

Rural tourism assumes a key role in the development of planning strategies for rural areas, especially as far as the promotion of their sustainable development is concerned. It may help to enhance the economic development of some areas through the increase and diversification of jobs, or even by assuring additional income for residents (OCDE, 1994). Tourism may also be a justification for the maintenance or creation of specific services (e.g. cultural services) in rural areas (OCDE, 1994). In addition, the maximisation of tourist expenses in these areas may also be favoured by the creation of more opportunities to spend money (Setas, 1991).

The positive impacts of rural tourism at the cultural and social level may be divided into two main groups: to preserve cultural heritage (including traditional practices of rural areas) (OCDE, 1994; Page and Getz, 1997) and to retain people in the poorly developed inland areas (Faíssc, 1985). The last feature results largely from some potential benefits of rural tourism previously referred to, such as the creation of jobs and specific services in rural areas. Rural tourism, promoting a small-scale development based on the natural heritage of rural areas, also contributes to the preservation of their natural features, including the scenic qualities of their landscape (OCDE, 1994; Lane, 1994). It is argued that the success of rural tourism planning may be significantly enhanced by marketing and more specifically positioning analysis, as will be discussed next.

The importance of positioning analyses for the sustainable development of rural areas

As stated before, rural tourism may have a strategic role in the development of rural areas and in the valorisation of their resources. However, despite the existence of an international rural tourism market, some features, like the increasing variability and diversity of this market and the fragility of rural areas’ resources, make sustainable development of these areas dependent on the efficient marketing of rural tourism.

1 Page and Getz (1997) provide a comprehensive review of references from studies about rural tourism impacts.
Hence, the link between marketing and planning is becoming stronger. Some reasons for this are:

- the recognition, by marketers, that the criteria for determining the success of destinations are changing in favour of “good quality of life”;
- “possibility of leisure enjoyment” and “environment quality”;
- the development of a social marketing perspective, whose objective is to assure long-term wellbeing for society; and
- the increasing importance planners assign to marketing, especially concerning the generation of financial resources.

Marketing is particularly important for rural areas, where resources are usually scarce and have to be properly allocated. The small size and disperse location of rural companies may result in financial difficulties that may even compromise their operations in the long run. Despite the significance of marketing for attracting tourists to rural areas and, consequently, for profit generation in the rural economy, the lack of funds makes the investments in marketing difficult (Dolli and Pinfold, 1997). Still, it should be considered a strategic investment that may be assumed in a co-operative way (Moutinho, 1990).

According to Lane (1994), rural tourism is based upon the natural resources and the traditional way of life of rural areas, which are usually very fragile. Middleton (1998) discussed the ‘societal’ role that destination marketing may have in the preservation of destination’s resources for future generations. It may be decisive for sustainable development of rural areas to develop strategies that assure the preservation of their natural and cultural resources and, simultaneously, the satisfaction of the tourists that visit them.

The remoteness and difficult accessibility of some rural areas can set obstacles to the attraction of tourists to these places. Marketing may contribute to a more effective distribution of the rural tourism product by increasing the number of points of sale or of provision of information about the product (Middleton, 1998).

The potential market of rural areas includes tourists that look for different kinds of supply. The segmentation of this market into groups who search for the same kind of rural tourism products is another potential benefit from the use of marketing (Dolli and Pinfield, 1997).

The increasing competition among tourism destinations has contributed to the rise of the tourists’ levels of demand. Hence, the success of a rural tourism destination becomes dependent on its ability to achieve a competitive position in relation to competing destinations. Positioning is considered the key to the attainment of such a position. In the context of tourism, it has been defined as “the act of formulating a competitive position for the tourist product” (Moutinho, 1995). The competitiveness of the product’s position is largely dependent on the needs and perceptions of the marketplace, as well as on the characteristics of competing products.
Some researchers (e.g. Lovelock, 1991) emphasised that this position must, in the first place, be different from those of competing products. This implies that a product can only attain a competitive position if consumers are able to distinguish it from competitors on, at least, some features. This view has been complemented with the perspective that consumers must value this competitive position (Lewis, 1981; Urban and Hauser, 1993; Moutinho, 1995; Kotler, 1997). There is now a wide agreement that the two previous conditions are both essential.

Positioning analyses are the basis for the development of competitive positioning strategies (Aaker and Shansby, 1982; Lewis, 1990; Urban and Star, 1991). Positioning analyses play a significant role in the achievement of a competitive position, since they unveil how consumers perceive a specific product in comparison with competing products. Basic steps of positioning analyses are: to identify the product features that consumers use to evaluate a product; to analyse the importance that consumers assign to those features; and, finally, to identify the perceptions consumers hold about both the product and its competitors on those features (Aaker and Shansby, 1982; Urban and Star, 1991). Data about the needs and values of consumers, and about their perceptions about products, may provide useful guidelines concerning the changes required to make a product more attractive to potential consumers. This information is the key for selecting the marketing mix that should be implemented to assure the competitive positioning of the product in the future (Lovelock, 1991; Kotler, 1997). This will be highlighted when analysing the competitive position of North Portugal.

**Rural Tourism in Portugal**

In Portugal, tourism already plays a significant role in economic development, accounting for about 8% of the GDP. However, the problems associated with the creation of a consensual concept of rural tourism make the assessment of rural tourism impacts difficult. In Portugal, one possible indicator of the rural tourism development is the capacity of the establishments classified as rural tourist accommodation. Although rural tourism is not confined to rural tourist accommodation, the evolution of supply and demand of these establishments is a good expression of the great receptivity that Portuguese rural tourism has had in the tourism market. According to Portuguese legislation, these establishments encompass a wide range of means of accommodation located in rural areas, including houses with great architectonic and historical value, rustic houses integrated in the typical regional architecture and farms.

In 1999, there were already 606 rural tourism houses in Portugal, corresponding to a total of 5776 beds (DGT, 2000). The growing awareness of the potential benefits of rural tourism contributed to a significant increase of this kind of accommodation in Portugal in the last decade. From 1990 to 1999, the number of rural tourism houses increased by 172% whereas their accommodation capacity rose by 219% (figure 1).
This business has contributed to the generation of tourism flows in Portugal, being responsible for 361,689 bednights in 1999. The demand for these houses showed an increase of 493% in the last decade (in terms of bednights) (figure 2).

Fig.2. Evolution of demand in rural tourist accommodation (bednights) 1990-1999

Rural tourism has already a great expression in North Portugal. In 1999, this region, which occupies about one fourth of Portugal’s surface, accounted for more than 40% of the rural tourist accommodations located in Portugal (44% of the houses and 42% of the accommodation capacity) (figure 3) and 40% of the bednights in these houses (DGT, 2000).

Fig.3 Rural tourist accommodation capacity (in beds) by region
Source: DGT, 2000

North Portugal holds a significant set of natural and cultural resources, including large extensions of rural areas with beautiful landscapes, where the environment, some old
cultural heritage and traditional practices are yet relatively preserved. However, this region shares some problems of the rural areas that were already referred to. Some weaknesses of North Portugal’s rural areas lie in the following features: the remoteness and the difficult accessibility of some places; the increasing depopulation of some areas; the fragility of their natural resources that include beautiful landscapes of vineyards, other agricultural land and protected areas; the difficulty associated with assuring the preservation of traditional practices by future generations; the large amount of money required to assure future preservation of cultural heritage; the small dimension of companies which make the viability of businesses much more difficult and challenging. The last mentioned feature is a major concern in the rural tourism business that takes place in Portugal, since rural tourism houses are usually of a very small size (these houses had an average of 5 rooms in 1999) (DGT, 2000). However, in Portugal, rural tourism has shown a great impact in the attraction of both the national and international tourism market. This situation may be well noticed in North Portugal, where foreigners were responsible for near half the bednights of rural tourist accommodation (DGT, 2000).

Taking into account both North Portugal’s capacity for attracting tourists through rural tourism, and the problems of its rural areas, a positioning analysis of this region may be of great value, unveiling how it may optimise its resources and achieve a competitive position. The next section presents a positioning analysis of North Portugal in relation to other rural tourism destinations, and also its implications for the development of planning strategies for North Portugal.

The Study
The positioning analysis presented in this paper is based upon 235 responses from visitors of North Portugal, collected in a one-year (1998-1999) airport survey (Kastenholz, 2000). The sample cannot be considered representative of the population of tourists in rural areas in North Portugal, as it only includes those (mainly foreign) tourists travelling by plane. As visible in general statistics of tourist flows in North Portugal (although a distinction between rural and urban areas is not made), Portuguese and Spanish tourists are important groups that usually travel by car and are therefore not well represented in this sample. However, as far as air-travelling tourists are concerned, the sampling procedure should guarantee an approximation to representation. In fact data collection took place all around the year, at specific and changing days of the week, with significant focus on days with more holiday tourist movements. Visitors were approached arbitrarily at arrival when waiting for their luggage and personally interviewed. This yielded a response rate of about 70% of tourists approached, despite the adverse conditions of some data collection situations. Only those tourists who indicated that they would visit the rural areas of North Portugal were included in the sample. Visitors were asked to indicate, apart from socio-demographics and travel behaviour data, the importance of potential benefits of a rural tourism experience. They were then given a second questionnaire with a free return envelope, which they were asked to fill in at the end of their holiday and post before leaving. This approach led to a reduction of the initially 603 responses for the first questionnaire to 235 (about 39%) of complete answers, which may have led to an
additional bias. In the second questionnaire respondents should evaluate the performance of North Portugal and of a freely chosen second destination on the above-mentioned benefits. This procedure resulted in an evaluation of North Portugal by all respondents, but in different numbers of responses for competing destinations.

Results
Analysing first the profile of the sample (N=235), female respondents (53%) slightly outnumbered males. Respondents tended to be relatively young, with most respondents (66%) being between 25 and 44 years old. Professional activities most present were scientific, technical and liberal (41%) occupations, clerical and service activities (15%), but also retired (12%) and students (8%) were important groups. Respondents revealed an above-average degree of education, (10% bachelor’s, 57% university degree and 7% post-graduation). This corresponds to findings of other studies about the European rural tourism market (e.g. Davidson, 1992). Most respondents lived in cities (62%), but also towns (18%) and villages (20%) were mentioned as places of residence. Most tourists travelled in a couple (58%), 13% with friends, another 13% in an organised group and only about 5% with minor children. This shows that rural North Portugal is neither a typical family destination nor a major “tour-group-destination”.

Most respondents were foreign tourists (94%), due to the chosen survey procedure, as mentioned before. Main nationalities present were German (22%), British (20%) and Dutch (17%), followed by the French (9%), Portuguese (6%), Belgian (5%), US American, Finnish, Swiss and Italian (3%).

Holiday splitting is quite common in this sample, with many respondents taking two (32%) or three to four (44%) holidays a year. Also weekend trips were popular. Holidays and weekends in the countryside were chosen by 21% twice, 19% between 3 and 4 times a year and by 17% more often. That is, the sample can be qualified as experienced travellers, also in terms of rural holidays.

2 However, tests of differences between those interviewed only before their stay and those answering both questionnaires revealed no significant differences at the 0.01 level, as far as gender, number of prior visits, age and education level were concerned.
3 Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, Ireland, Benelux, France, Italy, Spain, the Portuguese province Alentejo and the USA were selected as potential competitive rural tourism destinations, based on previous studies undertaken on rural tourism in Portugal (Kastenholz, 1997)
The destinations visited by most respondents for a rural holiday were France (23%), the UK (16%, but mainly by British), Scandinavia (8.5%), Italy and Spain (8%), Germany (7%) and the Netherlands (6%, the last two mainly by their domestic markets), Portugal (6%), Belgium, Austria and Switzerland (5%). Ireland was only mentioned by 1.3% (three respondents).

Most respondents had no prior experience with North Portugal (67%) and 45% of respondents had never visited Portugal before. Most mentioned other Portuguese destinations were Lisbon (21%) and the Algarve (20%), with another 5% referring to a trip “all over the country” and 4% to Madeira. This reflects approximately the most important travel destinations in the country, although the Algarve should have stood out more evidently.

As information sources used to choose North Portugal, personal recommendation plays a major role (37%), but also tourist guide-books (30%), travel agencies (26%) and operator’s catalogues (13%) and a previous visit (21%) had some importance. The main motive was a leisure holiday, with some visiting friends and family (18%) and a few combining leisure with business (9%). A wide variety of single motives were mentioned, amongst which a general discovery of the region/curiosity (17%) was referred to most. Several motives related to landscape/nature (20%), culture (9%), peace and quiet (4%) and escaping tourist crowds (4%), with only 2.5% seeking sun and sea. That is, although a North-South flow is clearly visible, “sunlust” is no major motivation for choosing North Portugal.

About 43% stayed about one week, 27% about two and another 11% more. Most respondents stayed in the summer months (44% May to August) and the mid-season (20% March/April and another 20% September/October). A large group (44%) stayed in a hotel, with friends and family (15%) or in rented flats or houses (10%), with country and manor houses being chosen by 8% and camping by 6%.

Before looking at results of a more structured approach on destination image, freely elicited images of North Portugal after the visit are briefly presented. Landscape features stood out (84%), with a green, mountainous, beautiful and natural scenery. Gastronomy (food and wine) follow (19%), as do friendly people (14%), culture (11%) and climate (9%). The atmosphere was characterised as mainly calm, pure/authentic, attractive and historical. The people (35%), nature and landscape (22%), culture and authenticity (10%) impressed most favourably. Most negative impressions relate to traffic conditions (34%, mainly chaotic driving and lacking sign-posting), poor service (22%), below-optimal weather and pollution (11% both).

For measuring destination image, a series of attributes had been selected that were considered potential benefits sought in a rural holiday experience. These attributes were rated on 5-point Likert scales both in terms of their importance (in the first questionnaire) and presence/availability at the destination to be evaluated (in the second questionnaire). Principal Components Analysis was first undertaken on these “benefits sought”, considering all useful responses from the first survey in order to
increase the number of cases for analysis. The solution presents the following features, which sustain the adequacy of the factor analytical technique (Hair et al., 1998: 99-112):

- KMO of 0.827 and Bartlett’s test of sphericity of 3402.677 with 0.000 significance;
- Seven components were extracted, with Kaiser’s criterion (eigenvalue > 1), explaining a total variance of 61.5%;
- All communalities have values above 0.46;
- In 67% of cases the residual between observed and reproduced correlations have an absolute values < 0.05;
- Measures of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) are all above 0.722.

The identified components had the following constitution, as clarified via Varimax Rotation:

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<tr>
<th>Component Nature</th>
<th>Access</th>
<th>Action &amp; Fun</th>
<th>Basics</th>
<th>Information</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Food &amp; Lodge</th>
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<td>Importance - Isolation</td>
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<td>Importance - Peace and Quiet</td>
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<td>Importance - Nature</td>
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<td>Importance - Walking Paths</td>
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<td>Importance - Rural Life</td>
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<td>Importance - Communication</td>
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<td>Importance - Accessibility</td>
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<td>Importance - Infrastructure</td>
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<td>Importance - Children</td>
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<td>Importance - Variety</td>
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<td>Importance - Unpoll. Environment</td>
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Rotation converged in 10 iterations.

Fig. 4: PCA solution of importance ratings (“benefit-dimensions”)

The seven identified benefit dimensions are considered below when analysing image differences between competitive destinations. The importance these benefit attributes and dimensions assume is shown in the following table (a 5-point-Likert scale was used, with 1 meaning unimportant and 5 very important):
Touri s m De s tination Planning

Fig. 5. Average importance of potential attributes of a rural holiday

Striking is the relevance of "basics" (see figure 4), a scenic and unpolluted environment, sympathy of population and good climate. Some aspects related to the factor "nature" and "culture" follows, as would be expected in the context of rural tourism. Also information, especially "sign-posting", food & lodging and aspects related to accessibility, particularly "price", are of above-average importance. Striking as less important are attributes related to socializing/ action/ fun, with some more extreme aspects of a rural holiday (isolation, rural way of life) being also relatively less sought.

Looking next at competitive images of North Portugal in relation to other rural holiday destinations, a first objective was the identification of destination groups, based on similar perceptions of destinations. For this purpose, an exploratory PCA was undertaken, which used the average of evaluated attributes as cases and the destinations as variables. This procedure is not the most common application of PCA, where cases use to be responses to variables, which are then aggregated into groups with similar response patterns. However, the grouping of destinations based on similar average evaluative patterns was considered a possible approach trying to identify structure in the complexity of data. Obviously some limitations are linked to this approach, such as apart from the consideration of average instead of individual data, the limited number of cases (N=25), corresponding to the number of attributes evaluated. According to Hair et al. (1998: 98-99), there should be at least five times as many observations as there are variables to be analysed. In this case, the relation cases/ variable is 3.6, a bit inferior to the requested limit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenery</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sympathy</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unpolluted Environment</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>4.18</td>
<td>0.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History &amp; Culture</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace and quiet</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sign-post</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture, Monuments</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease of Communication</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>0.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessibility</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist Information</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodging</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>3.51</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking Paths</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>3.35</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Service</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socializing</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>1.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>3.20</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Life</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>1.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isolation</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>3.04</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports, recreation</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightlife</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mean</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig.5. Average importance of potential attributes of a rural holiday
Only those destinations with a minimum of nine evaluations were considered, namely France (N=25), Italy (N=20), Spain (N=14), Great Britain (N=14), Austria (N=10) and Scandinavia (N=9). The number of responses for each destination already points at the significance of these destinations as competing rural tourism destinations. France, Italy, Spain, Austria and Scandinavia stand out as important international rural holiday destinations for this sample. Only its own residents basically mentioned the UK. Despite the mentioned limitations of the approach, results of this exploratory PCA are reasonable, when the following features of the solution are considered:

- KMO of 0.65 and Bartlett’s test of sphericity of 89.172 with 0.000 significance;
- Seven components were extracted, with Kaiser’s criterion (eigenvalue>1), explaining a total variance of 61.5%;
- All communalities have values above 0.73 reflecting a good representation of data structure via principal components;
- The extraction of three components leads to an explanation of 84.88% of variance in the data, which may be considered as very good.4

After a “Varimax” rotation, the following factor structure could be identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>“loadings” of components</th>
<th>Accumulated Variance explained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Destinations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>0.9116</td>
<td>34.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>0.8908</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>0.7496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“latin” Destinations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>0.8695</td>
<td>67.21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>0.8370</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>0.7154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Portugal</td>
<td>0.8903</td>
<td>84.88%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 6. PCA solution of competitive rural destinations

The component-structure reveals a similar evaluation of northern destinations and those pertaining to Southern Europe, with North Portugal standing out as a single component. However, if a two-component solution had been chosen, France would show a more hybrid position between Northern and “latin” destinations and North Portugal would be closer to Spain, joining the “latin” destinations. The competitive position of North Portugal in relation to these northern and “latin” destinations was analysed in further detail.

4 Kaiser’s criterion (eigenvalue > 1) would lead to a solution of 2 components. However, when analysing the “scree-plot”, considering the low communality of the variable North Portugal (below 0.5) in this case and the fact that PCA tends to extract a conservative number of factors (too few) when the number of variables is less than 20 (Hair et al, 1998: 103-104), a 3-component solution was preferred.
A global evaluation on a 7-point Likert scale (1= very poor, 7= excellent) revealed the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>destination</th>
<th>Overall evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>5.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>5.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>5.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Portugal</td>
<td>5.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>5.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>5.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fig. 7. Overall evaluation of competing rural destinations

All destinations were globally evaluated. The results were rather positive, with values ranging from 5.08 to 6 in a 7-point scale. In order to stress more positively against relatively less positively evaluated destinations, the mean was calculated, locating France, North Portugal and Spain below the (still positive) mean. On the other hand, the destinations identified as “northern” were all above that average. Curiously though, one “latin” destination achieved the first rank, namely Italy.

Comparing North Portugal in the first place with the northern destinations, the relatively better global evaluation, particularly of Scandinavia and Austria is striking (figure 7). Scandinavia stands out with excellent values for closeness to nature and a quiet, beautiful and unpolluted environment, providing opportunities for isolation (figure 8). Austria and Great Britain also rated very favourably as far as landscape and nature were concerned, quite above the ratings for North Portugal. In the context of the benefit dimension “nature”, particularly “walking paths” are perceived as relatively poorer in North Portugal. All northern destinations are perceived as more favourable in terms of the benefit-dimensions “information” and “access”, except for “price”, evaluated as substantially better for North Portugal, and accessibility of Scandinavia, rated as low as North Portugal. “Basics” are perceived as generally very positive in Austria. North Portugal ranks poorest in terms of “unpolluted environment”, but highest in terms of climate and (together with Austria) sympathy of population. In terms of “culture”, the UK stands out positively and Scandinavia negatively. No large differences are visible for food and lodging, although Austria stands out as most positive. Finally, as far as “socializing/ action/ fun” is concerned, evaluations are generally not very positive. North Portugal (together with Scandinavia) stands out as the most negative in terms of sports and recreation and offerings for children. Austria, on the other hand, stands out most positively in terms of sports and recreation and the UK in terms of variety of activities and attractions. The UK is also most positively judged as far as offerings for children and opportunities for socialising are concerned. Nightlife is generally evaluated as poor, although above average in the UK. However, considering the low importance attributed to this dimension, low respective evaluations are not too much of a concern for this market. High ratings might actually result in a slightly more negative image for those interested in a calm rural holiday.
Tourism Destination Planning

Fig. 8. Evaluations of northern rural tourism destinations, compared with North Portugal
Note: to highlight differences, only values between 2 and 5 are presented
Single attributes considered to be generally poorer in North Portugal than in northern rural destinations are “walking paths”, “sign-posting” and “tourist information”, “ease of communication”, “unpolluted environment”, “sports/recreation” and “offerings for children”. These may be considered the destination’s weak points or “competitive disadvantages” in relation to northern destinations. On the other hand, as competitive advantages in this context one might consider “good price”, “sympathy of population” and “good climate”, which have been identified as quite relevant aspects (figure 5).

One may conclude that the good overall evaluation of Scandinavia, despite its poor evaluation in terms of history and culture, prices, opportunities for socialising and sports, gastronomy and accessibility is due to its nature and landscape qualities, lack of pollution and peaceful and quiet atmosphere. Austria appears as a globally attractive destination, which is partly true for the UK, except for its “climate”. North Portugal is considered generally inferior to northern destinations, except for “sympathy”, “climate” and “price”, which may be decisive for destination choice.

Fig. 9. Evaluations of “Latin” rural tourism destinations, compared with North Portugal
Note: to highlight differences, only values between 2 and 5 are presented
Comparing North Portugal with the rural destinations of Southern Europe (figure 9), it is striking that the differences are not as large when compared to northern destinations. Italy has been globally evaluated very positively (figure 7), standing out in terms of climate, history and architecture as well as gastronomy, with only “price” being relatively less favourable. The evaluation of nature aspects was generally poorer than in the northern destinations, which shows that a positive overall evaluation may be linked to different aspects, when evaluating different destinations. Spain, which was globally evaluated as the poorest (figure 7), was only relatively well evaluated in terms of climate, being on the average in most other items. France obtained a below-average overall evaluation, but ranked higher than North Portugal and Spain. It also showed many average ratings, with “walking paths” and “sign-posting” positively standing out, while the price level was negatively evaluated. North Portugal stands out as being worse in terms of “walking paths”, “sign-posting”, “tourist information”, “nightlife”, “sports and recreation”, “variety of activities/attractions” and opportunities for “children”. It obtained a relatively better evaluation in terms of “price” and “sympathy of population”.

In relation to the “latin” competitors, North Portugal reveals several competitive disadvantages and a few advantages, although these destinations are generally more similar. Italy stands out as the “latin” destination with most positive evaluative deviations.

In order to highlight differences between North Portugal and both “latin” and northern destinations, on an aggregated level, average evaluations for the destination groups were further compared against the image of the region.

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Fig. 9. Average evaluations of “latin” and northern rural tourism destinations, compared with North Portugal. Note: to highlight differences, only values between 2 and 5 are presented.
This analysis reveals that the average northern destination is superior to North Portugal and the average “latin” destination, in many aspects, especially in terms of nature, information, infrastructure and access. The average “latin” destination is superior to the northern in terms of “climate”, “price”, “history”, “architecture”, “nightlife” and “sports/recreation”. North Portugal, on the other hand, is inferior to both destination groups in terms of “walking paths”, “sign-posting”, “tourist information”, “accessibility”, “sports/recreation”, “variety of attractions and activities” and “opportunities for children”. It is perceived as being superior to all other destinations in terms of “price” and “sympathy of population” and as being superior to northern destinations in terms of climate.

Conclusions and Implications for Destination Planning and Marketing
This paper has highlighted that marketing is essential to assuring the sustainable development of rural areas and to maximise the potential benefits of rural tourism. However, the increasing competition among tourism destinations makes the achievement of a competitive position in the rural tourism market a difficult and challenging task. Positioning analyses has emerged as a critical marketing tool to ensure competitive positioning of rural tourism destinations in the marketplace.

From the positioning analysis of North Portugal, in relation to its major rural tourism competitors, we may conclude that although the region already holds some competitive advantages, it can significantly improve its offering in the eyes of the tourists.

The main competitors, according to their similarities, may be easily grouped into two sets of countries: “the Northern” (Austria, UK and Scandinavia) and “the Latin” (Italy, France and Spain) countries. The main advantages of the Northern countries in relation to the other countries concerns ‘nature’, ‘basics’ related to the environment, some features related to information and access, variety of attractions and opportunities for children. In contrast, the Latin countries are more competitive than “the northern” as far as price and climate are concerned. North Portugal is perceived as different from these two groups of countries, although “latin” destinations are perceived to be more similar to it and may be, therefore, more important “direct competitors”, as people would tend to associate a range of similar potential benefits.

This analysis unveiled that North Portugal already holds a competitive position in relation to its six main competitors on a small set of features: sympathy of population and price. This position is valued by tourists, since they classified the two features as being important (especially sympathy of population).
These two features may be stressed in market communications designed to create a competitive image of North Portugal. However, "price" is a problematic item, as a "low price" image may be associated with "low quality" and thus may put further pressure on the destination's resources, making a sustainable "quality development" of tourism and investments more difficult. A "fair price" image would be more favourable and also guarantees fair pay to the often relatively poor population in rural areas in North Portugal. When compared to northern destinations, North Portugal should also be promoted as a country with good climate, given its advantage on this issue. Similarly, when North Portugal is compared to "Latin" countries several other advantages should be promoted, such as: peace and quiet, rural life and scenery.

Apart from these implications in market communication, improving the identified weak points should enhance product development. This would be important because the basis of the destination's competitive advantage is composed of a small number of benefits (problems associated with one of them (price) were already mentioned). These improvements involve a re-qualification of basic infrastructures (accessibility and signage), an improved access to existing resources (via tourist information), an improved supply of complementary tourism products (sports and recreation, activities for children and walking paths), as well as greater care for the environment. Hence, in North Portugal the majority of the improvements that are needed to enhance its image as a rural destination refer to features that are man-made and manageable. This should be taken into account in future planning strategies that may be developed for this region.

Positioning analysis is generally seen as an important strategic tool for defining tourism development objectives and communication strategies. Positioning should be further related to previous segmentation analysis and identification of a target market that would be most interesting to the region. If North Portugal wishes to attract and satisfy the international rural tourism market, the presented results may provide some guidelines for planning its tourism development more successfully, and may serve as an example to other rural area destinations. If the region wishes to position itself more conveniently for the domestic market, similar analysis must be based on a survey of this population. Eventually, different positioning analyse may be undertaken for other specific market segments (e.g. separately for older or younger age groups, for those travelling with organised groups or other segments). However, for this purpose, a different research design is needed, guaranteeing a representative sample from the market segment studied.

Obviously, all these decisions cannot be taken based only on segmentation and positioning analysis, as the nature of resources cannot always be changed (e.g. climate) or that it may not be in the interest of local populations to have them changed (e.g. nightlife). Any decision must be integrated in a comprehensive strategic planning approach, in which the global and sustainable development of the rural area is at stake. Marketing may help in identifying a group of people that may be interested in the defined supply and especially interested from the destination's point of view (leading to an optimisation of economic and other benefits and minimisation of negative impacts). It may also help in attracting this target group more effectively and in developing
supply in a way that maximises satisfaction for all involved. As a destination is not alone in targeting its supply to specific market segments, it should also consider what competitive position it actually holds in the eyes of the target-market, and which position it would desire in order to achieve its planned objectives.
References

ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON RURAL COMMUNITIES IN ZIMBABWE

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ABSTRACT

This research tests the theory that “sustainability” in relation to community based tourism, can only be achieved through a process whereby the tourism development ideas are generated from within the community and the control of the tourism scheme rests with that community. The research explored the level of rural community participation in tourism and identified the impacts of tourism on the host communities in selected communal lands. The research examined the varied perspectives of Zimbabwean conservationists, tourism industry leaders and government officials regarding the impacts of tourism and levels of tourism development within the communal lands of Zimbabwe. Three different research case sites were selected for the purpose of the research. The focus of the research was the investigation of the social and cultural impacts of tourism on the host communities. The level of the communities’ involvement in tourism and the degree of interaction that the communities had with tourists was used to measure the impact. This paper outlines a number of strategies to be implemented by tourism developers, non-governmental organisations and rural communities to underline the sustainability of rural tourism enterprises. The research identified that the environmental/economic impacts of rural tourism often takes precedence over the social/cultural impacts, which in turn can contribute to significant changes to the livelihood portfolios of rural communities. The research findings suggest that the key to sustainable tourism in the communal lands of Zimbabwe is the meaningful involvement of all stakeholders at all levels of the tourism development process. It should also involve the implementation of an ongoing system of monitoring and evaluation to facilitate the effective management of the resultant impacts over time.

KEY WORDS

‘Communal Lands’

Forty per cent of the total landmass in Zimbabwe, including 75% of all the land suitable for agriculture was held by 5,500 (approximately) white farm families and international companies. Forty two per cent of the land in Zimbabwe, mostly unsuitable for agriculture, was designated to the indigenous peoples (Masst, 1994:2). This is better known as the communal land, home to 56% of Zimbabwe’s population. The people
living on communal lands do not own the land and consequently find it difficult to obtain credit facilities for development or other purposes such as tourism lodges. The communities living on the communal lands do not have control over their own natural resources and the land on which they live. The communities living in these areas depend on subsistence farming as their primary survival strategy. These communities have experienced a continual spiral of ever diminishing returns from land that is steadily losing its fertility. A rural communities natural instinct is to increase their farming activities by securing more land and cutting down the woodland. As a result of this intensive farming the soil quality and land soon becomes redundant. The spiral of poverty continues as the population increases and the need to survive results in the further destruction of the natural resources (CAMPFIRE, 1997). The arrival of tourism in the communal lands provides much needed financial assistance to the community. Tourism does not solve the long-term development issues in the communal lands, as the people are unable to develop effectively without tenure (McIvor, 1994: 2).

‘Sustainable Tourism’
Sustainability and sustainable tourism are widely used terms across a wide spectrum of institutions. These terms are open to manipulation by the tourism industry and other tourism related organisations. “It has become a form of ideology, it has become a political catch-phrase” (Butler, 1998: conf).

Depending on the context in which the terms are used, it is a concept, a philosophy and a product. To the tourism industry it can mean that a tourism development is appropriate or some forms of it are. To the conservationist it can mean that principles articulated a century ago are once again in vogue. To the environmentalist it provides the justification for the preservation of the environment and for the politician it presents an opportunity to use words rather than actions (Butler, 1998). Wheeller (1998) advocates that the search for sustainable tourism should not be too academic, as it can result ‘in us (academics, tourism industry) being blinded by the (false) expectations of so-called sustainable tourism’ (Wheeler, 1998: conf).

Mowforth and Munt (1998) presented the principles of sustainable tourism, as observed from sustainable practices by institutions or organisations that are ethically and environmentally sound companies. The principles are outlined as criteria often used for measuring sustainability in tourism in relation to tourism development in the Less Developed Countries (LDC’s) is presented in figure 1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is the Lodge, tour, or destination:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. SUSTAINABLE?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmentally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culturally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economically</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. EDUCATIONAL?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. LOCALLY PARTICIPARTORY?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.1 Criteria often used for sustainability in tourism
Non-consumptive tourism
Non-consumptive in the context of tourism in the Southern African region, means that the tourism does not involve the direct consumption of the natural resources e.g. wildlife killed for sport hunting.

CAMPFIRE
The CAMPFIRE programme was borne as a result of the conflict between the people of the communal lands and their wildlife resources. CAMPFIRE is a rural development programme whose objectives are firmly rooted in the field of conservation. The basis of CAMPFIRE is to "re-establish proprietorship of local/rural communities over wildlife resources, so that the incentives that they derive directly and indirectly are sufficient to change the rules by which those resources are managed" (Bond, personal interview 1999). The CAMPFIRE initiative began in 1987, initially focusing on areas of the country that had an abundance of wildlife. The programme set out to protect the wildlife in these districts, where lessons relating to conservation of wildlife were learned and used to further develop the CAMPFIRE programme. These initial lessons assisted the programme to become an all inclusive natural resource management programme.

Introduction
As a result of technological advancements and improvements in communications, tourism has become one of the world's fastest growing industries today. Global tourism is expected to continue to expand because people are beginning to discover more and more new destinations, and the travel industry is becoming more organised. These advancements provide the majority of tourists with opportunities to visit the most remote locations on the planet. The tourist's appetite for new destinations is insatiable, as travel is an indicator of prestige. "Like a second car or second home, holiday travel is perhaps a so-called 'position marker', indicating a person's place on the social ladder" (Krippendorf, 1991: 18).

Tourism is an attractive option for many developing countries. An international conference on the environment and tourism concluded that the best potential for job creation, poverty eradication and social development in Africa in the 21st century lies in sustainable tourism.

Mr. Geoffrey Lipman, President of the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) said that 'All African countries have comparative advantage in the type of tourism that an increasing number of travellers are seeking - wildlife, scenery and unique cultural traditions. With sensitive development, tourism can be a 21st century commodity for African states in much the same way as mining and agriculture has been in the past two centuries. In addition it is a commodity which can be sustainable and renewable' (WTTC, 1998). There are however social, economic and environmental disadvantages as well as the advantages to be considered. Very often the short-term economic gains of tourism are given priority over the social, cultural and environmental considerations.

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5 Africa Embraces Agenda 21 for Sustainable Travel & Tourism. The conference was held in Victoria Falls Zimbabwe, Nov 1998, examined African economic & environmental patterns since the Rio Earth Summit.
The prospects of economic gains from tourism development alone can be the motivation for a rural community to embark on a tourism development project. The long-term sustainability of tourism development is put at risk by the danger that is posed by tourism developers that do not examine the social, cultural and environmental factors.

The involvement of the local community can be advantageous to the industry because the onset of the local communities hostilities towards tourism may be reduced or postponed. The debate has become more focused on the level of inclusion or control to be afforded to the local populations, rather than the need for their involvement at all (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). The good intentions of well meaning plans constructed by academic and project planners in the developed countries push for local participation. These plans originate from a position of power in the developed world and are easier to put on paper than to actually implement at a local level in the developing countries. These plans are more likely to benefit those (academics, advisory institutions) promoting tourism initiatives in local communities rather those directly affected. Mowforth (1998) believes that the debate on participation excludes the community from the initial decision in relation to acceptance of tourism as means of developing the community. Tourism projects would be of more benefit to communities if, ‘the origin of the ideas and the spur for the developments come from within the community, and control of the scheme rests within the community’ (Mowforth, 1998: per comm.). A system, which involves a tourism development process, which would be more sensitive to the local social and cultural environment, and spread the costs and benefits more equitably, is needed (Brohman, 1997).

In Zimbabwe the subject of tourism and sustainable tourism is closely aligned with the preservation of natural resources. Until recently much of Zimbabwe’s community-based tourism developments have been based on the preservation of wildlife. The concept of community ownership of their natural resources (including wildlife) has flourished and has been successful in allowing the communities to receive tangible benefits from their natural resources. The CAMPFIRE (Communal Area Management Programme For Indigenous Resources) Collaborative Group is the organisation that has facilitated the rapid development of this concept. Within Zimbabwe the CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group conducts and facilitates research in relation to issues concerning rural communities and the management of natural resources.

This research was motivated by a number of different factors. Firstly, ‘there has been no specific studies carried out on this area (Chambwera, 1999: personal interview) and secondly, the importance of the involvement of local communities is a subject that has attracted much interest in the last decade (1990’s). The researcher wanted to investigate if community based tourism existed in Zimbabwe, in the sense that the community have a meaningful involvement in the management of a tourism service, from which the wider community benefits directly and indirectly. The lack of previous research on the impacts of tourism on the rural communities was in essence the key motivation for conducting this research.
The focal point of this research investigates the social and cultural impacts of tourism on the rural people of Zimbabwe, which is measured against the communities' involvement or lack of it in tourism development and the degree of interaction the community has with the tourists. Tourism: ‘While its consequences are not universally welcomed, the cultural and social effects of international tourism rouse the most passion’ (Harrison, 1992: 19). The social and cultural impacts of tourism contribute to societal changes within a community. These changes can take place at an individual level, or within certain groups or at an institutional level within the community. Socio-cultural impacts are "people impacts, they are about the effects on the people of host communities of their direct and indirect associations with tourists" (Wolf, 1977 in Mathieson and Wall 1988: 133). Mowforth and Munt (1998) advocate that the community has to own and control the tourism development if it is to avoid the pitfalls of external control.

Specifically in LDCs, Mowforth and Munt (1998) have found that the key to the success of a tourism development is that the origins of the idea of the tourism development should come from the community. "[...] local participation, one of the most important elements in the success of a tourism scheme is that the idea and impetus for it should come from within the community itself..." (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: 275).

The growth of tourism has been widely linked with environmental destruction, a declining quality of life, rising feelings of loss of control and cultural alienation among the local populations of LDCs (Brohman, 1996). Community-based tourism is often seen as an approach to development that considers the interests of all the stakeholders involved. Community-based tourism development when implemented properly is designed to promote the economic, social and cultural welfare of the majority within the community. It should also consider that the type of tourism development is compatible with the various elements within that community. These elements include the local economy, the quality of development, both culturally and environmentally and the needs of the people of the community (Brohman, 1996).

**Tourism in the Communal Lands**

Tourism in the communal lands of Zimbabwe has until quite recently been based on safari hunting. The development of 'non-consumptive' ecotourism or nature camps has been a relatively new tourism concept in the communal area. The development of this type of tourism in a CAMPFIRE area is generally as a result of the community expressing a desire to utilise a scenic area for tourism (Murphee and Nyika, 1997). The format which tourism takes in a communal area is based on a wide range of variables. These variables include the issue of ownership and the degree of community involvement, which are central to the decisions regarding the format of the tourism development. Chambwera (1998) outlined the format that ecotourism can take in Zimbabwe, which can be supply or demand driven. Figure 1.2 outlines Chambwera’s alternative approaches for the development of community based ecotourism and there possible enterprises. In the context of this research Chambwera’s alternative approaches were used to identify a number of different styles of community based case study sites.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Approach</th>
<th>Possible Enterprise</th>
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| 1. Private investor-controlled enterprise with employment as the only direct community benefit | i.) Hunting concession with professional hunters  
ii.) “Hunting concessions using traditional trackers”  
iii.) Luxury wildlife – viewing lodges in communal lands |
| 2. Private investor who shares revenue with the community | Luxury lodge with bed-night levy contributed to the local community |
| 3. Outside investor in revenue-sharing joint venture with the community | i.) Luxury lodge established as a joint venture between entrepreneur and community, with each receiving profit shares  
ii) Overlapping private & community enterprises |
| 4. Community-controlled enterprise                   | i.) Up-market community campsite, developed with NGO assistance  
ii) “Low infrastructure, basic campsite, minimal facilities but cultural interaction”  
iii) Demonstration traditional villages and craft sales |

Figure 1.2 Alternative approaches to community-based ecotourism (Chambwera, 1998)

As indicated in figure 1.2 approaches 1 and 2 generally exclude the community from any involvement in the tourism development when the enterprise includes a tourist lodge facility. The lodges are normally constructed away from the centre of the local population, who are not allowed near the lodges. Approach 3 is also described as a ‘lease’ agreement development because the community and the entrepreneur enter into an agreement that allows the construction of the tourism facility on the communal lands. Generally with this type of development, ‘the community plays at best a minor role and often no role in their management’ (Child et al, 1997: 30). The lease agreement normally provides the community with an agreed fee for the lease and an additional amount as a percentage of the lodges yearly turnover.
The Rural District Council (RDC), who also manages the financial administration on behalf of the community, brokers the agreement. The RDC tend to categorise the revenue from the lease along with the revenue from the lodges trade, which should be allocated separately (Child et al., 1997).

The development of sport hunting was assisted by CAMPFIRE in order to encourage communities to conserve their natural resources (including wildlife). The development of the non-consumptive ecotourism sites (Approaches 3 & 4) was based on the same conservation objective by ensuring that the community benefits as a result of it.

The main benefit of these ventures for the communities is identified as financial benefits. The possible impacts include loss of access to land and its resources (such as grazing for livestock, wood for fuel, timber and thatching grass), loss of privacy and loss of control over development of the community area (Chambwera, 1998). Approach 4 is described as a ‘non-lease’ tourism development, which is a community-based tourism project. In 1997 there were 3 ‘non-lease’ tourism projects operating in Zimbabwe, one of which converted to a lease agreement in 1998.

The Case Study Sites
In addition to the overall objectives of the research, the researcher endeavoured to select case study sites that were reported by key tourism activists in Zimbabwe, to be examples of best practice in community-based tourism. Two of the selected case study sites were in Zimbabwe and the third in Zambia. The Zambian case site was selected because a number of senior executives in the Zimbabwean tourism industry indicated that it was an example of best practice in sustainable community-based tourism. Each of the three case sites analysed in this research are examples of community tourism projects in Zimbabwe and Zambia. The developers or the donor agencies facilitating the development of these tourism projects did not consider the social and cultural impacts of tourism on the host community at any stage before or after the tourism facilities had been constructed. The research highlights that the economic and environmental impacts of tourism development take precedence over the social and cultural impacts on the host community in all three case sites. This paper provides a synopsis of the research findings from three individual case study sites.

The research used a multiple case study method because it allows the use of the constant comparison of data from each case study site. Multiple cases strengthen results by yielding greater pattern matching and by yielding greater confidence in the robustness of the theory (Yin, 1994). “Whereas some researchers focus on the study of one case because of its unique or exceptional qualities, other researchers study multiple cases to make comparisons, build theory, and propose generalizations” (Yin, 1994: 157). The key components of the case study site selection were based on a combination of criteria on community participation, the tourism development process and the alternative styles of community tourism developments in the communal lands of Zimbabwe. The key criteria used for the selection of each case study site was based on Chambwera’s four approaches to tourism development (see figure 1.2) in the communal lands of Zimbabwe.
Tourism Destination Planning

Case Study Site 1
Case study site 1 is located in the Nyagande village area, Musiyandima ward in the Uzumba Maramba Pfungwe (UMP) Zvataida communal lands of Zimbabwe. This tourism project provided basic accommodation in four one-room huts, each containing four beds and mosquito nets. The huts had four camping sites available, which were rarely used. The tourism project did not have any electricity or running water. Other facilities included barbecue stands, communal Blair toilets, bucket showers and a communal kitchen, which provided traditional African dishes upon request. The tourism project also had a small thatched conference area, a paraffin-burning freezer stocked with a small selection of soft drinks and beers. The drinking water for guests was physically carried by the employees of the project from a borehole located at the primary school.

The project was operated under the authority of the CAMPFIRE Association, which kept in close contact with the tourism projects management committee through the CAMPFIRE regional co-coordinator based at the local Rural District Council office. The CAMPFIRE co-ordinator assisted with the transportation of materials for the project and transferred any details of guest bookings that came in to the Rural District Council office. CAMPFIRE ensured that the project was run under its principles, empowering the local community to manage the natural resources in their area and that they benefited from these natural resources through the tourism project. In 1999 there were 64 household members involved in the tourism project.

A ‘household member’ was defined by the tourism project CAMPFIRE committee as a family unit including all children under the age of 18. When the children of a household member reached 18 years of age they were invited to become members independently and were required to pay the full membership fee. When the project was initiated in 1993 the membership fee was Z$10 and each household was required to provide free labour for the construction of the huts (huts constructed from brick, in a traditional style). The membership fee to join the tourism project had increased over the years to Z$1,500 in 1999 and each new household member was required to produce 2,000 bricks for the project.

The impetus for the development of the tourism project came from within the community, which was constructed and then managed by the community with funding from donors. The economic benefits of the tourism project were spread out over a large proportion of the local community, as local services and produce was used by the tourism project. The community was happy with the presence of tourists in their community and they enjoyed interacting with the tourists. The location of the tourism project close to the school and the business centre of the community ensured that most of the local community had the opportunity to meet tourists regularly. This provided many of the school children with their first opportunity to see and interact with people from outside their community.

The Social and Cultural Impacts
The tourism project provided the tourists with the opportunity to hire local tour guides and participate in guided tours of individual households in neighbouring villages. Both
the tourist and the occupants of the household benefited from this interaction by sharing knowledge on their life experiences and cultural beliefs. This cultural exchange between the host community and tourist was unique as the encounter took place in the householders’ own environment.

The tourism project provided a small conference area that was covered from the elements for NGO’s and Government agencies to conduct training programmes. Most notably the tourism project provided the venue for a business-training course for local women. The training course provided the local women with new skills and more significantly, a forum was established which has allowed the women to continue to meet as a group. Prior to the training course it would have been difficult for the women to meet as a group. The tourism project was accepted as part of the community by the majority of the local people and was viewed as a catalyst for further development as well as facilitating the arrival of NGOs/donors in the area.

The research found that the community commitment to the conservation of their natural resources was split between two sections of the community. The members of the tourism project were committed to conservation and the non-members of the tourism project were not committed to something they did not benefit from directly. This in turn indicated a possible split in the community between members and non-members. This was more prevalent in the two villages located away from the tourism project and the business centre of the community. The two villages located farthest away from the tourism project had the lowest level of project membership and benefited the least (socially, culturally and economically) from the presence of the tourism project in their community.

During the planning, construction and management of the tourism project, the CAMPFIRE committee had become accustomed to dealing with donors. The committee identified that the tourism project attracted a lot of attention from various NGO’s, other communities and first world researchers. The donors became a priority for the committee above the needs of the tourists and the employees of the tourism project. The committee did not actively market the tourism project, despite advice from tourists, NGO’s and recommendations from previous research (Murphhee & Nyika, 1997). The committee turned to the donors for further assistance to develop and expand the tourism projects facilities. At the time of the research, donors had made commitments to provide funding to expand and develop the tourism project, despite the committee’s inability to fill the current accommodation.

The primary constraints inhibiting the economic success of the tourism project was the lack of effective marketing strategies. Little or no effort was made to establish the characteristics of the potential market for the tourism project services and there was no discernible coherent marketing strategy. The CAMPFIRE committee was focused on the economic benefits of constructing more facilities at the project, as all labour for the construction work was recruited from the local community.

The local community viewed the tourism project as a success despite the low level of income generated by the project. In the communities opinion “the tourism project was
a success because it had not failed”. This success instilled hope for the future and provided the community with the confidence to manage their own community development issues. The tourism project was a catalyst for development, a source for empowerment of the community and created a sense of pride among the local community about their tourism project.

Community participation and the sustainability of the tourism project
Despite a low level of participation in the tourism project from two of the five villages, the project has had a quantifiably positive, if limited, impact on the lives of the community. It has afforded them opportunities for the increase of their skills and enrichment of their livelihoods. A significantly high proportion of the community (71%) was involved directly or indirectly in the provision of goods or services to the tourism project. It has been observed, however, that despite the positive impacts that the tourism project has produced, there are a number of elements that are necessary for the project to be operated on a truly participatory basis.

There is a need for the CAMPFIRE committee and the members to identify with the project as a tourism operation that belongs to them and that they become aware of the business of providing facilities to tourists.

The manager of the tourism project was restricted from conducting many basic managerial tasks. Much of the manager’s time was spent trying to locate committee members and communicate issues for the committee’s approval, when ideally he should have been looking after the interests of the project’s guests.

It is imperative that the tourism project maintains accurate financial records, which are updated regularly and are available for viewing by the tourism project members on a monthly basis.

It is essential that it be affirmed to the CAMPFIRE committee and to all the members that the implementation of a marketing strategy is fundamental in attracting a greater volume of tourists and ensuring the sustainability of the tourism project.

In order to eliminate the alienation of the two villages located away from the tourism project, the prohibitive membership fees need to be reviewed, with a view to encouraging new members and ensuring a more inclusive regime.

Finally, it has been observed that the CAMPFIRE committee remains focused on accessing further assistance from donor agencies, to the detriment of attracting more tourists. The tourism project does not generate enough material incentive to encourage new members to join, nor does it increase the standard of living for its current members as stated in its constitution. The constitution of the CAMPFIRE committee was conceived when the initial proposal was first discussed between the community, the donor agencies and the CAMPFIRE Association, in 1992/93. The CAMPFIRE committee constitution was never altered in line with the physical changes that occurred, from when the project was a development proposal to when it became an operational tourism facility.
The CAMPFIRE committee adopted an approach that is not economically sustainable and they have not realised the income generating potential of the tourism project. Although it has been observed that the tourism project has the ability to sustain itself as an entity in times of financial difficulty. The resolve of the community towards the maintenance of the tourism project was high and their participation in the operation ensured that the project was sustainable in the short to medium term. The high level of community participation in the tourism project provided the people with opportunities that would not normally be afforded to people living in the communal lands of Zimbabwe. The level of participation of the local community in the tourism process in the area could be characterised as ‘Self-mobilisation’ as presented in ‘Pretty’s typology of participation’ (Pretty, 1995., in Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 241).

The research from case study site 1 illustrates how, the greater the community participation in the tourism project, the more extensively the benefits are dispersed, the more significant the project becomes as part of the community social structures, with the consequent increased likelihood of sustainability.

**Case Study Site 2**
Case study site 2 is located in Mahenye ward, situated in the southern most corner of Ndowoyo communal lands in the South Eastern Lowveld of Zimbabwe. The tourism lodges were operated as a joint venture between the community and Zimbabwe Sun Limited, Zimbabwe’s largest tourism company.

CAMPFIRE and Chipinge Rural District Council administered the joint venture agreement on behalf of the people of Mahenye. Zimbabwe Sun Ltd. leased the land from the people of Mahenye and in return the community were guaranteed a return of Z$250,000 or 8 per cent of gross turnover per annum.

Mahenye ward was one of the first districts in Zimbabwe to develop a system of natural resource conservation, where the local people could benefit from conservation and safari hunting tourism. This combined system of natural resource conservation and safari hunting was established in Mahenye six years before the CAMPFIRE programme was implemented (Stockhill, 1999: per comm.). The Shangaan people had been displaced numerous times over the last century for the purpose of extending national parks and ensuring the conservation of the areas natural resources for wildlife. As a result the Shangaan people mistrusted all ideas or proposals, originating from outside their community. Safari hunting tourism brought economic benefits (albeit slowly initially) to a community where sustaining livelihoods is a daily task and where one year’s drought can create severe hardships. Local labour was recruited for manual work during the construction of the lodges. It is important to highlight that the lodges were built with the agreement of the local Chief, the Rural District Council and the

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6 People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems: they develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use; self-mobilisation can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework for support. Self-mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.
CAMPFIRE association. In summary, the local community was initially consulted regarding the proposed development of the lodges, which they accepted because of the potential financial benefits to the community. The tourism lodges brought important improvements to the livelihoods of the people of Mahenye, by assisting the development of basic services and facilities in the community.

Two separate lodges were built in Mahenye ward, the first known as ‘Mahenye Safari Lodge’ in 1993 and the second known as ‘Chilo Gorge Safari Lodge’ in 1998. Both of the lodges were similar in terms of accommodation facilities available, including en suite bathroom facilities, balcony, electricity, overhead fan, mosquito nets, hairdryer and tea making facilities. Both of the lodges had a central dining area, bar/lounge and swimming pool. Mahenye Lodge is located on an island in the Save River and did not have any telecommunication connections. The standard of service and attention to detail in both lodges was equally high, with a committed and competent team of employees. The lodges offered similar activities, including walking safaris with fully licensed professional guides, game viewing in open vehicles, bird watching, cultural village tours, boat cruises in the rainy season and visits to Chilojo Cliffs.

The Social and Cultural Impacts
The tangible benefits of the lodges were clearly visible in Mahenye, which included the improved facilities and services available to the community and the high number of locals employed by the lodges. The majority of those employed at the lodges were younger males from the local community. Other than those from the local community directly involved with the tourism lodges, very few were aware of the tourism activities that took place at the lodges. The community did not have any opportunities to become familiar with the purpose of the tourism lodges or why tourists would visit their area.

The Shangaan people of Mahenye are very private and do not want tourists visiting their homes. A ‘traditional home’ was built as an exact replica of a typical Shangaan homestead. The ‘traditional home’ was constructed with the backing of Chilo and Mahenye safari lodges management. It was developed as a community owned project, which would be offered to tourists staying at the lodges as a cultural village where tourists could go to see how the local people live. The community benefited from the development of the ‘traditional home’, which instilled pride in the community, assisted the rejuvenation of cultural ceremonies and provided a forum for the community to interact with the tourists. Due to the breakdown in communication between the CAMPFIRE committee and the lodges management, the management did not support the ‘traditional home’ concept, which then became redundant. The traditional home would have also provided community members not directly involved with the tourism lodges with the opportunity to benefit economically from tourism. The ‘traditional home’ was instigated and developed by the community for the community, and brought them social, cultural and economic benefits directly from a tourism project under their control. These benefits did not last long, as a result of the safari lodges management decision that the facilities were not up to standard for their guests.
The level of adverse impacts resulting from the tourism lodges was low, due to the low level of interaction between the host community and the tourists. It has been observed that the removed nature of the tourism lodges from the centre of the community and the restrictions placed on community members from visiting the lodges, heightened the local peoples fears and mistrust of the lodges management. The fears of the community have been exacerbated by a lack of interaction with the tourists and by a lack of understanding of the concept of tourism.

The lodges did not afford employment opportunities to all sectors of the community, in particular the women in Mahenye. It was observed that the lodges' policy of training and promoting from within the organisation has not resulted in any promotions for any of the local employees. The lodges had not provided their employees with training above basic service skills level, which ensured that the lodges had an adequate supply of local employees to fill the required servile positions.

The research highlighted that the principles agreed between the tourism company and the community (as a partner) at the outset of the development of the tourism lodges, had become less important to the lodges management as time progressed. The community reaped the financial benefits of the tourism lodges and at the same time they were denied the opportunity to participate in the joint-venture agreement.

Community participation and the sustainability of the tourism lodges

In relation to case site two, ‘community participation’ is interpreted as local people who are employed directly by the tourism lodges. The participation of the wider community and their input into the development and management of the tourism lodges was non-existent. The partnership between the tourism lodges and the community existed as an agreement to allow the tourism company to operate their business in the communal lands of Mahenye ward. The level of participation of the local community in the tourism process in Mikuni could be characterised as ‘Participation for material incentives’, as presented in ‘Pretty’s typology of participation’ (Pretty, 1995., in Mowforth & Munt, 1998: 241). The participation of the community in the tourism lodges was based on financial benefit from the outset, in return for allowing the tourism company to conduct its business.

There was a low level of adverse impacts resulting from the tourism lodges on the people in Mahenye, as a result of the low level of host community and tourist interaction. The research has shown that the lack of community control and meaningful involvement in the tourism lodges, resulted in the local people becoming frustrated with their exclusion through lack of communication. Their frustration and disillusionment adversely affected their ability to deal with development issues within their own community. The community is isolated from the social and cultural impacts of tourism.

7 People participate by contributing resources (e.g. labour) in return for food, cash or other material incentives: farmers may provide fields and labour but are not involved in testing or the process of learning; this commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
The safari lodges management had raised the communities’ expectations, by outlining that they were entering into a partnership and would be provided with the skills necessary to manage the lodges in the future. The meaningful involvement of communities in the development of a tourism facility in the communal lands is essential, in order to establish a social environment that is more inclusive for all stakeholders.

Case Study Site 3
Case study site 3 is located on the communal lands of the Mukuni Chieftainship, in the Southern Province of Zambia, five kilometres downstream from Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe and ten kilometres from Livingstone, the provincial centre in the Southern Province of Zambia. Songwe Point Village is operated by Glynn’s Group, part of a set of companies owned by a Harare based businessman. Glynn’s Group owned Victoria Falls Safari Lodges (VFSL) in Victoria Falls, which is renowned “as one of the best game lodges in Africa” (Hill, 1999:23). Songwe Point Village was marketed as an extension product to that of VFSL primarily and was also sold as a stand-alone tourism product. Access to Songwe Point Village is facilitated by VFSL, where guests were met by Songwe Point Village staff and transferred to Songwe Point Village. Guests were taken through the border posts of Zimbabwe & Zambia and then on a tour of Mukuni village before reaching their final destination. Songwe Point Village could only be reached by a four wheel drive vehicle, as it is located about twelve kilometres along a dirt track from the main Victoria Falls to Livingstone tarred road.

The Mukuni area is steeped in history, as the people of Mukuni village have resided in the area for over 400 years. The area had remained relatively unchanged for the last 400 years and Chief Mukuni is the 16th in his line, as the position of Chief is hereditary. Nine of the areas previous Chiefs are buried in a rural graveyard in Mukuni village. The people of the area openly conveyed stories of their past and ancestry, as they are proud of their heritage and culture.

Mukuni village is the place where Dr. David Livingstone first met Chief Mukuni of that time. The villagers still point to a large tree in the village where it is said they first held counsel. Dr. Livingstone the famous explorer and missionary was the first Westerner to discover 'Mosi O Tunya' ('The Smoke that Thunders') in 1856 which he renamed 'Victoria Falls', after Queen Victoria.

The eight tourist huts in Songwe Point Village were modelled closely on the huts in Mukuni village, although they were designed to have a longer life span. Each of the thatched huts had twin beds, mosquito nets and washroom with toilet. Songwe Point Village and the huts were all lit up by paraffin lights at night, as there was no electricity. There were four communal bathroom and showers located close to the edge of the gorge. The bathrooms had a large open window space facing out over the gorge, providing the guest with breathtaking views of the gorge and the Zambezi below. The main activities of the evening involved dining in a traditional style with the village hosts and exchanging stories of local history, beliefs and the cultural heritage of the Mukuni people.
Mukuni village has adapted in line with the ever-changing tourism requirements and has always considered the needs of the local community first, and the needs of the tourists and the tourism operators second. Chief Mukuni operates a tourism policy in Mukuni village ensuring that the tour operators, the tourists and the community operated in harmony. Chief Mukuni’s tourism policy ensured that all the stakeholders involved in the tourism process benefited and at the same time any adverse impacts on the local community were minimised. There were distinct differences in the level of tourism development between Victoria Falls and the Mukuni village area. Victoria Falls had become over commercialised and had a high level of social problems, which included drugs, prostitution, a high crime rate and a lack of accommodation facilities for the local community. In direct comparison the Mukuni area was not commercialised for the purpose of tourism and did not present any indication of any similar social problems.

The Social and Cultural Impacts
The people of Mukuni had grown up with tourism and had become accustomed to the activity of outsiders wishing to experience their way of life. Chief Mukuni recognised the attractiveness of Mukuni village to the international tourist visiting Victoria Falls. The Chief’s tourism policy maintained the traditional culture of the people of Mukuni and allowed tourists to visit the area and he ensured that the economic benefits were shared across all the stakeholders involved. The forward thinking nature of the Chief’s tourism policy has been instrumental in maintaining the equilibrium between tourism development and retention of the communities core values and beliefs. The impetus for the development of SPY did not come from within the community; it came from an entrepreneur and was crafted in conjunction with Chief Mukuni to suit the needs of the community.

The number of ways that the financial benefits from Songwe Point Village (SPV) were shared with the community highlighted the tourism developments commitment to preserving the social and cultural environment in which SPV was set. SPV distributes income to the local economy in a number of ways:

- by assisting the preservation of their cultural ceremonies,
- by providing a trust fund from which the local school accrues benefits,
- by employing the majority of its employee’s from the local community,
- the curios traders receive a significant proportion of business from SPV guests, and
- previous guests of SPV organise donations to various locally based development projects.

SPV was recognised as an important asset to the local area and was socially accepted by the people as part of the community.

The economic benefits of SPV were facilitated through a good communication process, which was present between SPV management and the local community. A considerable level of trust and goodwill existed between Chief Mukuni and SPV management. The process through which the agreement between the tourism entrepreneur and the community was agreed ensured that all stakeholders needs (social, cultural, economic & environmental) were considered and included in the agreement.
The adverse impacts of tourism on the local community were minimised because the tourism policy was effective and SPV was integrated into the social structures of the community. SPV and the other tourism businesses in the Mukuni area respected the social and cultural structures of the local area, which were also, assets to their business.

Community participation and the sustainability of the tourism lodges

The participation of the community in tourism generally was high throughout the Mukuni area. In essence, the participation of the local community at all levels of the Songwe Point Village (SPV) tourism service and their interaction with the tourists formed the core concept of SPV traditional African experience. The participation of the local community in the tourism service was beneficial to all the stakeholders involved.

Accepting that SPV has to attract sufficient tourism numbers to become profitable, SPV fulfils the majority of the principles of sustainability as outlined in figure 1: ‘Criteria often used for sustainability in tourism’. It is important to note that Chief Mukuni’s role in implementing a tourism policy, which is set in the principles of sustainability, was pivotal in establishing an integrative tourism product at SPV. Chief Mukuni’s knowledge of the developed world cultures and their insatiable appetite for new destinations has enabled him to make an informed decision on how best to ensure the activity of tourism can co-exist in harmony with the Toka-Leya people.

This case site provides a good example of how tourism could be integrated into the development goals of a local community as advocated by Brohman (1997), with minimal adverse impacts on the social fabric of the local community. The level of participation of the local community in the tourism process in Mukuni could be characterised as ‘Interactive Participation’.

Conclusion

The research has provided many useful insights in relation to how rural communities adapt and change over time to meet the needs of tourism. One of the most important lessons is that rural communities adapt to change slowly over time and another is that the possible negative impacts of this change are minimised by a process that considers all the impacts on all the potential stakeholders.

The benefits of tourism in the communal lands are more evenly dispersed throughout the community, when the community has a meaningful involvement in the tourism development. The benefits accrued to the community are both tangible and intangible, when the tourism project(s) has been integrated in to the social structure of the area. The participation of the local community benefits all the stakeholders involved in the tourism process, as the community becomes accustomed and familiar with tourists and

8 People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices.
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their needs. Contrary to the views of Mowforth and Munt (1998) that the origins of the tourism idea should come from within the community, the research has shown that impetus for sustainable community-based tourism development can originate outside the community. In order for this idea to succeed, it must be developed in partnership with the community, who in turn need to be familiar with the concept of tourism and all its possible impacts.

The priorities of tourism developers or the facilitators of tourism development in the two Zimbabwean case sites have taken precedence over the needs of the local community. These priorities include the economic and environmental impacts of the tourism development for the benefit of the organisation initiating the tourism proposal first and secondly for the local community. These communities have the ability to adapt to the changes that are part and parcel of the process of tourism. The research has shown that rural communities have the capabilities to manage tourism, when they have been involved in the process from the beginning, there concerns have been realised and the tourism development process works in conjunction with the development needs of the community.

This research has shown that the social and cultural impact of tourism on the rural communities of Zimbabwe has not received adequate consideration in previous studies of tourism projects in the communal lands. This lack of research on this area has implications for community-based tourism projects. These implications may include the cessation of donor funding to projects, based on the economic or environmental progress of the project. In short, it is imperative that tourism projects in the communal lands are presented in a manner that reflects all the actual impacts on the local communities.

Participation of the community in tourism has a wide range of beneficial impacts, when managed by or in partnership with the host community. Participation also encourages further locally based entrepreneurial activity, which in turn adds value to the tourism service or experience. The research has shown that the more integrated the tourism projects within the social structure of the community, the more likely that the project becomes identified as a fundamental part of the community. Community participation in a tourism project increases the tourism project's likelihood of sustainability and has resulted in the empowerment of the local people, in relation to the overall development of their community.

The findings do not indicate that any one of the research case sites represents a model of best practice. Collectively the research findings from the three case sites indicate that the circumstances in each site can vary to such an extent that it would be inappropriate to recommend any one model of community tourism development. Any tourism development proposal for communal lands should include the community in the process from the start. The process should consider all the impacts of the tourism proposal from all stakeholders’ perspectives. If the tourism proposal is then developed, it is essential that the community is a willing participant in a process, which is integrated in to the development strategy of the community.
This paper concludes that the meaningful involvement of local communities in the tourism development process from the outset can increase the likelihood of sustainability of a tourism project.

**Recommendations**

The two Zimbabwean case study sites were developed within the philosophy of CAMPFIRE and as a result the core focus of these communities was the conservation of natural resources in return for material benefits through tourism. This philosophy was recognised as a successful system, when implemented under the safari-hunting tourism option. The research findings indicate that this philosophy has not been adapted to deal with the different set of circumstances present in 'photographic safari and/or cultural tourism'. These more passive forms of tourism require a greater involvement of the local communities in the process of accommodating and providing services to the tourists, than is required in safari hunting. The CAMPFIRE philosophy identifies the need to reward local communities for sustainable natural resource management practices, although it does not consider the threat posed to the social and cultural fabric of the community by tourism. It is recommended that further research be conducted into CAMPFIRE's approach in relation to how it or other institutions can facilitate sustainable eco-tourism projects, with consideration of all the resultant impacts (social, cultural, environmental and economic).

The research recommends that donor agencies, NGOs, tourism companies, the ZTC, the ZTA and other government departments should be required to develop and implement policies that include the local communities from the outset of a tourism development proposal. These policies should be adopted as recommended best practices and should be flexible enough to deal with variances in local situations in the communal lands. The origin of the tourism proposal needs to be carefully considered and ultimately the tourism project can only proceed when the community has had the opportunity to discuss all the possible impacts (social, cultural, environmental and economic). Further research is required to analyse the format that these policies should take and how they could be integrated into the development strategies of the communities in the communal lands.

It is recommended that the lack of research on the social and cultural impacts of tourism on host communities in the communal lands of Zimbabwe be addressed. It is important that further research is conducted on this area, to inform policy makers of the threats that tourism poses to rural communities and to highlight the rural communities' ability to manage sustainable tourism, when provided with the correct tools.
It is recommended that the tourism policy, designed and implemented by Chief Mukuni in case study site three should be investigated further. Tourism policy makers, government, NGO’s, communities and the tourism industry in Zimbabwe and other LDC’s could benefit from Chief Mukuni tourism policy. Understanding this tourism policy may go a long way towards achieving the holy grail of sustainable tourism. A system, which involves a tourism development process, which would be more sensitive to the local social and cultural environment, and which would spread the costs and benefits more equitably (Brohman, 1997), just may be possible.

This paper has shown that the key to sustainable tourism in the communal lands of Zimbabwe is the meaningful involvement of all stakeholders. This involvement should be at all levels of the tourism development process and should include the putting in place of an ongoing system of monitoring and evaluation to facilitate the effective management of the resultant impacts over time. For sustainable tourism to occur in the communal lands, it is essential that all of the possible impacts of tourism are considered in a process, which the local community have control over, or at the very least are meaningfully involved.

References


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