

From Farmers and Shepherds to Shopkeepers and Hoteliers: Constituency-differentiated Experiences of Endogenous Tourism in the Greek Island of Zakynthos

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Abstract:

The effects exerted by endogenous tourism investment on the developing Greek island of Zakynthos are examined, focusing in particular on whether the experiences among residents, tourist enterprises and local government are homogeneous, or whether they reflect varied attitudes related to sociodemographic, destination, development-process and tourist characteristics. Multivariate analysis shows that the main factors contributing to the variance in locals' experiences of and reactions to tourism development are the endogenous nature associated with the early 'development' phase of the evolution cycle, inhabitant constituency, carrying capacity and tourist nationality. In addition, the protection and conservation of natural and sociocultural resources are revealed as serious concerns of the island's local government. Management strategies for visitor-impact alleviation should focus on community-based planning where the hosts' collective wisdom is incorporated into the overall development process and tourism policies are compatible with the physical and human components of the local society.

Keywords: endogenous tourism; developing islands; constituency-differentiated effects; tourist nationality; carrying capacity; tourism-effect management.

Article:

INTRODUCTION

The increasing interventionism of international financial organisations into national policy-making since the 1950s has precipitated the unprecedented promotion of tourism as a development tool, especially within the developing world. During the past two decades in particular, the neoliberal philosophy of 'outward-oriented growth' has served to promote tourism, among other non-traditional exports, as one of the new growth sectors. As recently as 1985, when the country of Greece was on a corrective fiscal programme, it was the "bankers and the transnational capitalists in the OECD who had prescribed wage austerity ... as part of a new development strategy based on the lowering of labor costs to promote low-grade exports and cheap mass tourism ..." (Petras, 1992, emphasis added). Greek tourism is estimated to have contributed 14.7% to the GDP, constituted 18.7% of total exports, and generated 13.5% of total jobs in 1995 (WTTC, 1996).

Despite these impressive aggregates, alarming signs for Greek tourism have surfaced especially during the past two decades. The industry's future prospects have been jeopardised by symptoms of an unprecedented tour-operator intervention, expanding under-ground hotel industry, widespread tax-evasion, foreign exchange leakages and an overdependence on limited markets (GATE 1993, 1995; Apostolopoulos, 1995, 1996). In addition, often unforeseen widespread socio-cultural losses, disruptive occupational shifts, population substitutions that threaten traditional cultures, and marked alterations in fragile marine and terrestrial ecosystems (Kassimati et al., 1995; Apostolopoulos, 1996) have all combined to generate the search for alternative styles of tourism development and for an overall re-evaluation of the industry's role in Greek society and its economy.

One of the most notable developments in international tourism during the past 40 years has been the industry's domination by tourist transnational corporations (TTNCs). This influence has seriously weakened the negotiating power of developing countries and changed the traditional dynamics of the industry overall. The trade and investment practices of TTNCs often produce negative effects in semiperipheral and peripheral tourist nations, including socioeconomic and spatial polarisation, economic dependency, limited endogenous development, and the domination of national political economies (Britton, 1996; Brohman, 1996; Copeland, 1991).

Developing countries must endure the effects of their product standardization and, if they do not accede to conditions laid down by TTNCs, the end result is fewer reservations. The powerful tour-operator oligopoly — via an economic and sociocultural grip exercised through 'know-how' and networks — controls a large proportion of the international market and even defines the means by which tourists consume the tourism product (Apostolopoulos et al., 1998). Moreover, although the entire society subsidises infrastructure and often pays the price of high sociocultural and environmental costs and conflicts, tourism gains accrue to only a few, who are mainly outsiders (Britton, 1996). For small-island developing economies in particular, the shortcomings most commonly associated with transnational tourism include leakages of earnings transferred abroad, lack of articulation with other domestic sectors, spatial and socioeconomic inequality and unevenness, rising alienation and dissatisfaction with the industry among locals, and management repatriation (Apostolopoulos, 1995, 1996; Britton, 1996; Brohman, 1996). At the other end of the spectrum, tourism development that is based primarily on endogenous capital and forces, results in relatively equitable social, sectoral, and regional distribution of the costs and benefits of growth, and presents a very different picture in terms of the threshold of attitudes toward visitors (Apostolopoulos, 1996; Brohman, 1996; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Apostolopoulos and Sönmez, 1997).

The issue under investigation becomes even more complex because there is often a discrepancy between the 'objective' assessment of tourism effects — the approach most often taken in formal evaluation — and an assessment which takes into consideration the perceptions of the host population and other relevant groups. Beyond providing contrasting findings not available in the aggregate data, an attitude assessment (of visitors, locals, planners, entrepreneurs, local government, interest groups, and even guests themselves) provides information that is invaluable for planning, policy, and management. Although this has been recognised by some, most extant tourism-impact studies have 'distorted' social reality by focusing mainly on residents (Apostolopoulos, 1993, 1996), have suffered particular methodological and theoretical flaws (Van Doorn, 1989; Ap, 1992, 1993; Ap and Crompton, 1993; Apostolopoulos, 1996), and have too simplistically explained tourism effects as simply the outcome of host-guest interaction (Apostolopoulos, 1993). (Among the few exceptions are the works of Lankford (1994), Murphy (1983), Thomason et al. (1979), and Tyrell and Spaulding (1984). Further, instruments that measure perceived effects of tourism development suffer from methodological inadequacies and are incomplete, culturally specific, or fail to cover particular effects.) In order to partially 'correct' for these deficiencies, the present study, which focuses specifically on experiences of endogenous as opposed to exogenous tourism, incorporates three different constituent groups (residents, tourist enterprises and local government), utilises a methodologically and operationally sound instrument, eclectically makes use of parts of social exchange, tourism development cycle and segmentation perspectives (Hernandez et al., 1996), and considers international political economy in interpreting tourism's impact. (Endogenous tourism is based mainly on local and/or national sources while exogenous is based primarily on foreign or transnational capital.)

This study provides a theoretical discussion on and empirical evidence of the effect endogenous tourist investment exerts on the developing economies of small Greek islands. The present investigation answers the following: (i) Does endogenous tourism have any bearing on the propensity of locals to tolerate negative effects of tourism expansion? (ii) Are the attitudes of the three constituent groups toward the ramifications of tourism development homogeneous or do they reflect the sociodemographic position of each in the local society? (iii) What is the impact of demographic, socioeconomic, destination, development-process and tourist characteristics on a community's tolerance of tourism development effects? The above research questions are examined using the case of the Greek island of Zakynthos.

Based on theoretical and empirical evidence, the following are hypothesised.

(H₁) It is expected that Zakynthians will be positively impacted by endogenous tourism expansion, resulting in the likelihood of more tolerant attitudes toward visitors and toward other consequences of tourism (the development-process hypothesis).

(H₂) It is expected that the three constituent groups of Zakynthos will experience and ultimately perceive the effects of tourism development differently, with tourist enterprises and local government holding the most favourable views (the constituency-differentiated hypothesis).

(H₃) It is expected that a high concentration of tourists along with tourist nationality will negatively affect the tolerance of Zakynthians of tourism development impacts (the destination and tourist characteristics hypothesis).

ENDOGENOUS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE ZAKYNTHIAN SOCIOECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Greece offers an array of destinations presenting natural beauty and rich history and culture. In addition to its mainland tourist destinations, there are over 3000 islands that lie in the Aegean and Ionian seas that constitute the skeleton of Greek tourism. The island of Zakynthos, located in the southernmost part of the Ionian Sea (Figure 1), offers a significant cultural and commercial past, whereas its present is heavily concentrated on its tourism industry. Throughout its long history, following the tenth century BC, Zakynthos has been invaded by a great number of conquerors and was not returned to Greece until 1864.



Figure 1. Study site: the island of Zakynthos, Greece.

Zakynthos' past economic base was associated with trade, agriculture, animal breeding and limited fishing. Its contemporary economy consists of only limited agriculture and animal husbandry, as is the case in several regions worldwide that have been 'invaded' by tourism (Villepoux, 1981). Manufacturing there, for which there is little room for growth, historically has been restricted mainly to the level of handicrafts (Marinos, 1983). In addition, because of a lack of sufficient jobs and career opportunities, Zakynthos has suffered a continuous pattern of emigration. In response, during the early 1970s, the Greek central government recommended the intensification of agriculture (where there was a good deal of room for expansion, if contemporary production modes had been applied) and the implementation of a large-scale tourism development programme to halt emigration and stabilise the population. Despite the duality of this governmental recommendation, it was only the latter that was heeded and ultimately became a catalyst for significant economic growth and job creation (GMA, 1981). This, in turn, further limited the possibility of achieving the former. During the past two decades, Zakynthos has undeniably been through a very significant transformation and, although farming and stock-breeding still constitute a major part of the island's economy, it is rapidly moving toward a tourism-dependent development model (Apostolopoulos, 1996).

The foregoing changes have affected the very bases of the sociocultural and economic organisation of Zakynthos, as has been the case with many other tourist islands worldwide (Briguglio et al., 1996). Tourist arrivals since the late 1970s have increased as the direct result first of the construction of Zakynthos' international airport in 1978 and subsequently of the lengthening of its runways in 1982, which made the acceptance of charter flights possible (Figure 2). Prior to 1978, when there was no airport on the island, annual arrivals had never exceeded 2500. Between the airport's construction and its ability to accept charter flights, overall arrivals approached but did not exceed 15 000 annually. Following 1982, however, foreign tourist arrivals skyrocketed and, in 1995, exceeded 345 000 (GCAA, 1996). Consequently, tourism has contributed both to the island's recent prosperity and social stability as well as to various adverse consequences. Marinos (1983) asserted that although tourism expansion has not yet caused irrevocable damage to Zakynthian natural resources, if tourism development continues in the observed haphazard fashion, it will soon lead to a decline in environmental quality and an imbalance in the ecosystems. Furthermore, like most Greek (Donatos and Zairis, 1991) and other tourist destinations worldwide (Shaw and Williams, 1994), seasonality constitutes a major threat to the island's physical and human systems. (Of the 345,000 tourists who visited the island of Zakynthos in 1995, 86.4% arrived between May and September (GNTO, 1996).) However, Zakynthos' mild climate along with its accessibility and diversity of attractions could easily lead to profitable winter tourism, alleviating the island's suffering carrying capacity. Yet, despite immense improvements in the island's infrastructure over the past two decades, Zakynthos, due to unexplained governmental/ business negligence, is still deprived of this alternative.

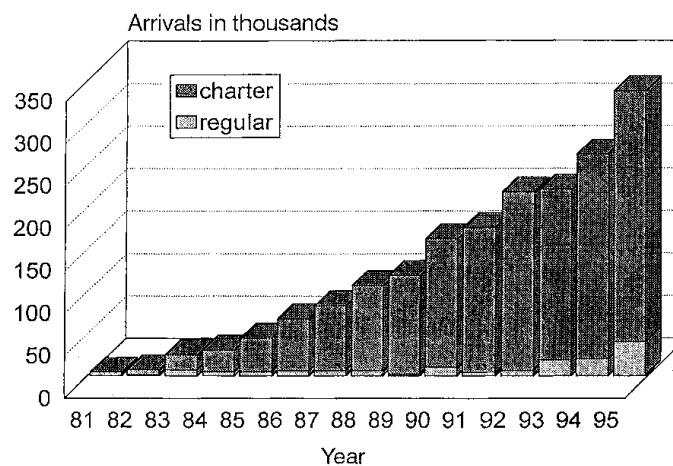


Figure 2. Breakdown of arrivals in Zakynthos, (1981–1995).

Tourism in Zakynthos began, and continued until the mid-1980s, on a firm policy of 'preventing' outside investors and planners from monopolising the local tourism market. (Interviews with government officials and business people revealed that tourism-related activity was being run or managed by locals out of necessity (rather than a 'conscious' decision) due to the lack of sufficient infrastructure (especially airport) and the subsequent unwillingness of foreign parties to invest.) Its tourism cycle evolved very slowly and, although it has soared during the past decade (1985-1995), it has used mainly local and regional resources to bring into being a small industry that provides benefits to the local society without losing much foreign exchange resulting from the exertion of high-import demand (Apostolopoulos, 1995). Ownership is based on local capital and loans through Greek banks and European Union funds, and construction and management remain almost completely in Zakynthian or regional hands. (According to unofficial, but often oversimplified, estimations coming from the Zakynthos Hoteliers' Association, approximately 90.0% of the island's tourist enterprises are of local origin/control (Ethnos, 1994).) Although it is an integral part of the same semiperipheral country and exposed to the capitalist world economy, Zakynthos has 'facilitated' the establishment of an industry that would not transform it into a tourist destination like Mykonos or Santorini. Zakynthians still remain 'apathetic' toward direct foreign investment and the alluring promises so irresistible to many others, and which so often lead to a loss of cultural identity and of social control to outsiders. A prime concern, then, is the growing dependence on British tour operators in particular, who have begun to 'invade' the island, helping to rapidly transform it into a typical mass tourism destination like several Mediterranean, Caribbean and Pacific package-holiday insular regions.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The study sample

The sample was drawn from the capital town, also called Zakynthos, which has a population of 10 200 (out of an island population of 32 700). The capital was chosen because of its dependence on and the intensity of its international tourist flows as well as the phase of its tourism evolution cycle (early 'development' phase). The most important reason for the selection of Zakynthos, however, lies in the endogenous nature of its tourism development. The inhabitant register constituted the universe of individuals from which the permanent resident sample was randomly selected. The Zakynthos Market Guide, which includes all public- and private-sector businesses and services, was used to draw a stratified random sample of spokespersons from hotels, banks, shipping companies, travel agencies, rental firms and airlines. The Zakynthos Phone Directory was utilised to select a stratified random sample of representatives and officials of local government agencies such as the chambers of commerce, hotels and shipping, the archaeological service, the police department, the regional planning and development office, the tourism office, the harbour patrol, airport administration, the public health department, the town hall and the governor's house.

Table 1 summarises the groups and variables chosen for analysis. Sampling procedures yielded 241 individuals, of which 33 refused to be included in the study for reasons of time or policy, and 26 began but did not complete the interview, resulting in a final sample size of 182. (The approximate tolerated error for a sample of 182 is $\pm 7.5\%$ ($N = Z^2(PQ)/T^2$; Backstrom and Hursh-Cesar, 1981).) This translated to a 75.6% final response rate, of which 107 subjects were male and 75 female (the refusal rate among women, especially residents, was higher than among men). The age distribution had a mean of 37.4 years and the mean educational background just exceeded 14 years of schooling (individuals with less formal education and of lower socioeconomic status were more likely to refuse to participate). Residents were concentrated mainly in service (34.4%) and professional occupations (27.8%), and their income distribution yielded a mean of 2.7 million Greek drachmas. (At the time of the study, US\$ 1 was the equivalent of approximately 225 Greek drachmas.) In terms of the type of tourist enterprises sampled, rentals accounted for 29.0%, accommodation for 25.8%, banks for 22.6%, travel agencies for 16.1%, airlines for 3.2% and shipping for 3.2% (of these, 60.1% were of local origin, 27.0% of non-local national, and 12.9% of transnational).

Table 1. Variables and constituency categories

Variables and constituency categories	Distribution of respondents (%)
<i>Constituency</i>	
Permanent residents	54.9
Tourist enterprise spokespersons	23.1
Local government officials	22.0
<i>Profile of permanent residents</i>	
<i>Age</i>	
18-30	23.1
31-40	36.2
41-50	23.1
51 +	17.6
<i>Education</i>	
Up to nine years of schooling	23.1
10-12 years of schooling	34.4
13 + years of schooling	42.5
<i>Income</i>	
Up to 2.0 million GD ^a	37.5
2.01-3.0 million GD	36.4
3.01 + million GD	26.1
<i>Occupation</i>	
Service	34.4
Professional	27.6
Technical/sales	24.1
Executive/managerial	7.4
Precision/craft/labourers	6.5
<i>Profile of tourist enterprises</i>	
<i>Tourist enterprise type</i>	
Rental agencies	29.0
Accommodations	25.8
Banks	22.6
Travel agencies	16.1
Airlines/shipping	6.4
<i>Tourist enterprise origin</i>	
Local	60.1
Non-local/national	27.0
Transnational	12.9
<i>Profile of local government</i>	
Chamber/development officials	25.0
Port authorities	22.5
Elected officials	20.0
Safety/security	17.5
Tourism office	10.0
Other	5.0
N = 182	

^a Greek Drachmas.

Data Collection and Measures

The survey instrument used in the present study, the PTEAM (perceived tourism effect assessment model), had an $\alpha = 0.86$ (Apostolopoulos 1992, 1993, 1996; Apostolopoulos and Sönmez, 1997 and Apostolopoulos, Y., and Sönmez, S. F. (1997) Endogenous tourism development: a comparative assessment of two Greek insular destinations, *Annals of Tourism Research*, (under review)) and consisted of three sections. The first section included a 37-item 5-point Likert type scale, which, after the application of principal-component analysis, revealed the emergence of four subscales. (Sample questions (roughly translated from Greek to English) include: 'tourism creates employment opportunities for the local community' (LCW subscale); 'tourism expansion often leads to sexual permissiveness on the island' (VAT subscale); 'tourism contributes to an

increased commercialisation and often leads to the destruction of local traditions and culture' (CULT subscale); and 'tourism development causes agricultural land to be used for the construction of commercial infrastructure' (ENV subscale.) The first subscale, Tourism Effects on Life Chances and Welfare (LCW subscale), contained 10 items related to the impact of tourism on standards of living. The second subscale, Tourism Effects on Values and Attitudes (VAT subscale), contained 11 items related to the impact of tourism on local value systems. The third subscale, Tourism Effects on Cultural Manifestations (CULT subscale), contained 8 items related to tourism's impact on cultural and artistic standards. The fourth subscale, Tourism Effects on the Physical Environment (ENV subscale), contained eight items related to the impact of tourism on natural resources. The second section of the instrument sought demographic and socioeconomic information, and the third section sought information on various elements and characteristics of Zakynthian tourism and tourists. Interviews took place during the month of May, just prior to the season's peak.

The dependent measure was the 'effects of tourism development' and its four subscales. The independent measures were grouped into 'socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the respondents' and 'characteristics of Zakynthian tourism and tourists.' The former included: respondent's age group, gender, constituency, occupation, income, economic reliance on tourism, and educational background. The latter included: problems related to degree of tourist concentration, ineffective tourism planning, length of tourist stay, and tourist nationality, as well as type and origin of tourist enterprise and role of local and national governments in tourism development.

HOW LOCAL GOVERNMENT, TOURIST ENTERPRISES, AND RESIDENTS EXPERIENCE TOURISM IN ZAKYNTHOS

The effects of tourism's rapid growth in Zakynthos during the 1980s and 1990s have been experienced differently by various social groups. Tourism development was not carefully planned to meet the requirements and expectations of locals, thereby predisposing them to a low threshold of tolerance and the subsequent development of negative attitudes toward the process. The following two sections will present the inhabitants' perceptions of endogenous tourism development along with the parameters that impact these perceptions; the first will focus on qualitative observations, which enrich the interpretation of the quantitative findings discussed in the second section. (Qualitative observations resulted from the categorization of the most important (but unsolicited) comments by respondents during the structured interviews.)

Qualitative Observations

(1) It was observed that residents often mentioned concerns about a 'new class of business people who seem to get the biggest piece of the pie' (emphasis added). The locals openly demonstrated their dissatisfaction regarding the 'unfairness' of tourism returns to their island. They believed that tourism's undesirable ramifications mainly affect them and that the entrepreneurs — mainly through loans and investment incentives from the central government — have developed a highly intensive industry with potentially negative consequences for their island's natural resources as well as for their own tranquillity. Regarding the former consequence, the locals especially mention their concern regarding the impact of touristic influx on the Caretta caretta sea turtles, which nest in large numbers on Zakynthian beaches. Regarding the latter, they primarily mention the 'roistering young Britons' who 'drink a lot' and, as a result, often vandalise even historical monuments.

(2) The Zakynthian government's skepticism about the ramifications of tourism development mainly reflects its weak position in the decision- and policy-making process. The central government of Greece has imposed tourism policies — mainly dictated by external agents, as in many other developing countries — without having substantively consulted with the local government of the island. In this context, the tolerance of government officials decreases along with their acceptance threshold as they sense a dependency syndrome (Apostolopoulos, 1996; Britton, 1996). This goes along with similar views expressed by residents about the 'feeling of losing their autonomy' and fear that their island will soon be transformed into a 'large Mediterranean tourist enclave' if appropriate actions are not taken in time.

(3) The syndrome of double job holding or 'social polyvalence' (Leontidou, 1994) in the informal tourism sector was widely mentioned by residents and local government alike. This phenomenon has often become a source of family and marital problems, taking into account that most affected women work in secret, against the will of their husbands, or for reasons of tax evasion. In addition, women residents and government officials claim that female employment in tourism is usually inferior — unskilled and underpaid. As in many other tourist destinations (Enloe, 1989), Zakynthos' tourism employment is evidently gendered and segmented. In fact, Zakynthian women strongly indicated that grass-roots organisations, such as agrotourism cooperatives, must be introduced into more regions of the island, as has been the case in other parts of Greece (Apostolopoulos and Iakovidou, 1997). (Women's agrotourism cooperatives were established in the 1980s in response to tourism demand, gender equality concerns and the popularity of cooperative movements in Greece at that time. Through the translation of rural women's traditional skills of house-hold management into a professional capacity, these enterprises promoted a sense of economic independence for rural Greek women. They offer bed and breakfast accommodations in traditionally furnished, standard rooms often with private facilities, and traditional breakfast based on homemade produce. Complementary activities, such as food and beverage services, production and sale of traditional foodstuffs, organisation of recreation and cultural activities, hosting of training seminars and conference tourism, and opportunities for visitor participation in traditional agricultural and ecological activities, comprise the overall product offering. The first enterprise of this type came into operation in 1984 in the Aegean island of Lesbos, followed, over the past 13 years, by a total of 21 cooperatives unevenly distributed throughout Greece. Despite difficulties primarily associated with the lack of a comprehensive legislative framework, ineffective public administration, poor infrastructure and a lack of 'know-how' to run small businesses, women's agrotourism cooperatives have in many ways contributed to the sustainability of non-urban, often problematic areas. They have boosted the growth of new economic activities, preserved cultural and natural heritage, revitalised rural areas, and ultimately contributed to gains in women's social recognition in their communities through their upgraded role in the local division of labour.)

Quantitative findings

The development-process hypothesis. The adoption and implementation of a tourism industry, based mainly on local resources, has significantly influenced the capability of the Zakynthian sociocultural system to adapt to various changes. The Zakynthian population as a whole, experiences and consequently perceives the various impending changes and their effects on employment and investment (life chances and welfare), the arts (cultural manifestations), traditional values (values and attitudes), and natural resources (physical environment) very favourably (Table 2). The results imply that the social carrying capacity of the Zakynthian community appears to be flexible and able to tolerate the often negative ramifications of rapid tourism expansion. Compared with other well-established Greek insular destinations, tourism in Zakynthos is very new and is moving from the 'exploration' and 'involvement' to the 'development' phase in terms of its evolution cycle. In its present, early 'development' phase, mass tourism is becoming the dominant form, having undesirable consequences in both the physical and human spheres.

Table 2. Overall and category positive perceived effects of tourism development by constituency

Categories of perceived effects of tourism development	Positive perceived effects (%)			
	Total sample	Permanent residents	Tourist enterprise spokespersons	Local government officials
Overall effects	81.9	89.5	70.0	44.0
Life chances and welfare	86.9	91.5	87.1	69.6
Cultural manifestations	61.4	79.1	76.6	34.8
Values and attitudes	71.1	77.4	66.7	47.8
Physical environment	55.0	70.7	80.6	30.4
N	182	100	42	40

chi square = 26.013; $p < 0.001$

Nevertheless, the results support that Zakynthians still enjoy the benefits of this profound 'servicisation' of their economy, while not yet having reached the upper level of discontent where likely dissatisfaction or even opposition to tourism's effects are expressed openly. ('Servicization' describes the transformation of the Zakynthian economy from an agricultural one to a primarily service dominated economy with tourism as its main component.) Tourists blend into the local life and cultural activities, and the lack of 'en-claves' has been beneficial for the populous perception. Charter arrivals have risen dramatically, though, and 82.1% of total arrivals in 1995 came via chartered flights (GNTTO, 1996). This is a disturbing phenomenon for Zakynthos' position in the global market as this increase implies that the island is becoming increasingly dependent on the transnational tour-operator system.

The foregoing findings support the first hypothesis of the study. Moreover (comparatively speaking), attitudes toward tourism have also been very positive in other Greek islands with endogenous-based tourism development. In Ios and Seriphos, for example, tourism has been viewed as beneficial for the islanders and, with respect to morals, drugs, values, customs and traditions in particular, the overwhelming majority perceive tourism's effects positively (Tsartas, 1992). In Samos, residents demonstrated mixed responses to tourism; although they expressed an unfavourable disposition toward the industry with respect to issues of crime, vandalism, drug abuse and sexual harassment, they welcomed its beneficial impact on the overall standard of living without opposing its expansion in other regions of the island (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996). In Skyros, where the industry grew very gradually and only recently entered the mass phase, tourism reversed depopulation, boosted a stagnant economy and was especially welcomed by the economically and culturally marginal groups (Zarkia, 1996). In Mykonos, when pre- and post-tourist periods were compared, positive changes in the domains of education, family, economic development and sex independence were reported and attributed to the emergence of tourism (Stott, 1973, 1978). Furthermore, a study of 38 Greek islands in the mid-1970s revealed that, although tourism was beneficial in larger islands, it created unstable, short-term and dualistic development in smaller islands with high tourist activity, despite an observed reverse in declining demographic patterns (Loukissas, 1982).

The Constituency-Differentiated hypothesis. Examined individually, the three constituent groups present a much more revealing picture of Zakynthians' views toward the effects of tourism expansion than does an examination of the island population as a whole. Residents overwhelmingly perceived tourism to be beneficial for the island, and to positively impact employment, art forms, traditional values and natural resources (Table 2). This is an expected finding, strengthened by the generally euphoric attitudes of the permanent residents, recently introduced to an activity in which five to six months of intensive work yields incomparably greater benefits than previously received for twelve months of labour in agriculture, stock-breeding, or most other occupations. The islanders (mostly ex-farmers, shepherds, and fishermen, or people who hold another primary profession but are also involved in the tourism sector) — long neglected by national and regional development strategies — value the financial returns above all.

Tourist enterprise spokespersons presented a pattern of responses overwhelmingly similar to that of residents (Table 2). The socioeconomic position of entrepreneurs has a major bearing on their ability to positively perceive the different values and norms of tourists along with other undesirable impacts of the tourist presence. It should be noted that, due mainly to ineffective regional planning, Zakynthos, like most Greek provinces and islands, suffers from unemployment, scarce formalised youth activities, a lower quality health system compared with urban centres, a lack of cultural opportunities, and other such problems. For most of the time between October and April, inhabitants are isolated and occupied mainly with crop production and cattle raising — two pursuits that are not very productive in terms of monetary gains (Marinos, 1983). Accordingly, the appearance of tourism on the scene was welcomed by the local business people and entrepreneurs as a relatively stressless, quick, and 'clean' income producer.

Government officials and representatives, although emphasising the overall importance of tourism to the economic welfare of the island, warned about the upcoming problematic effects on the island's sociocultural and physical spheres (Table 2). They were ill-disposed toward tourism's impact on beach and air pollution and

threats to sea-life — attitudes supported by studies that have clearly demonstrated signs of environmental and natural-resource degradation (STPS, 1989; Prunier et al., 1993). Further, government officials and representatives indicated that they believed that the influence of foreigners on their value systems and cultural traditions could become problematic if appropriate efforts were not undertaken in time. It appears that the threshold of the officials' tolerance of social carrying capacity has almost been reached, mainly due to externally imposed (by central Greek government) tourism policies. All these allude to the overriding skepticism felt by local government officials toward the rising intensification of tourism in an island unprepared, both institutionally and infrastructurally. Findings clearly support the constituency-differentiated hypothesis assertion that constituency-based differences in perceptions of tourism effects exist; however, contrary to the hypothesis, government officials were found to be the most pessimistic group.

In addition to these bivariate findings, multivariate analysis also confirmed the existence of constituency-differentiated attitudes. A stepwise discriminant function analysis was performed to assess prediction of membership in the three constituencies from the four tourism-effect predictors, yielding a statistically significant separation [$F(2,354) = 5.73, p < 0.01$, 48.7% of the Zakynthian respondents were correctly classified (Table 3)]. The impact of immense tourism growth and rapid expansion in Zakynthos since the early 1980s was reflected in these findings, and the effects of this ill-planned expansion on values and attitudes, cultural manifestations and natural resources differentiated the three constituencies. The Zakynthian government officials in particular were found to accept that tourism, in the way it was being developed, would have both short- and long-term negative consequences. Their recognition that tourism brings in valuable foreign exchange and contributes to employment 'allowed' them to also acknowledge its detrimental effects on 'covert' aspects of social life (e.g. values, arts, attitudes) and assert a willingness to seek constructive solutions in collaboration with the central government, business people, transnationals and locals. These government officials agree that it is also obvious that any further tourism development should be based on extensive planning in connection with increased attention to both environmental and cultural issues. Moreover, measures to correct the status quo should be considered to assure the long-term welfare of both the industry and the island.

Table 3. Results of stepwise discriminant function analysis for the four categories of the perceived effects of tourism development by constituency

Categories of perceived effects of tourism development	Constituency (means ^a)			Lambda	F	Discriminant coefficients	
	Permanent residents	Tourist enterprise spokespersons	Local government officials				
Life chances/welfare	25.2	26.9	28.7	0.71	6.7	0.17	0.15
Cultural manifestations	31.5	34.5	34.8	0.83	4.1 ^b	-0.52	1.06
Values and attitudes	21.2	21.8	25.6	0.88	10.8 ^c	0.79	-0.45
Physical environment	21.4	21.5	24.9	0.79	4.6 ^b	0.66	-0.37

DF = 3, 354; ^aMeans of factor scores; ^b $p < 0.01$; ^c $p < 0.001$.

The destination and tourist characteristics hypothesis. The identification of those parameters associated with positive or negative tourism experiences, those that affect the island's social carrying capacity, and those that subsequently influence inhabitants' perceptions towards endogenous tourism development was of great significance for the present study. Knowledge of these factors could lead to more effective tourism planning, policy-making and management for a sustainable development in insular destinations. Therefore, to identify these factors, demographic and socioeconomic information, along with destination, tourist and development-process characteristics were tested. A stepwise logistic regression analysis revealed that two of the independent variables — tourist nationality and degree of tourist concentration — contributed significantly to the prediction of negative attitudes toward the effects of endogenous tourism development and correctly classified 55.0% of the Zakynthian sample (Table 4). The remaining variables — educational background, occupation, income, economic reliance on tourism, ineffective planning and origin of enterprise — were not found to be significant predictors of social carrying capacity related to tourism development effects.

Table 4. Stepwise logistic regression on perceived effects of tourism development for permanent residents, tourist enterprise spokespersons, and local government officials and representatives combined

Variables	β	Standard error	B	Probability
Intercept	-0.21	0.43	0.000	0.687
Tourist nationality	-2.21	0.83	-0.51	0.004
Tourist concentration	-1.23	0.51	-0.37	0.008
Educational background	1.93	0.23	0.98	0.063
Income	0.50	0.12	0.05	0.069
Occupation	2.26	0.21	0.11	0.057
Economic reliance on tourism	3.98	0.09	0.13	0.798
Origin of tourist enterprise	0.41	0.17	0.01	0.681
Ineffective tourism planning	0.54	0.13	0.04	0.987

β = parameter estimate; B = standardised estimate; tourist nationality = most problems come from tourists of foreign nationality; tourist concentration = most problems come from the large number of tourists who visit Zakynthos.

Island residents, tourist enterprise spokespersons and local government officials agreed that most unwanted tourism ramifications in Zakynthos are associated with the aforementioned two significant parameters. First, they consider it a problem that the sociocultural standards, morals, values and practices of foreign visitors clash with their own. The composition of the Zakynthian tourist influx includes a wide range of nationalities including Scandinavians, Austrians, Germans, Swiss, Italians and Britons. British tourists, though, comprise approximately 78.5% of all incoming arrivals due to a very aggressive ongoing marketing campaign by British tour operators (GNTO, 1996). Moreover, Pizam and Sussman (1995) obtained similar findings demonstrating that tourism development perceptions are heavily affected by the nationality of visiting guests. Second, Zakynthians believe that the heavy concentration of tourists in the very short summer period of three months (56.7% of tourists arrive during June, July, and August), on such a small island-area which is not well prepared for this situation, exceeds carrying capacity. The 345 000 visitors of 1995 comprised a record number, resulting in an unprecedented ratio between the indigenous population and tourists and in a unique experience in general for Zakynthos. Although the overall ratio for 1995 was almost 1:11 and the highest month's (August) ratio was approximately 1:2, this was still much lower than in other Greek islands (e.g. Crete, Santorini, Mykonos and Corfu) and certain insular destinations of other regions (e.g. Caribbean and Pacific islands).

The Zakynthians could be characterised as being 'annoyed by the intruders' and holding very contradictory views about tourism. They not only approve of tourism's contribution to their island's welfare and try hard to attract even higher numbers, they also complain more about its costs rather than aggressively exploring alternatives for improving the situation. This might be explained by the fact that the Zakynthian tourism industry has only recently (and very quickly) reached such high levels, following a period of receiving mainly 'explorers' and other types of 'non-organized' tourists. During the past decade, however, the percentage of tourists arriving through organised charter tours has increased significantly, pushing Zakynthos at an unexpectedly rapid rate into the next phase of tourism development. Negative attitudes resulting from high tourist numbers and associated behaviour — rather than from a cultural gap — were also a finding in studies of other Greek islands and Arizona, Florida, Texas (Ap and Crompton, 1993; Madrigal, 1993; Apostolopoulos, 1996;). Further, although it was expected that residents and tourist enterprises would point to the lack of long-term planning (an apparent characteristic of the Zakynthian infrastructure and sociocultural organisation) as a main contributing factor to their negative attitudes, this deficit was revealed as far less important in the present study. In addition, although many studies have established a positive relationship between reliance on tourism and favourable attitudes toward the industry (e.g. Milman and Pizam, 1988; Madrigal, 1993), the present study found no significant association between the two factors in the case of Zakynthos.

CONCLUSIONS: MANAGEMENT OF TOURISM EFFECTS AND SUSTAINABILITY

Determining the nature of the effects of tourism development is a particularly complex endeavour, especially considering the insufficient theoretical understanding of why hosts respond either positively or negatively to

tourism's ramifications (Ap, 1993). The present study intended to reveal whether the experiences of endogenous tourism development by the three Zakynthian constituencies influence their social carrying capacity and generate reactions that are homogeneous or, rather, reflect attitudes related to sociodemographics, destination, development-process and tourist characteristics. Moreover, this study had an exploratory component in its examination of three tourism-related groups in a developing insular economy (considered 'peripheral' compared with other 'core' Greek tourist destinations) where tourism development is of an endogenous nature.

Within the idiosyncratic Zakynthian tourism setting, it becomes evident that the effects of tourism development are closely associated with a three-tiered sequence: type of tourism developed and promoted, type and origin of the industry, and typology of tourists (Apostolopoulos, 1996). In Zakynthos, the 'commercialised hospitality' type of tourism developed and promoted during the past two decades, aiming at large numbers of visitors who bring in foreign exchange and boost employment, originates from an endogenous and diverse industry that uses transnational expertise and networks to introduce its product in the world arena. This type of tourism has attracted primarily 'sun-lovers' and 'organised mass-tourists', and secondarily 'escapists' and 'action seekers' (Apostolopoulos and Sönmez, 1998). Ultimately, these tourist types impact host destinations in various ways and evoke different reactions from the locals (Apostolopoulos, 1996). In the Zakynthian case, the main factors contributing to the variance in locals' experiences with and reactions to tourism development are: its endogenous nature associated with the early 'development phase' of its evolution cycle, constituency, carrying capacity (high tourist concentration) and tourist nationality. In addition, the protection of the environment and the conservation of natural and sociocultural resources — which has become a daunting task in many Mediterranean, Caribbean and Pacific destinations — revealed itself as a fairly serious concern in Zakynthos. Other similar studies could constitute the starting point for the development of strategies and management programmes for tourism-impact alleviation. Hosts' attitudes during interaction with tourists undergo a continuum of distinct phases: from embracement and tolerance to adjustment and withdrawal (Ap and Crompton, 1993), or from adoption and boundary maintenance to retreatism and resistance (Dogan, 1989), with the consequences being more acute when there exists a significant gap between hosts' and guests' socio-economic backgrounds. In order to control these effects before they reach undesirable levels, public participation and active involvement in community tourism planning is of fundamental significance (Loukissas, 1983; Brohman, 1996). Public participation would not only reduce the locals' need to trade off quality of life for economic growth but would also contribute to a more broadly based positive attitude toward tourism. Community based tourism development would seek a balanced approach to development by addressing a series of considerations. These may include the compatibility of tourism forms with other components of local economy; the quality of development; the divergent needs, interests and potentials of the community and its inhabitants; reduction of seasonality (although tour-operator marketing and product standardisation make this very difficult); initiation of small-scale tourism development; and, when necessary, restructuring of the tourism product and market (Apostolopoulos, 1996; Brohman, 1996). Planners need to implement policies that pursue a greater equality in the distribution of benefits, and tourism projects should be shaped by the region's overall political economy and implemented with the institutional reforms necessary to allow the community to exert influence over policy. Tourism development should be implemented based on social consensus between government, locals and enterprises, and only by empowering locals and making them partners in the decision-making process. Development from without, in a top-down manner, would preferably not be imposed; the active and collective wisdom of local inhabitants is a fundamental ingredient for success.

Previous evidence of host reactions to tourism effects indicates that tourism is both experienced and perceived in different ways. Hence, accumulation of knowledge from periodic comparative studies is crucial for a better understanding and, subsequently, more effective management of tourism, its effects and related perceptions. Moreover, it is imperative to gain knowledge of those structural conditions under which tourism might contribute to a balanced and long-term development, rather than to forms of dependency, as Zakynthos is likely to get trapped in. What are those conditions that could resist the uncontrolled extant growth pattern as well as the subsequent alterations of the physical and socio-cultural fabric brought about by tourism and already observed in other Greek destinations (Wickens, 1994)? Should tourism's inherent vulnerability alert decision-making individuals to also consider alternative development options? How do these considerations relate to the

experiences and attitudes of Zakynthians toward tourism? Are there possibly any other factors such as the geographical location ('periphery-core') of Zakynthos, its type of internal or external market competition, and its level and phase of industry development that require closer consideration? These questions by no means exhaust the issues related to tourism effects; instead, they make evident the need for a serious and systematic re-evaluation of tourism development.

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