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A Framework for Monitoring Community Impacts of Tourism

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This paper describes a framework which has been designed for a comparative study of the social impacts of tourism in destination communities along the eastern seaboard of Australia. As this part of Australia is experiencing the most rapid population growth and at the same time encompasses the focus of tourist activity in the country, it is expected that the tension between tourism and urban development demands will become more pronounced in the future. The framework is tested through an application to a case study involving one of Australia's most well known seaside resorts, the Gold Coast. While the Gold Coast survey of resident reactions revealed some relationships between variations in perceptions of tourism's impacts and background characteristics such as involvement in tourism, residential proximity to tourist activity and period of residence, the most notable feature of resident reactions in this case is the generally positive view of tourism's role in the region. It is therefore concluded that the altruistic surplus phenomenon observed in urban planning research may apply to tourism. In the tourism context, the altruistic surplus concept suggests that individuals tolerate any downside effects of tourism they might experience personally because they recognise the broader community wide benefits of this activity. The Gold Coast study also suggests that, contrary to the Doxey scenario, residents in large scale mature tourist destinations do not become more antagonistic towards tourism.

Introduction

Tourism has emerged as a growth industry in many national economies and, as a consequence, an increasing proportion of the world's population is dependent upon the continuing viability of this activity. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) has estimated that 10.9% of global economic production and 11.1% of employment were attributable to tourism in 1995. By the year 2005 these figures are expected to rise to 11.4% and 12.5% respectively (WTTC, 1995).

With the growth of tourism at new destinations and the increased intensity of tourist activity at many established destinations throughout the world, more and more local communities are experiencing the impacts of this growth. While many of these impacts have a positive effect on the host population, negative impacts can also occur if those in a position to influence the direction of development become insensitive to the potential of such impacts. As Allen *et al.* (1988: 16) have observed 'Unfortunately, many state and local governments attempt to optimise economic benefits {of tourism} with little regard to the social and environmental cost associated with tourism expansion'. The impacts of tourism therefore need to be monitored on a continuous basis if adverse effects are to be avoided, or at least ameliorated, and the benefits maximised. This is necessary not only for the

purposes of protecting the community's well-being, but also to ensure that the quality and long term viability of the tourism product at individual destinations is not undermined by adverse reactions of the resident population (Cooke, 1982; Getz, 1994; Hoffman & Low, 1981; Inskip, 1991; Woodley, 1993; Zehuder, 1976).

In the Australian context, there are several aspects of tourism development that highlight the importance of including the monitoring of community reactions as an integral part of the urban planning and tourism management process. First, while domestic tourism has grown steadily at a rate consistent with population growth over the last decade (i.e. 1% per annum), the level of tourist activity overall has increased substantially owing to strong growth in the number of international visitor arrivals (12% per annum) (Bureau of Tourism Research, 1983/84; 1993/94; 1984; 1994). Secondly, the impetus for tourism growth in the inbound market has come from nearby Asian countries, where economic development has fuelled increasing propensities for discretionary travel. With the increasingly pronounced cultural and language differences between host and guest implied by this trend, the potential for adverse reactions among the resident populations has intensified. Finally, there has been a tendency for much of the growth in tourism activity to mirror the geographical concentration of population growth and urban development along the eastern seaboard (Faulkner & Walmsley, 1996). Because international visitors have exhibited a greater inclination to visit the populated areas in the past, it seems likely that the increasing significance of the inbound sector will accentuate this pattern. This scenario suggests that the perception of Australia as a 'land of open spaces' is a potentially dangerous illusion to the extent that it draws attention away from the convergence of urban and tourism growth, and the consequent inevitability of the pressure on social and environmental carrying capacities becoming more pronounced.

If state and local government agencies on Australia's eastern seaboard are to routinely monitor community reactions to tourism for planning purposes, it would be advantageous for them to adopt a consistent framework with a common methodology applicable to a range of situations. In doing so, they would not only achieve savings on such matters as instrument design, but also comparisons between destinations would be possible. It will thus be easier for individual agencies to learn from the experiences of others and advances in the field will be achieved through the cumulative development of knowledge. Furthermore, by facilitating the isolation of common problems at the local level, this approach may be instrumental in indicating where collective action, or policy initiatives at higher (state/national) levels of government, are necessary.

Within the literature on the social impacts of tourism, however, few comparative studies involving the application of consistent methodologies to different types of community have been carried out and, among those that have, there has been a tendency to focus on one dimension of variation only. Murphy (1981) studied three communities experiencing different types of tourist influx, while Allen *et al.* (1988) examined reactions in 20 communities where the percentage of retail sales attributable to tourism was used as a surrogate for the level of tourism development. Other studies involving multiple communities (e.g. Perdue *et al.*, 1990) do not explicitly explore the linkage between the nature

or stage of tourism development and resident reactions. At present, therefore, there is no ready made model to achieve the above objective.

This paper represents the first step towards the conduct of a comparative analysis of the social impacts of tourism in a range of tourism destinations in eastern Australia. Apart from contributing to the development of the approach outlined above, the ultimate objective of the broader study is to ascertain the extent to which variations in the level, nature, history and stage of tourism development are reflected in community reactions. The aim of this paper, however, is to develop and refine the framework for the study. It focuses initially on an overview of research carried out in the field to date, in order to provide a basis for identifying the main parameters of the model. This model is then applied to a case study, the Gold Coast, to test its usefulness and provide some insights into adjustments and extensions required to enhance the model.

Background: On the Status of Community Impacts Research

In the mid-1980s, Liu & Var (1986: 196) summed up the status of research on the community impacts of tourism by referring to 'the absence of a comprehensive tourism theory, a dearth of proven methodologies to measure non-economic impacts, and a lack of strong empirical foundation upon which to base policy decisions'. Others have also emphasised the lack of a strong theoretical foundation as the major impediment to advancement of research in this area (Ap, 1990, 1992; Husbands, 1989), while Ap (1992: 660) has succinctly described the status of the field as being 'exploratory in nature and primarily descriptive'.

While both these assessments would encounter widespread agreement among those working in the field, various theoretical constructs have been nevertheless advocated as a basis for analysing the problem and, as implied by Ap, there is a considerable body of (descriptive) empirical material available. The fact that these efforts have not lead to substantial progress is, perhaps, more a reflection of two significant and related limitations. First, existing theory is fragmented and needs to be integrated into a more general framework that can guide empirical investigation towards a cumulative development of knowledge. Secondly, as noted by Mathieson & Wall (1982: 140) the theory developed so far has remained little more than a series of assertions which have not been empirically tested in a systematic way.

Among the 'fragments' of theory and conceptual models associated with the examination of resident reactions to tourism, Butler's (1980) destination lifecycle model, Doxey's (1975) Irridex model and, more recently, insights derived from social exchange theory described by Ap (1992) and others (Nash, 1989; Perdue *et al.*, 1990) stand out as significant contributions. Pearce (1989) and Preister (1989) have suggested attribution theory and dependency theory respectively as possible bases for analysis, but neither have elaborated on the specific application of these two concepts to tourism social impacts in sufficient detail to make them viable at this stage.

As a step towards synthesising these different perspectives, two broad dimensions of the tourism development/community interface upon which they focus have been identified:

- (1) The extrinsic dimension, which refers to characteristics of the location with respect to its role as a tourist destination — including the nature and stage of tourism development in the area and, reflecting this, the level of tourist activity and the types of tourists involved; and
- (2) The intrinsic dimension, which refers to characteristics of members of the host community that affect variations in the impacts of tourism within the community.

The variables associated with each dimension are summarised in Figure 1, where their broad alignment with the theoretical perspectives referred to above is also indicated. It is important to note at this point that only those variables that are readily accessible to researchers through secondary sources are included in the figure, as these are most readily available for classifying communities. Theoretical and empirical background on each area follows.

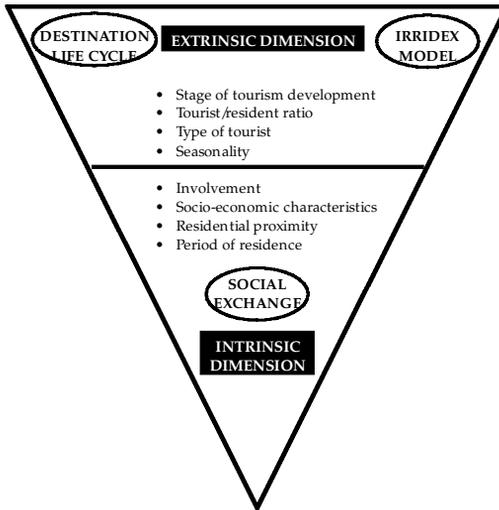


Figure 1 A framework for analysing the social impacts of tourism

The extrinsic dimension

Doxey's (1975) 'Irridex' model suggests that communities pass through a sequence of reactions as the impacts of an evolving tourism industry in their area become more pronounced and their perceptions change with experience. Thus, an initial euphoria is succeeded by apathy, irritation and, eventually, antagonism. There is a link between this progression of reactions and Butler's (1980) tourist area life-cycle model, which identifies a number of phases in the evolution of tourism at a destination (exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation). These stages parallel the more generally applicable product life cycle and they are, implicitly, accompanied by increasingly adverse effects on the local community as the nature of tourism in the area becomes progressively mass-tourism oriented. It is suggested that associated reciprocal reactions of the community influence the progression of stages by undermining the appeal of the area to tourists and thus reducing its viability as a tourist destination.

The Tourist Ratio, which refers to the ratio of the number of tourists to the number of residents, provides an indication of the intensity of the tourist influx. On the basis of Butler's model, this ratio is expected to increase as a destination passes through successive stages of development and its impacts on the lives of residents is likely to increase accordingly, depending on the destination's social carrying capacity (Allen *et al.*, 1988; Duffield & Long, 1982; Liu *et al.*, 1987; Pizam, 1978).

Variations in the attitudes towards, and perceptions of, tourists by resident populations are affected by the type of tourist visiting the area. More specifically, the degree to which the host and visitor populations vary from each other in terms of racial characteristics, cultural background and socioeconomic status will have a significant bearing on local reactions (Butler, 1975; Dogan, 1989; Schewe & Calantone, 1978). Also, where the influx of tourists has a distinct seasonal pattern, the impacts on the community (through crowding, congestion, litter, price increases etc.) are accentuated during peak periods and, therefore, become more noticeable to residents. Research has revealed how some residents may adjust to these fluctuations by, for instance, scheduling their own holidays at peak periods in order to avoid the negative impacts (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Rothman, 1978).

The intrinsic dimension

Both the Doxey (Irridex) and Butler (Destination Life Cycle) models assume a degree of homogeneity and uni-directionality in community reactions which has been questioned. In particular, the inherent heterogeneity of communities and the consequent variety of responses that can occur has been emphasised by Ap & Crompton (1993), Brougham & Butler (1981) and Husbands (1989). Butler (1975) had recognised this earlier, after drawing on the work of Bjorkland & Philbrick (1972) to identify a two dimensional (active/passive versus favourable/unfavourable) dichotomy of responses, which are affected by the nature and degree of involvement in tourism. More recently, Dogan (1989) has described a range of different coping strategies evident in communities and, in an extension of this work, Ap & Crompton have described a continuum of responses (compromising, embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal).

Possibly the most valuable contribution to the development of a theoretical analysis of variations in the response to tourism within communities, however, has come from Ap's (1992) adaptation of social exchange theory. In essence, this framework views the relationship between residents and guests in terms of a trade-off between costs and benefits on both sides, with the outcome for either party depending on the final overall balance between costs and benefits. The degree of involvement in the tourism industry of individuals will have a significant bearing on the resolution of this trade-off by virtue of its influence on the extent to which benefits are perceived to outweigh costs. A number of studies have observed a tendency among those residents who are dependent upon tourism for their livelihood to either emphasise positive impacts or accept the negative impacts of tourism on their community more readily (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Murphy, 1983; Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Thomason *et al.*, 1979).

In general, it is expected that, as the distance of residential areas from concentrations of tourist activity increases, the disruption caused by tourism declines and tourism is regarded more favourably (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Pizam, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Teo, 1994). However, the opposite relationship was revealed in a Columbian study by Belisle & Hoy (1980) apparently because, in that setting, those living closest to the centre of tourist activity were also more dependent upon that industry. Residential proximity was thus compounded with involvement in this latter case.

Husbands (1989) has been critical of previous studies for their failure to explore relationships between socio-demographic characteristics of resident populations and variations in perceptions of tourism. However, a number of studies, both before and since, have specifically concluded that no such relationship is discernible (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Liu & Var, 1996, Lankford & Howard, 1994; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994). The relevance of age and level of education revealed by Husbands appears to be a feature of the third world context of his study, and is not a feature of more advanced economies where the other studies were conducted. As the current study is concerned with resident reactions in a developed economy, socio-economic variables are excluded in the following analysis.

The effect of a resident's period of residence on their reactions to tourism appears to depend on the destination's history and stage of tourism development. Newcomers have been found to be both less enthusiastically disposed to tourism (Brougham & Butler, 1981) and more favourably disposed (Duffield & Long, 1979). In the former case, newcomers are generally those who have migrated to enjoy the seclusion and lifestyle of the region, and thus see tourism as a threat to the tranquillity they are seeking. Newcomers are more favourably disposed in the latter study because they migrated for employment reasons and, as a consequence, view tourism in terms of employment opportunities. Conversely, long term residents in established destinations become accustomed to tourism over an extended period (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Liu & Var, 1986), whereas those in emerging destinations are less favourably disposed to the changes brought about by tourism development (Duffield & Long, 1979; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994).

Synthesis

The array of variables identified above, the permutations of their influence on resident reactions, and the range of tourism development situations that might be examined highlight the complexity of the social impacts phenomenon in tourism and the need for a general framework for analysing these impacts. On the basis of the insights provided by the literature, we have identified potential influences of extrinsic and intrinsic variable on resident reactions in Figure 2. It is not being suggested here that the combination of extrinsic factors contributing to positive or negative reactions necessarily coincide with each other at individual destinations. Thus, for instance, destinations at an early stage of development are just as likely to experience high seasonality as mature destinations and a low tourist ratio will invariably be registered by large metropolitan centres at a relatively advanced stage of tourism development.

Briefly, the figure suggests that negative impacts of tourism will be accentuated in destinations at a mature stage of tourism development, and where there is a high tourist ratio, an emphasis on international tourism and high seasonality. If we ignore the variable impact of the intrinsic dimension, therefore, we might expect a generally negative community reaction to this set of circumstances. On the other hand, destinations at an early stage of tourism development with a low tourist ratio, domestic visitor orientation and low seasonality might be expected to illicit a more positive community response.

However, in conjunction with these generalised effects, we can expect some variations in perceptions of tourism within the community according to ('intrinsic') variations in level of involvement in tourism, residential proximity to foci of tourist activity and duration of residence. Residents whose employment is directly or indirectly dependent on tourism are expected to be more tolerant of its impacts, irrespective of where they live. Among residents who are neither directly nor indirectly involved in tourism, it is likely that the intensity of negative reactions to tourism will be inversely proportional to their residential distances from the focus of tourist activity, at least to the extent that residential proximity is associated with exposure to negative externalities. The model suggests that the reactions of newcomers might depend on their motivation for migration and involvement, while that of long term residents may depend upon how well they have adapted (which, in turn might be influenced by the other factors such as involvement and proximity).

Case Study: Community Reactions to Tourism on Australia's Gold Coast

Eastern Australia's pattern of tourism development described in the introduction is exemplified in the Gold Coast region, situated 70km south of Queensland's State Capital, Brisbane (Figure 3). The Gold Coast is a classic beach-side resort, where the long term presence of tourism as a major industry in the area, the scale of development and the manifestations of mass tourism suggest that an advanced stage of Butlers' model has been reached. At 0.13, the Gold Coast's tourist ratio is comparable with that of generally recognised mature destinations such as Hawaii, where the tourist ratio has been estimated at 0.10 by Liu & Var (1986: 196). Other trends that are symptomatic of maturity in a tourism development sense include the increasing significance of international tourists among visitors to the area, the substantial foreign ownership of local tourism infrastructure (Forsyth & Dwyer, 1992) and the recent emphasis on man-made attractions and events in tourism development. The plateauing or decline in visitor numbers sometimes associated with advanced stages of the cycle has been averted by the rejuvenating effects of the latter developments and the increase in international visitors experienced as a consequence of the growth in this market for Australia as a whole (Faulkner, 1993). The Gold Coast, therefore, provides an appropriate case study for an exploratory application of the framework described in the previous section, to the extent that it represents a situation where there has been ample opportunity for a range of community impacts to be experienced. Also, as it represents a stage of development that other destinations are expected to reach

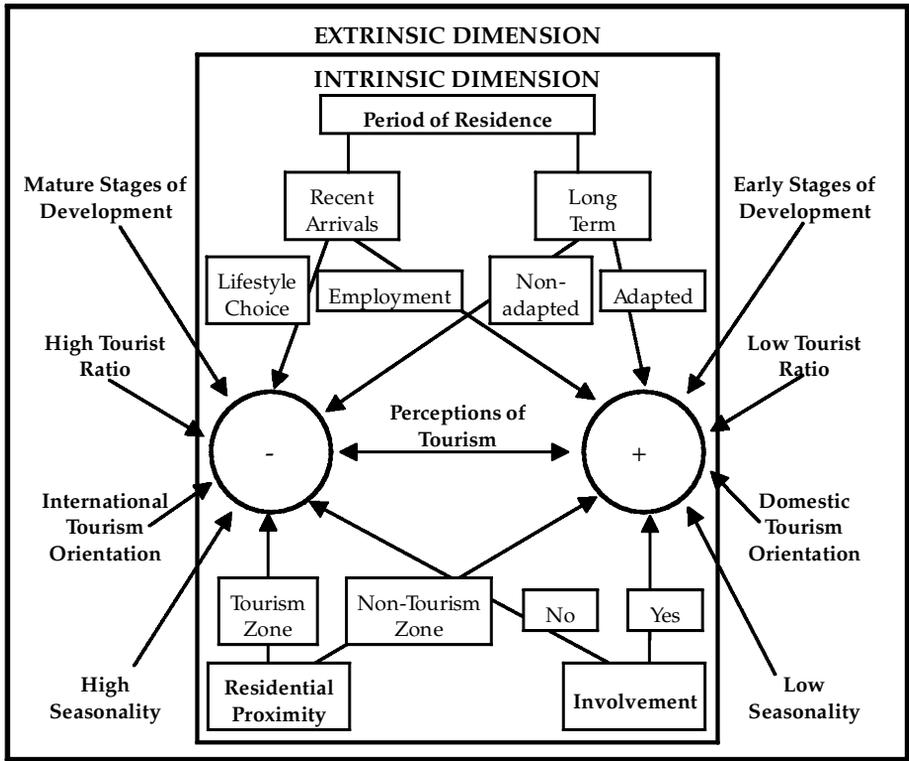


Figure 2 Factors affecting resident reactions to tourism

in the not too distant future, this case study has the potential to provide insights necessary for anticipating and avoiding future problems.

Wall (1995) has identified the need for typologies of tourists and systems for classifying destination area communities to be developed if research on the social impacts of tourism is to advance. More immediately, this is an important requirement of the broader Eastern Australia comparative study referred to earlier because a rationale for selecting case study destinations is necessary. A step towards the development of such a typology is provided in Figure 4, where the status of individual destinations can be compared in terms of the three extrinsic variables that can be represented on a ratio scale and in relation to which relevant data is readily available. Thus, in addition to the tourist ratio, the type of tourist is expressed in terms of the percentage of visitors who are international, and seasonality is based on the Gini coefficient. Theoretically, the value of the Gini coefficient will vary between zero (signifying the absence of any seasonal variation) and 100, which indicates maximal inequality. In reality, maximum seasonality of tourism is very unlikely as this would imply all visitors to a destination arriving within one of the periods of time in terms of which seasonal variations are being measured. Consequently, in the Australian context, the destination with the most pronounced seasonal pattern (Darwin) registers a Gini coefficient of 10.1, which compares with 3.71 for the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast's position on the matrix is plotted in Figure 4.

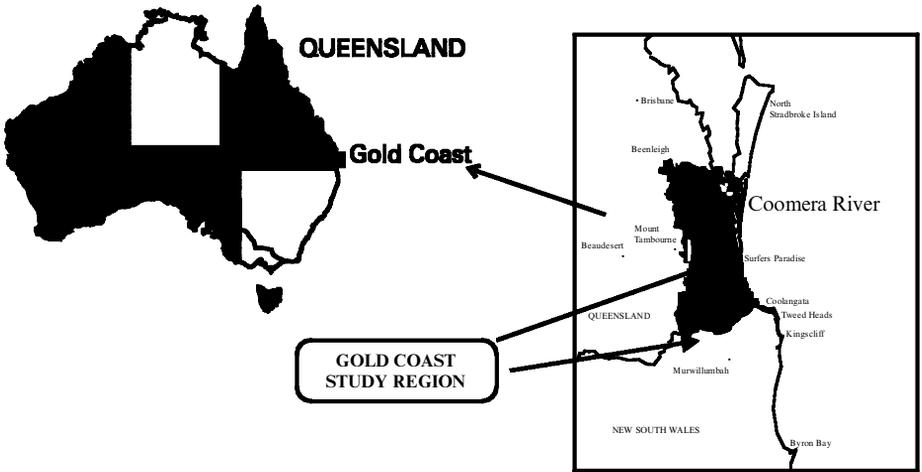


Figure 3 The Gold Coast study region, Queensland, Australia

Variable	Measure
Type of Tourist (visitor nights)	0 ————— 1 0.28 % International
Tourist/ Resident Ratio	0 ————— 0.30 0.13
Seasonality	0 ————— 10 3.71 Gini Coefficient

○ = Gold Coast

Figure 4 Classification of tourist destinations in terms of extrinsic variables

The carrying capacity issue alluded to in the introduction is a major feature of the Gold Coast situation, as this region is one of Australia’s fastest growing residential areas. There is now over 320,000 people living in the area and, with an average annual population growth rate of nearly 4% between 1989 and 1994, it has consistently been in the top three high growth areas in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995). On average, approximately 1000 new residents are received each month. As a consequence of this rapid population growth, there is a tension between urban and tourism development demands which has the potential to not only accentuate the impacts of tourism, but also for certain impacts of urban growth to be erroneously attributed to tourism.

Methodology

In order to explore Gold Coast resident perceptions of tourism and test the hypothesised relationships depicted in Figure 2, a survey of Gold Coast residents was carried out in November/December 1994. Funding arrangements governing the conduct of this project did not make it possible for the survey component to be carried out in stages over a full year. As a consequence, allowance for the possible impacts of seasonality could not be factored into the sampling strategy and, instead, the survey was scheduled just prior to the summer peak period in order to avoid a situation where extreme conditions, which are not representative of conditions prevailing over most of the year, distort reactions to the survey. Also, it was important that we avoid the Christmas holiday period because of the potential of this to adversely affect response rates.

A survey instrument for face-to-face interviews was designed, comprising four sections:

- (1) Demographic questions (including residential history, employment status and involvement in tourism);
- (2) Perceptions of tourism's impacts on the Gold Coast;
- (3) Views regarding future tourism development (i.e. *vis-à-vis* other regional development options) and the public funding of tourism promotion; and
- (4) Adjustments to tourism.

Questions relating to perceptions of tourism required respondents to react to a series of positive and negative statements regarding aspects of tourism on a five point Likert Scale (very strongly agree–very strongly disagree). Statements were derived from a battery of questions compiled from previous published papers in the field and these were modified to fit the Gold Coast situation (see Table 3). Five general areas were covered:

- (1) Economic and employment impacts;
- (2) Socio-cultural impacts;
- (3) Environmental impacts;
- (4) Accessibility and quality of life impacts;
- (5) Public funding and future development options.

After pre-testing the instrument, a pilot study of 50 households was carried out for the purposes of both further testing and refining the instrument, and training interviewers. A target of 400 interviews was set for the main survey.

The sampling methodology utilised the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census Collectors Districts (CDs) as a framework. As there is generally a similar number of households in each CD, this approach allows for equal probabilities of inclusion in the sample of each household. CDs were aggregated into ten zones of equal size (i.e. in terms of number of CDs and, therefore, population) and these were divided into:

- (1) Tourism zones (within 4km of tourist activity concentrations); and
- (2) Non-tourism zones (outside 4km from tourist areas).

Only two such zones were defined, largely because of the limits on disaggregation imposed by the sample size, while the choice of the 4km threshold

was influenced by the expediency of distinguishing suburbs which have a complete absence of tourism infrastructure from the remainder. Given the arbitrary nature of this division, and the possibility of variations in exposure to tourism occurring within the 4km zone, consideration will be given to using more zones in the larger study.

Six zones were classified as tourism zones and four as non tourism zones. Sample households (in clusters of two) were chosen on the basis of a random number generator which designated grid locations within each CD. In effect, therefore, the sampling approach might be described as a geographically stratified, random cluster sample. Households were informed of the study in advance by letter, and vacant residences were visited at least three times before interviewers were referred to replacement households. In the end 397 interviews were conducted, representing a response rate of 75% when refusals and repeated absences are taken into account.

The demographic profile of respondents is compared with that of the population as a whole obtained from the 1991 Census (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1991b) in Table 1. This reveals that the sample is representative in most respects, although there is a higher (but statistically insignificant) representation of people with degree level or higher educational qualifications (23%, compared with 11% for the population). Also there may be some bias to the extent that people who are not employed are under represented (44% compared with 52%). These include mainly students, unemployed people, retirees and home makers. This under-representation is confirmed by a Chi-square test which indicates that there is a significant difference between the two surveys in terms of occupation categories. The Gold Coast survey also appears to differ from the 1991 Census in terms of the income levels of respondents. In particular, a larger proportion of the 1991 Census (30%) fell into the low income category of \$5,000 to \$9,999 than the Gold Coast study respondents (11%).

Results

The analysis that follows has been structured around the examination of three propositions relating to the factors identified in Figure 2:

- (1) At the extrinsic level, we would expect the stage, scale and intensity of tourism development to be associated with an inclination towards negative perceptions of tourism within the resident population generally;
- (2) Also at the extrinsic level, the relatively high representation of international visitors (i.e. on Australian standards) might be expected to contribute to negative perceptions generally and accentuate concerns regarding cultural impacts of tourism; and
- (3) In relation to the effect of the intrinsic dimension, we would expect responses to vary according to level of involvement, residential proximity and period of residence .

Stage and intensity of tourism development

As this set of hypotheses is essentially concerned with the general attitude towards tourism of the community as a whole, we have used principle

Table 1 Demographic profile of Gold Coast survey respondents

Variable	Category	Gold Coast Survey (%)	1991 Census (%)	X ² Probability
Sex	Male	49	49	No significant difference
	Female	51	51	
Age	15-20 years	6	10	No significant difference
	21-30 years	19	17	
	31-40 years	22	17	
	41-50 years	20	16	
	51-60 years	12	12	
	60+ years	21	27	
Zone Type	Tourism	60		N/A
	Non-Tourism	40		
Length of Residency in Gold Coast region:	Less than five years	36	40	No significant difference
	More than five years	64	60	
Length of Residency in current residence:	Less than five years	64	64	No significant difference
	More than five years	36	36	
Education Level	No formal qualifications	5	60	No significant difference
	Year 10	29		
	Year 12	23		
	Trade Qualifications	19		
	Degree level or higher	23		
Annual Personal Income	Less than \$5000	13	12	Yes X ² = 0.02891
	\$5000-\$9999	11	30	
	\$10000-\$19999	17	19	
	\$20000-\$29999	17	16	
	\$30000-\$39999	12	7	
	\$40000-\$49999	4	3	
	More than \$50000	7	3	
	No response given	19	11	
Marital Status	Single	21	25	No significant difference
	Married	65	58	
	Divorced	3	7	
	Separated	1	3	
	Widowed	6	7	
	Cohabiting	4	n/a	
Occupation	White Collar	19	13	Yes X ² = 0.03868
	Blue Collar	23	32	
	Other Occupation	13	0.5	
	Not employed	44	52	

components factor analysis in order to enable major dimensions of variation in the responses of households to be identified. The outcome of this analysis is depicted in Table 2, which reveals that a six factor solution, using the Varimax rotation method, has accounted for 54.7% of the total variance. The first two factors, which account for 29.1% and 9.1% of the variance respectively, highlight the juxtaposition of an appreciation of the benefits of tourism (Factor 1) on the one hand and an acknowledgment of its costs on the other (Factor 2).

Factor 1 has been labelled 'Economic and Regional Development Benefits' because it incorporates strong agreement with statements emphasising the benefits of tourism regarding facilities and quality of life effects, and supporting

public funding of tourism promotion and infrastructure. There is also strong disagreement with suggestions that the benefits of tourism are overrated and that publicly funded tourism promotion is a waste of money. The internal consistency of this factor was assessed using Cronbach alpha. With a Cronbach alpha of 0.8173, Factor 1 appears to be a highly reliable dimension.

Factor 2 is described in terms of 'Adverse Environmental Effects' because it features strong agreement with statements referring to tourism's adverse effect on noise and congestion, and relatively strong agreement with statements emphasising its effect on such things as queuing, cost of living, peace and tranquillity, litter and damage to the natural environment. Again, Factor 2 appears to be a reliable dimension with a Cronbach alpha of 0.8259.

Although they account for a relatively small proportion of the variance (5.3% and 4.2% respectively), Factors 3 and 4 are worth noting by virtue of their thematic consistency. Factor 3 (Quality of Life and Employment Opportunities), in particular, reveals a very strong agreement with statements suggesting that tourism enhances the quality of life of residents by increasing the range and standard of recreational, shopping and service facilities. Economic benefits and employment opportunities are also recognised. Factor 4 (Improved Community Environment) highlights an appreciation of the role tourism can play in improving the appearance and amenity of the area, and the level of local pride.

More insights into the degree to which the community in general is positively or negatively disposed to tourism can be gained by looking at raw survey results contained in Table 3, where positive statements have been distinguished from negative statements. This shows that over 70% of respondents tend to very strongly agree or strongly agree with all but a few (i.e. four) of the positive statements. On the other hand, this level of agreement occurs in only two of the negative statements, and in general less than half of the respondents agree or strongly agree with these statements. While it is tempting to conclude from this that the hypothesis suggesting that there is a high level of negative reactions to tourism on the Gold Coast is refuted, a closer examination of the pattern of responses indicates that the situation is more complex than this.

As indicated in the pattern of responses associated with individual items contained within the factor analysis, there is relatively strong agreement with propositions relating to the economic and employment benefits of tourism, and very strong agreement with statements acknowledging accessibility and quality of life benefits. Significantly, however, there are apparently some reservations about socio-cultural impacts because, among responses to positive statements in this area, there are relatively high proportions (20%–48%) who either have no opinion or strongly disagree.

Furthermore, while there is an overall tendency for respondents to be less inclined to agree with negative statements, the profile of responses reveals a polarisation of views on many questions. This is particularly evident in the case of views on tourism's impacts on the incidence of crime, disruption of peace, litter, damage to the natural environment, queuing and the cost of living. There is no such polarisation in the case of views on the impacts of tourism on noise and traffic congestion, as there is a relatively large proportion of respondents

Table 2 Factor analysis (six factors accounting for 54.7% of total variance)

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Loading</i>	<i>Variance</i>	<i>Eigenvalue</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>%¹ Agree</i>
Factor 1: Economic and Regional Development Benefits		29.1%	8.72		
The economic benefits of tourism to the region are overrated	0.6738			3.37	24%
Public funding of tourism promotion and facilities is a waste of the ratepayers' money	0.6722			3.60	20%
The use of public funds for tourism promotion and infrastructure development is justified by the benefits this brings to the community	0.6457			2.27	72%
Tourism benefits only a small proportion of the Gold Coast's population	0.5895			3.46	30%
Further tourism development will disadvantage the community and should be discouraged	0.5616			3.83	16%
In general, tourism development brings facilities to the region that improve the quality of life of its residents	0.5428			2.21	79%
Further tourism development is beneficial to the community and should be encouraged	0.4900			2.19	75%
Visitors to the Gold Coast enrich the culture of this area	0.4885			2.49	57%
Overall, tourism reduces the quality of life of Gold Coast residents	0.4657			3.66	18%
I like to see and/or meet visitors to the Gold Coast	0.3967			2.42	63%
Cronbach Alpha = 0.8173					
Factor 2: Adverse Environmental Effects		9.1%	2.73		
Increased tourism has caused traffic congestion and made it more difficult to find parking spaces in commercial areas	0.7341			2.30	72%
Tourism has made the Gold Coast a noisier and more congested place in which to live	0.7212			2.36	72%
Tourists are the cause of longer queues and delays in the provision of services in shops and restaurants	0.6695			3.07	40%
Tourism has increased the cost of living on the Gold Coast	0.6184			2.64	55%
Tourism has disrupted the peace and tranquillity of the Gold Coast region	0.5885			2.94	46%
Tourism has resulted in damage to the natural environment of the Gold Coast area	0.5848			2.88	46%
Tourism has resulted in increased litter in our streets and public places	0.5233			3.01	43%
Cronbach Alpha = 0.8259					
Factor 3: Quality of Life and Employment Opportunities		5.3%	1.60		
Tourism has resulted in Gold Coast residents having a greater range of choice with regard to shopping facilities, restaurants, etc.	0.7562			1.84	91%

Table 2 (cont.)

Tourism has resulted in a greater range of outdoor and indoor recreational facilities being available to Gold Coast residents	0.7530			1.99	87%
Tourism creates employment opportunities for the Gold Coast region	0.566			71.55	95%
Tourism brings important economic benefits to the region	0.5132			1.67	96%
Tourism has resulted in a better standard of services being provided by shops, restaurants and other areas of commerce	0.5090			2.06	84%
Tourism has made residents and local public authorities more conscious of the need to maintain and improve the appearance of the area	0.4150			2.09	81%
Cronbach Alpha = 0.6942					
Factor 4: Improved Community Environment		4.2%	1.25		
The development of tourism facilities has generally improved the appearance of the area	0.6891			2.30	73%
Tourism has increased the pride of local residents in their city	0.6657			2.68	49%
Tourism has contributed to the conservation of our natural assets	0.6364			2.90	39%
Tourism has made the Gold Coast a more interesting and exciting place in which to live	0.5722			2.14	77%
Cronbach Alpha = 0.7016					
Factor 5: Cultural Erosion		3.6%	1.09		
Servicing visitors from different cultures undermines our own culture	0.7994			3.65	21%
Visitors to the Gold Coast are an intrusion on our lifestyle	0.7061			3.69	20%
Cronbach Alpha = 0.6335					
Factor 6: Crime Factor		3.4%	1.02		
Tourism has contributed to increased levels of crime and social problems in the Gold Coast region	0.5388			2.80	51%

1. Agree = response of either 1 or 2 on 5-point likert scale

(53% and 46% respectively) who strongly agree that tourism has negative effects in these two areas.

These results reveal that, on balance, residents of the Gold Coast generally view tourism in a positive light. They are particularly conscious of the positive effects of tourism on their quality of life, and its economic and employment benefits are recognised. The generally positive view of tourism among residents is further reflected in the respondents' views on future tourism development and the benefits which this brings to the Gold Coast region. Seventy-five per cent of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement 'Further tourism development is beneficial to the community and should be encouraged', while only 15% stated that they strongly disagreed or disagreed.

On the other hand, there is a polarisation of views regarding tourism's impact

Table 3 Perceptions of tourism in the Gold Coast region

Dimension	Perceptions	% of Respondents					Mean Score
		1	2	3	4	5	
	<i>Positive Statements</i>						
Economic & Employment impacts	Tourism brings important economic benefits to the region Tourism creates employment opportunities in the GC region	46 54	46 41	3 2	3 3	2 1	1.67 1.55
Socio-cultural impacts	I like to see/meet visitors to the Gold Coast Visitors to the Gold Coast enrich culture of this area Tourism has increased the pride of local residents in their city Tourism has made the Gold Coast a more interesting and exciting place in which to live	16 18 7 27	47 39 42 50	21 22 31 9	12 18 17 11	4 3 3 3	2.42 2.49 2.68 2.14
Environment	Tourism has made residents and local public authorities more conscious of the need to maintain and improve the appearance of the area The development of tourism facilities has generally improved the appearance of the area Tourism has contributed to the conservation of our natural assets	18 20 5	63 53 34	12 8 33	7 16 22	- 3 6	2.09 2.30 2.90
Accessibility and Quality of Life	In general, tourism development brings facilities to the region that improve the quality of life of its residents Tourism has resulted in a greater range of outdoor and indoor recreational facilities being available to Gold Coast residents Tourism has resulted in a better standard of services being provided by shops, restaurants and other areas of commerce Tourism has resulted in Gold Coast residents having a greater range of choice with regard to shopping facilities, restaurants etc.	17 23 22 30	62 64 62 61	5 6 6 4	13 5 8 3	3 2 2 1	2.21 1.99 2.06 1.84
Public Funding & Future Development	The use of public funds for tourism promotion and infrastructure development is justified by the benefits this brings to the community Further tourism development is beneficial to the community and should be encouraged	17 25	55 50	15 9	10 11	3 5	2.27 2.19
Average Response to Positive Statements							2.19

Table 3 (cont.)

		Negative Statements										
Economic & Employment impacts	The economic benefits of tourism to the region are overrated	4	20	22	43	11	3.37					
	Tourism benefits only a small proportion of the Gold Coast's population	4	26	10	44	17	3.46					
Socio-cultural impacts	Visitors to the Gold Coast are an intrusion on our lifestyle	5	15	9	48	23	3.69					
	Servicing visitors from different cultures undermines our own culture	5	16	11	45	23	3.65					
	Tourism has contributed to increased levels of crime and social problems in the Gold Coast region	14	37	12	29	8	2.80					
	Tourism has disrupted the peace and tranquillity of the Gold Coast region	11	35	14	32	9	2.94					
Environment	Tourism has resulted in increased litter in our streets and public places	10	33	13	34	10	3.01					
	Tourism has made the Gold Coast a noisier and more congested place in which to live	19	53	6	18	4	2.36					
	Tourism has resulted in damage to the natural environment of the Gold Coast area	10	36	18	29	8	2.88					
Accessibility and Quality of Life	Overall, tourism reduces the quality of life of Gold Coast residents	4	14	10	57	15	3.66					
	Increased tourism has caused traffic congestion and made it more difficult to find parking spaces in commercial areas	26	46	7	15	6	2.30					
	Tourists are the cause of longer queues and delays in the provision of services in shops & restaurants	7	33	15	37	8	3.07					
	Tourism has increased the cost of living on the Gold Coast	16	39	14	26	5	2.64					
Public Funding & Future Development	Public funding of tourism promotion and facilities is a waste of the ratepayers' money	5	15	14	47	19	3.60					
	Further tourism development will disadvantage the community and should be discouraged	3	13	10	47	27	3.83					
Average Response to Negative Statements							3.15					

on specific aspects of their environment and there is an especially strong concern over the effects of tourism on noise, congestion and the impact of the latter on queuing. The lack of a consensus on some of the downside effects, as reflected in the polarisation of views, might be attributable to variations in the degree to which residents link some negative developments with tourism, as opposed to other factors such as continuing urban growth. Alternatively, the polarisation of views could be associated with different levels of exposure to these impacts. The relevance of the latter factor is explored subsequently, where the influence of residential proximity is examined.

Type of tourist (internationalisation)

If anything, the factor analysis reveals that cultural erosion as a consequence of tourism is a minor concern (Factor 5). The raw data in Table 3 indicates that a substantial 57% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the proposition that visitors to the Gold Coast enrich the area's culture, while a relatively small 21% disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. A corresponding small proportion (again, 21%) agreed or strongly agreed with the converse statement, which claims that 'servicing visitors from different cultures undermines our own culture', while 68 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. These results appear to refute the suggestion that negative reactions to tourism will be fuelled by the high proportion of international tourists.

The influence of involvement

Responses to questions on employment revealed that 15% of those *in employment* are actually employed in tourism. This figure provides reassuring evidence of the representativeness of the sample because the corresponding figure from the 1991 Census is 14% (ABS, 1991b). Furthermore, 40% of those who are in the workforce, but not employed in tourism, consider the volume of business in their area of employment to be to some extent dependent on tourism. As indicated below, these two groups account for 18 per cent of the total sample of respondents. For the purposes of analysing the effect of involvement on responses to statements about tourism, therefore, we have segregated respondents into two groups:

- (1) Those involved in tourism either because they are directly employed in the tourism industry (8%), or because they regard their employment as being to some extent dependent on tourism (18% of respondents) i.e. 26% in total; and
- (2) Those not involved in tourism either because they are employed in an area which is perceived to be unrelated to tourism (30%), or because they are unemployed (44%) i.e. 74% in total.

Responses of the two groups were compared in terms of the original 30 questions used in the instrument, rather than on the basis of the dimensions identified by the factor analysis, because distinctions between groups tend to be obscured by the latter approach. Questions in relation to which there were statistically significant differences (at the 95% confidence level), on the basis of the Chi-square test, are isolated for closer examination in Table 4. The Chi-square test was

considered as the most appropriate method for testing such differences because the scale used for measuring resident reactions involved essentially categorical data. As Husbands has observed, it cannot really be assumed that the difference in magnitude of the opinion between very strongly agree and strongly agree is the same as between very strongly disagree and strongly disagree (Husbands, 1989: 242). Owing to the potential for the Chi-square measure to be distorted by sample size, the Cramer-V statistic was also applied to the data. The Cramer-V statistic minimises the effect of sample size and, as this produced identical results, it was concluded that there were no distortions associated with the Chi-square. The standardised residuals also indicated that there were no abnormalities that might invalidate the application of the Chi-square to the data.

At one level it can be claimed that, notwithstanding the statistically significant differences between the responses of the two groups to the questions in Table 4, positive perceptions of tourism transcend involvement to some degree. There is no significant difference between the two groups in relation to a large proportion of questions (80%) and it is notable that over 50% of the non-involved respondents adopt the more positive view of tourism in those questions where there is a significant difference.

On the other hand, however, there are sufficiently different variations in the pattern of responses to suggest that reduced involvement affects the incidence of negative perceptions to some degree. Those who are not involved are more inclined to agree with statements suggesting that 'tourism benefits are overrated' (28%, compared with 14% among those who are involved). They are also more likely to agree that 'tourism benefits only a small proportion of the Gold Coast

Table 4 Perceptions of tourism by involvement

Factor	Perception	Response	% Respondents		X ² Prob.
			Involvement in Tourism Industry		
			Involved	Not Involved	
1	Tourism benefits only a small proportion of the Gold Coast's population	Agree No opinion Disagree	17 9 74	33 10 57	0.004
1	The economic benefits of tourism to the region are overrated	Agree No opinion Disagree	14 22 64	28 22 50	0.014
1	Further tourism development is beneficial to the community and should be encouraged	Agree No opinion Disagree	84 6 10	72 10 18	0.050
1	In general, tourism development brings facilities to the region that improve the quality of life of its residents	Agree No opinion Disagree	87 - 13	77 7 16	0.016
1	Further tourism development will disadvantage the community and should be discouraged	Agree No opinion Disagree	9 9 82	19 10 71	0.045
1	I like to see and/or meet visitors to the Gold Coast	Agree No opinion Disagree	73 21 6	59 21 20	0.005

Involved = Employed in Tourism or Employment dependent on Tourism.

Not Involved = Employment unrelated to Tourism or Not employed.

population' (33%, compared with 17%) and that 'further tourism development will disadvantage the community and should be discouraged' (19% and 9%). Similarly, those not involved are more inclined to disagree with positive statements suggesting that they 'like to see and/or meet visitors to the Gold Coast' (20% and 6%), 'further tourism development is beneficial to the community and should be encouraged' (18% and 10%) and 'tourism improves their quality of life' (16% and 13%). In the case of the two questions referring to 'tourism benefits are overrated' and 'I like to see/or meet visitors', there is a relatively high proportion of respondents with no opinion, indicating a high degree of uncertainty or ambivalence regarding the issues under consideration.

The influence of residential proximity

Instances where statistically significant differences occur in the responses of residents in tourism and non-tourism zones are indicated in Table 5. Given the basis for the distinction between these two groups, it is not surprising that three of the five items involved relate to essentially physical impacts of tourism, and those living closest to concentrations of tourist activity are more sensitive to the negative side of such impacts. Tourism zone residents are therefore more inclined to agree with the suggestion that tourism results in increased litter (45%, compared with 39% among non-tourism zone residents) and tourism disrupts peace and tranquillity (52% compared with 36%), while they are less likely to agree that tourism has contributed to the conservation of natural resources (36%, compared with 44%).

There is, however, a relatively high polarisation of views relating to tourism's impact on both litter and disruption, irrespective of the area in which residents live. This pattern of responses contrasts with views on tourism's contribution to the conservation of natural assets, where there is a large proportion of

Table 5 Perceptions of tourism by zone type

Factor	Perception ¹	Responses ²	% Respondents		X ² Probability
			Tourism Zone	Non-Tourism Zone	
4	Tourism has contributed to the conservation of our natural assets	Agree	36	44	0.023
		No opinion	31	36	
		Disagree	33	20	
4	Tourism has increased the pride of local residents in their city	Agree	44	57	0.003
		No opinion	31	31	
		Disagree	25	12	
2	Tourism has resulted in increased litter in our streets and public places	Agree	45	39	0.034
		No opinion	10	19	
		Disagree	45	42	
2	Tourism has disrupted the peace and tranquillity of the Gold Coast region	Agree	52	36	0.009
		No opinion	13	14	
		Disagree	35	50	
6	Servicing visitors from other cultures undermines our own culture	Agree	16	29	0.007
		No opinion	11	10	
		Disagree	73	61	

1. Only those perceptions where a significant difference was recorded are reported.

2. Responses have been aggregated into three general categories: Agree (either Very Strongly Agree or Strongly Agree), No opinion, and Disagree (either Very Strongly Disagree or Strongly Disagree)

respondents from both areas who have no opinion. This, perhaps, reflects some ambivalence regarding the more general conservation implications of tourism, whereas resident’s views on more observable and immediate (noise and litter) impacts might be strongly influenced by perceptions concerning the relative importance of tourism and urban growth in generating these impacts.

A relatively low proportion of respondents from both zones disagree with the proposition that tourism increases ‘the pride of local residents in their city’ and, similarly, few agree with the suggestion that servicing visitors ‘undermines our own culture’. The tendency for non-tourism zone residents to agree more strongly with the former proposition is consistent with the pattern of responses observed in Table 5 and might be explained in terms of a reaction to greater exposure to some of the more disruptive impacts of tourism. However, the tendency of non-tourism zone residents to be more inclined to agree with the latter proposition seems to contradict this interpretation.

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this set of observations is that, while the proximity of Gold Coast residents to foci of tourist activity has a significant effect on perceptions of tourism’s negative impacts, this is only so for a limited number of impacts (nature conservation, litter and disruption of peace) and, even in these cases, a majority of residents do not agree that tourism has had a detrimental effect. The one notable exception to this is the view among 52% of tourism zone residents that tourism is responsible for disrupting the peace and tranquillity of their area.

Period of residence

For the purposes of comparing long and short term residents, a threshold of ten years was employed. While it is arguable that 10 years is a relatively short period and the analysis could be improved by using a 20 year benchmark to identify a third category, the rapid population growth of the Gold Coast over the last decade has made it difficult to achieve an adequate sample of long term (i.e. 20 plus years) residents with the sampling methodology that was adopted. A comparison of responses by long-term (> 10 years) and short-term (>or = 10 years) residents is therefore provided in Table 6.

This comparison reveals that there is generally little difference between these two groups in their perceptions of tourism and its impacts. There are only two

Table 6 Perceptions of tourism by period of residence

Factor	Perception ¹	Response ²	% Respondents		X ² Probability
			0-10 years	> 10 years	
4	Tourism has made the Gold Coast a more interesting and exciting place in which to live	Agree	82	71	0.019
		No opinion	6	13	
		Disagree	12	16	
3	Tourism has resulted in Gold Coast residents having a greater range of choice with regard to shopping facilities, restaurants etc.	Agree	95	87	0.011
		No opinion	3	6	
		Disagree	2	7	

1. Only those perceptions where a significant difference was recorded are reported.
2. Responses have been aggregated into three general categories: Agree (either Very Strongly Agree or Strongly Agree), No opinion, and Disagree (either Very Strongly Disagree or Strongly Disagree)

statements in relation to which there is a statistically significant difference between the two groups' responses and, despite this, both groups agree very strongly with statements suggesting that 'tourism has made the Gold Coast a more interesting and exciting place in which to live' and it has contributed to 'a greater range of choice with regard to shopping, facilities, restaurants, etc.'

Discussion

The surprising aspect of the pattern of responses revealed by the analysis contained in this paper is not so much that there is so little variation in perceptions of tourism between the various resident groups, but rather the generally positive nature of these responses. In particular, contrary to the basic propositions of the social exchange concept, there appears to be a tendency among residents to acknowledge the many benefits of tourism, irrespective of both their involvement and other background factors that influence their exposure to the impacts of this activity. This seems to imply that there is a parallel between resident reactions to tourism and the 'altruistic surplus' phenomenon observed in urban communities, whereby there is widespread acceptance of the notion that collective community benefits supersede individual interests (Cunningham, 1994). Like earlier notions of community perceptions of tourism based on social exchange theory, altruistic surplus sees resident responses being governed by a trade-off between the costs and benefits derived from this activity. Unlike social exchange theory, however, this concept envisages the trade-off being externalised in such a way that costs to the individual might be tolerated in the interest of broader community benefits.

This response has been observed elsewhere by, for instance, Liu & Var (1986), Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996) and Ryan & Montgomery (1994). Liu & Var (1986) note that in destinations such as Hawaii, where tourism is at a mature stage of development and this industry dominates the local economy, little variation in perceptions of tourism is evident because few residents are unaware of the value of tourism. A subsequent study by the Hawaii Department of Business and Economic Development (HDBED, 1989) has reinforced these findings. Also, in their study of resident reactions in another mature tourism destination, the Greek island of Samos, Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) have observed a general recognition of tourism's benefits by residents, despite the widespread perception of downside affects such as crime, high prices, public disorder.

However, whether these and similar reactions on the Gold Coast are actually attributable to altruistic surplus remains to be established. It is difficult, for instance, to distinguish between an unselfish acceptance of certain costs in the interest of community-wide benefits from an appreciation of the personal gain one can achieve as a consequence of the economic flow-on effects of tourist activity. The latter interpretation is implied in the HDBED study when it concludes that, in general, 'it appears that tourism employment alone is a less persuasive form of "benefit" than is earning a good income in a tourism driven economy, whether or not people consciously attribute their income to tourists and tourism' (HDBED, 1989, v). Clearly, further exploration of altruistic surplus phenomena in community reactions to tourism will require the application of

survey instruments specifically designed to isolate the personal and community-wide perspectives that influence individual responses.

Another insight from this study, which has particular relevance to the broader comparative study of eastern Australian destination communities, concerns the apparent inversion of the Doxey scenario. While the Doxey model predicts that communities become more hostile to tourism with prolonged exposure and as the intensity of tourist activity increases, the Gold Coast study suggests the opposite may be the case. That is, in mature destinations, where tourism is both a long standing and prominent element of the local economy, it appears that the community as a whole has had an opportunity to adjust to tourism through both experience and selective migration. Meanwhile, recent work by Moisey *et al.* (1996) reveals evidence of the opposite effect, whereby in situations where tourism is a relatively new phenomenon, the initial reaction of residents is negative. This may be especially so where tourists are perceived not to be paying their fair share towards the public services they use or where tourism is seen to be having a disruptive effect on the peace and tranquillity of the area.

Conclusion

The underlying rationale of this paper and the broader research programme to which it is related hinges on three basic propositions. Firstly, that the achievement of sustainable tourism development objectives at any location depends on, among other things, the establishment of a planning and management regime that is not only sensitive to the social and community impacts of tourism, but also incorporates effective strategies for accentuating the benefits derived from tourism, and avoiding or ameliorating negative impacts. Secondly, a prerequisite for such an approach is the establishment of systems for consistently monitoring resident reactions to tourism, both at a single destination at different points in time (Moisey *et al.*, 1996) and across different destinations. The former is necessary to ensure that the effectiveness of management and planning practices can be evaluated by tracking changes over time, while the latter can contribute to the cross-fertilisation of ideas on appropriate management measures by facilitating comparisons between destinations. Finally, the establishment of monitoring systems that meet these requirements depends upon the development of a general framework, which facilitates the conduct of comparative analyses of different destinations.

The main objective of this paper was to develop such a framework and to test it through an application to the Gold Coast case study. The framework identifies key variables by classifying them in terms of extrinsic and intrinsic dimensions, while relationships between these variables and community reactions to tourism were postulated on the basis of a synthesis of theoretical and empirical insights from previous research.

Among residents of the Gold Coast, the benefits of tourism were recognised in relation to the full range of its potential impacts. These include contributions to the region's economy, employment opportunities, the range and standard of services available, quality of life, cultural enrichment, community pride, environmental amenity and nature conservation. However, there were reservations regarding the cultural impacts of tourism and its effect on noise and traffic

congestion. There was also a polarisation of views in responses to statements regarding tourism's impact on the incidence of crime, disruption of peace, litter, degradation of natural environments, queuing for services and the cost of living.

On the basis of previous research, it was our expectation that, where there was a polarisation of views, this might be attributable to variations in exposure to tourism associated with residential location or involvement. The proximity effect was significant in a partial sense only, with residents in tourism zones being more sensitive to negative impacts in a limited number of areas such as litter and disruption of peace. The involvement factor was found to have a significant bearing on how some benefits of tourism were viewed. This was especially so in relation to responses to statements regarding economic benefits, the distribution of these benefits and tourism's contribution to quality of life. In most of these areas, however, there was a relatively high level of agreement with positive statements among the non-involved population, although this group also exhibited a higher level of uncertainty.

Residential proximity had a statistically significant effect on perceptions, with those living closer to the foci of tourist activity being more sensitive to negative impacts on nature conservation, litter and, especially, disruption of peace. Within the context of the full range of issues addressed, however, the variation in responses associated with residential location are marginal. Variations associated with period of residence were also marginal, perhaps reflecting the combination of adaptation and selective migration effects referred to in the earlier discussion.

The positive view of tourism among Gold Coast residents overall, and the marginal variation in opinion irrespective of such background variables as period of residence, place of residence and involvement, suggests that the altruistic surplus factor may apply to tourism. It also suggests that, contrary to the Doxey model's prediction relating to changes in the pattern of resident reactions over time, some communities adapt to tourism and therefore develop a resilience which enables impacts to be accommodated. These propositions will be examined further in the broader comparative study.

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