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Conseil de l'Europe



**The challenges facing European society
with the approach of the year 2000:
strategies for sustainable
quality tourism**

European regional planning, No. 53

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with the approach of the year 2000:
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quality tourism**

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FOREWORD

The European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning (CEMAT) met for the first time in 1970, and has since been trying to contribute to the gradual implementation of a European regional planning policy. The European Regional/Spatial Planning Charter adopted in Torremolinos in 1983 defines the major Europe-wide objectives that should underlie policies for regional planning, improvement of the quality of life, and the organisation of human activities in Europe.

The increasing internationalisation of not only the economy but also all the other factors which shape our lives and prepare the lives of the citizens of tomorrow's Europe, is ruling out an exclusively national approach to the problems of regional planning.

At its last session in November 1991, CEMAT adopted a programme of activities directed towards an analysis of long-term trends and developments in terms of policies, economics, ecology, etc. In a constantly, rapidly changing world, forward planning is an absolute necessity for government officials, even if forecasts are sometimes wrong.

Implementation of this programme of activities should help to provide the people and bodies responsible for decision-making with the elements they require to take the right decisions for the future.

The quest for strategies to co-ordinate the various sectoral policies and actions which take into account the rights of future generations and the fact that many of our natural resources are limited and often irreplaceable, is the mainstay of the work of CEMAT and its Committee of Senior Officials, responsible for preparing its work.

The main theme of the next session of CEMAT is: "Strategies for sustainable regional/spatial development in Europe beyond the year 2000".

This colloquy, centred on the quest for strategies to ensure sustainable quality tourism, provided an opportunity to develop the general concept of sustainable development in the tourism sector.

THEME 1

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENT FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

THE CASE OF VENICE

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1. INTRODUCTION

One of the major changes recently noted in the evolution of world tourism seems to be represented by the shift from "sun and beach" holidays to more active and special interest ones. This trend will affect some destinations more than others. There will be losers and winners. Cultural destinations, and especially the cities of art, belong - for reasons that will not be discussed here - to the last category, and are going to face an increasing tourist pressure.

Growing numbers of visitors are supposed to have positive effects on the local society, especially in terms of income and employment, but, should the growth persist in time, the pressure of tourism is likely to become excessive: the number of visitors reaches a level beyond the tourist carrying capacity, and negative effects emerge. Tourism then causes damage to the local environment, the monuments, the local population, and even the quality of the visitor's experience.

This is actually the case in the historic centre of Venice. In 1952 more than 500,000 tourists spent 1.2 million bed-nights in Venice. These figures have grown to 1.24 million tourist arrivals in 1989 with 2.66 million bed-nights spent in hotel and other accommodation. At the same time, Venice has become the

destination of a huge number of day-trippers: more than 5 million in 1989 alone. The island of Venice, a fixed area of about 700 hectares constituting the unique "forma urbis" which still survives thanks to a series of special laws and the loving attention of the world culture, was visited by more than 6 million people in 1989.

Nowadays, tourists and residents are competing for the "use" of the historic centre of Venice, which at present has 83,000 inhabitants, and receives daily up to 47,000 commuters. In 1951, Venice had 175,000 inhabitants, a number which has been declining ever since. The "exodus" of population and economic activities has partly been fuelled by a process of "crowding out" of their competitors by tourism activities. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the number of visitors that Venice is actually receiving, is approaching, or has already passed, the tourist carrying capacity of the city.

Venice may be seen as an extreme case. But with the growth that can be foreseen in the demand for cultural tourism, many other European art cities are expected to share in the nearby future the problems that Venice has today.

The scope of this paper is threefold. Firstly, it introduces the reader to some of the issues that concern Venice's experiences with excess tourism demand. Secondly, it discusses a rather unusual concept of tourist carrying capacity, namely the social carrying capacity, which, as will be argued, seems the most appropriate one for urban attractions. Thirdly, some suggestions will be given on how to manage tourism flows, both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view.

2. TOURISM IN VENICE

Together with the particular physical structure, tourism is assumed to be one of the principal causes of the persistent urban crisis in which the historic centre of Venice finds itself.

Table 1 describes the principal tendencies that characterised Venetian residential tourism, that is tourism implying at least one overnight stay in the centre, in the last decades. First of all, the market for residential tourism has been expanding since 1963, in terms of arrivals as well as overnight stays. While the total number of arrivals and stays for 1963 was 758,975 and 1,731,330 respectively, in 1987 the historic centre of Venice accommodated 1,235,001 arrivals and 2,662,670 stays. The growth was almost continuous until the second half of the eighties, except for the occasional standstill (for example in 1968). The growth Venice experienced during the late seventies and early eighties remains far below that of urban tourism and tourism in general in the Veneto Region for the same period.

Table 1: Residential tourism in the historical centre of Venice

Year	Absolute Values		Change in %		
	Arrivals	Stays	Arrivals	Stays	Average Stay
1963	759,975	1,731,440			2.28
..
1968	807,175	1,701,816	6.2	- 1.7	2.11
..
1973	915,504	1,857,713	13.4	9.2	2.03
..
1978	1,061,416	2,179,730	15.9	17.3	2.05
..
1984	1,335,968	2,846,007	25.9	30.6	2.13
1985	1,291,878	2,768,655	- 3.3	- 2.7	2.14
1986	1,118,419	2,457,695	- 13.4	- 11.2	2.19
1987	1,129,734	2,486,572	1.0	1.2	2.20
1988	1,199,612	2,568,370	6.2	3.3	2.14
1989	1,235,001	2,662,670	3.0	3.7	2.15

Source: CoSES, various publications.

In 1985 and 1986, a sudden decline in the number of arrivals and stays can be observed. This "crisis" can only partly be attributed to the massive renunciation of the American tourists, an important segment of the Venetian market, to a vacation in Europe under the influence of an unfavourable exchange rate for the US dollar, and of terrorism.

In the sixties and the seventies, the number of arrivals grew somewhat faster than the number of stays, which thus led to a decrease in the average stay of the residential tourist. The shortening of the average holiday duration is a phenomenon observed on a global scale, and certainly not typical of Venice. What is typical of Venice, however, is the slight rise in the average stay that has occurred in the last years, contrasting the general tendency.

Venice, however, is not only visited by "classical" tourists, but also by excursionists or day-trippers. No overnight stay is involved; the visit to Venice is concentrated in only one day. Each year Venice is visited by more than 5.3 million excursionists. The relative importance of this for the centre of Venice is indicated by table 2. The table is based on estimations made by the CoSES in 1988; a team of researchers of the CoSES counted both tourists and excursionists at the principal terminals giving access to the lagoon city, and applied, even if slightly modified, the proportions they found in the sample to the whole market.

Table 2: The market share of tourists and excursionists

Year	% Estimated arrivals	
	Residential	Excursionists
1977	22.5	77.5
1978	20.7	79.3
1979	19.0	81.0
1980	20.7	79.3
1981	19.9	80.1
1982	20.2	79.8
1983	22.3	77.7
1984	22.3	77.7
1985	20.7	79.3
1986	20.7	79.3
1987	18.7	81.3

Source: CoSES and APT

There are reasons to believe that the number of residential tourists is somewhat higher than what the official statistics indicate (principally due to tax evasion). In any case, according to the estimates of CoSES, the share of excursionists in the flow of visitors -on a per year basis - is not supposed to be inferior to 75% of the total number of visitors (eg three excursionists for every tourist).

Furthermore, the share of excursionists seems to remain rather stable over the period taken into consideration. It is thus not surprising that the local tourist industry is reorientating its

supply towards excursions. What we observe in Venice is that the stagnation of the residential tourist market is accompanied by the expansion of the market for excursions. Costa (1990) has shown that, given an overall expansion of the market for cultural tourism and the limited and fixed supply of beds in the centre of Venice, the number of excursionists is going to rise considerably.

Table 3 gives us an explanation for the growth of the excursionist market: tourists can save a lot of money by staying close to, but not in Venice.

Table 3: Relative average prices per category and locality

Locality	5 star	4 star	3 star	2 star	1 star
Venezia Centre	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Lido	99.1	100.0	101.8	98.4	123.8
Mestre	-	51.0	76.6	90.3	85.7
Marghera	-	46.0	70.3	87.1	78.6
Cavallino	-	-	60.4	80.6	81.0
Lido di Jesolo	-	37.5	61.3	77.4	85.7
Bibione	-	33.0	55.0	77.4	90.5
Mira	-	36.4	47.7	85.5	78.6
Padova	-	32.0	58.6	71.0	57.0
Abano	50.0	55.9	61.3	83.9	69.0

Source: Rispoli and Van der Borg, 1988

The price of a double room diminishes smoothly with the increase in distance from the historic centre of Venice, in parity with the number of stars. Padova in particular seems to offer a valid alternative to Venice. A room in a "four star" hotel costs 68% less, but on the other hand, it is almost 40 kilometres from Venice. These 40 kilometres may be bridged by intercity travel, keeping the total travel time (centre to centre) under 30 minutes. These

price differences have given rise to the appearance of a special type of excursionist, the "false" excursionist, who has chosen Venice as a final holiday destination, but who stays in its surroundings to save money (or on some occasions because he did not succeed in finding accommodation in the centre). While official statistics alone do not warn us against an excessive use of the historic centre of Venice for tourist purposes, the study of

excursions made it clear that the same statistics are largely underestimating the dangers of mass tourism in a vulnerable city like Venice (Costa, 1990).

In table 4, a forecast for the number of tourists and excursionists who will visit Venice in the year 2000 - together with the figures for 1989 - has been included. The forecasts have been

made by means of an econometric model, which relates economic development to changes in tourism demand, assuming that particularly the increase in disposable income has triggered the expansion of the tourism market. Of the two economic scenarios used as models - optimistic and pessimistic - the latter seems to be the most plausible given the actual recession.

Table 4: Tourism in Venice in the year 2000

	Tourists		Excursionists		Total Visitors
	Arrivals	Nights	False	Total	
1989	1,235,001	2,662,670	3,532,988	5,369,282	6,604,283
2000 (*)	1,540,000	3,491,000	4,118,000	6,261,000	7,801,000

(*) Low growth hypothesis

Source: Costa, 1990

The table shows us above all that, even if our forecasts are rather prudent, the pressure on the island of Venice is going to increase considerably, in particular due to the growing number of excursionists, a segment of the market that is usually neglected by the official tourist statistics.

3. THE IMPACT OF VISITOR FLOWS ON CITIES OF ART

The next decade foresees an increasing pressure of visitor flows on all art cities, and not only Venice. It is not difficult to imagine that the individual art city cannot support an unlimited number of visitors. In other words, the tourist carrying capacity of each city will limit the growth in local tourism demand.

It is widely recognised that growth in tourism demand will positively affect income and employment levels of a relevant part of the population. It should, at the same time, be clear that increasing numbers of visitors will generate negative effects as well, or "costs"

borne by the physical and cultural environment, the local population and the visitors themselves.

There are three principal sources of such costs:

- i. Public expenditure on facilities, attractions, and other infrastructures, that are not directly destined for the visitor market, such as public transport and waste disposal. Tourism makes an intensive use of such facilities, attractions and infrastructure, but contributes only marginally to their costs.
- ii. No less important are the induced costs, the direct results of excessive pressure on a tourist attraction. Congestion and pollution are the most obvious symptoms of stress, although they are only translatable in economic (monetary) terms with difficulty. The first, congestion, is associated principally with urban attractions, and renders the central urban functions less accessible for all potential users. In the case of the art cities, congestion can also be associated with the threat to the physical integrity and the security of the monuments

and museums. The second, pollution, is associated mainly with natural attractions. Both pollution and congestion may be responsible for a considerable reduction in the quality of life. Although tourists seem less sensitive to the pollution and congestion they are causing than the residential population and firms, eventually even tourism will feel their negative repercussions;

iii. Finally, the principal costs with which tourism may burden an art city are to be found in the long-term effects of tourism on the performance of the other urban functions. A city has always been characterised by the diversification in the functions it performs. The bigger the city, the richer the package of goods and services it supplies. This diversity in the urban function has always been the city's "raison d'être", and the best guarantee for its continuity. Competition between alternative land uses determines land rents, and the spatial differences in land rents determine in their turn the distribution of urban functions. Those who can afford to pay a high land rent, or in other words the most profitable functions, find a central (expensive) location, while those who cannot afford to pay a high land rent are pushed towards the peripheral areas. Profitability and location are thus strictly connected. As the profitability of the average tourism firm is much higher than that of a "normal" urban function, the latter will find himself expelled from a central to a less costly location, a mechanism known as "crowding out". Especially the residential function and the lower-order industrial and basic tertiary activities suffer from this type of competition on the urban land market.

It is the comparison between the benefits and the costs in each art city, that makes it possible to determine whether tourist flows are already or are becoming excessive (ie violating the tourist carrying capacity). In reality, the assessment of the benefits and the costs related to tourism is far from easy, not in the least because there are several "parties" involved which perceive benefits and costs in a different manner:

- the non-local community (for many important art cities this may even mean the world population) which is mainly interested in the preservation and the conservation of the cultural heritage;
- the visitor who wants to get the best from his visit and value for money, suffering from visiting a congested (low quality and high prices) destination;
- the local population which is exposed to both the benefits and the costs of visitor flows, but which is especially sensitive to the long-term consequences of excessive tourist pressure, such as the crowding out mechanism mentioned above.

The principal implication of this segmented approach is that three different concepts of tourist carrying capacity (or limits to the growth of visitor flows) of an art city have to be introduced and combined:

- i. *a physical carrying capacity*: the limit beyond which the local environment and the local cultural resources are damaged;
- ii. *the economic carrying capacity*: the limit beyond which the quality of the visitor's experience falls dramatically;
- iii. *the social carrying capacity*: the number of visitors an art city can absorb without hindrance to the other social and economic urban functions it performs.

The maximum number of visitors "admitted" to an art city has to be compatible with the most restrictive of the three tourist carrying capacity concepts, also automatically satisfying the two less restrictive ones. For Venice, and probably also the other cities, the social carrying capacity is the most restrictive of the three.

The problem of determining the social carrying capacity for the centre of Venice has been formalised by Canestrelli and Costa (1991). They introduced a fuzzy linear programming model, and calculated that Venice could bear about 25,000 visitors a day. Even if there is

some room for discussion about the exactness of this figure, it must be clear that it is far less than the number of visitors who actually visit Venice on peak days (on some days of the year up to 200,000 visitors).

Table 5: Social carrying capacity violation: days per year

Year	> 25,000	> 40,000	> 60,000
1987	156	22	6
2000	216	110	16

Source: Costa, 1990

Table 5 represents the number of days the social carrying capacity of the historic centre of Venice has been violated with in 1987 and will be violated with in the year 2000. The number of days on which the social threshold is passed is bound to climb to 216 days: a 45% increase. This means that for almost two-thirds of the year the local society is faced with an unbearable level of tourist pressure. It is widely recognised that the visitor flows to Venice need to be controlled. In the next section, some specific measures to manage visitor flows are discussed.

4. MANAGING THE VISITOR FLOWS: THEORY AND PRACTICE

4.1 Theory

Once an art city is faced with an excess visitor demand, it could follow different possible courses of action:

- a. take measures to enlarge the capacity of supply or increase the degree of utilisation;
- b. accept the congestion levels and "compensate" the residents who do not live from tourism for the disadvantages suffered;

- c. take measures such as diversifying the accessibility according to different visitor categories and "rationing" the use of the city through restrictive price or reservation policies (demand measures).

Supply measures:

Such measures are often proposed to deal with the problems related to the increase of supply, both in time and space, in order to reach an optimal use of the resources, given the total level of demand. The role of information is crucial. Tourists have to be informed about alternative routes within the city, the advantages of visiting the city in intermediate seasons, alternative means of transport to reach the city, etc. Venice is at present experimenting with these kind of measures.

Compensation of residents:

A compensation policy implies first of all that the visitors and/or that part of the population that depends on tourism, contribute to a larger extent to the costs of public services that are offered in the city. This could be accomplished by shifting some of the fiscal burden of the residents who do not depend on tourism, to those who do depend on tourism and, where possible, to the tourists themselves. A fiscal redistribution of this kind could be realised through:

- a. the application of a differentiated tariff policy to all public services where tourists compete with residents, such as public transport, parking lots, museums, and so on;
- b. taxes, surtaxes, and payroll taxes that differentiate between those who depend or who do not depend on tourism (or who suffer from it), such as taxes on the use of public soil, on the collection, transportation and disposal of solid waste, on publicity and bill-posting rights, etc.

Demand measures:

Difficulties in identifying policies to control visitor demand depend among other things on the fact that every art city must be kept as accessible as possible for some specific categories of users, such as inhabitants, visitors to offices and firms located in the city, and commuters studying or working in the city. At the same time, the art city needs to be kept as inaccessible as possible to some other user categories (the day-trippers in particular).

A possible strategy would be to close the centre of the art city to private cars, and to reserve the right to use parking lots and to stop at the relevant terminals to the categories of non-tourist users of the centre. This, combined with rationing the capacity of public transport that brings the visitors to the centre, allows the local authorities to manage the volume of the visitor flow. Such a policy might easily lead to disappointment and frustration among those visitors who are not able to visit the city as they would have expected.

A more efficient way of rationing the excess demand, both from the city's and from the visitor's point of view, is the introduction of an advanced booking system. Two principal reservation policies can be conceived:

- a. the sale of service packages at the time of the reservation, which might include meal vouchers, tickets for exhibitions and museums, discounts in souvenir shops, etc. The acquisition of such a package could be

mandatory (a sort of entrance ticket), or optional, and thus only serve as an incentive for advance booking. In the latter case, the potential user must be convinced of the advantages the package offers him, and hence of advanced booking;

- b. the introduction of a "city currency card", serving in all effects as a credit card, valid for the length of the visit, and with which goods and services in the city can be bought. The card can be issued in different forms to different types of visitors, in numbers that are fixed in advance. The personal credit card also allows a price discrimination according to the time or the day when the card is used.

Both the city service package and the city currency cards could be organised in the context of a telematic network, permitting long-distance sales with immediate effect, an instantaneous update of the availability, and the emission of relevant receipts.

Information, "tax and subsidy" and regulatory policies are the basic ingredients of the management strategy of visitor flows in art cities. Their specific mix mainly depends on the level of excess tourism demand that is perceived by the city of art concerned.

When the number of visitors is not yet alarming, "soft" measures, such as informing tourists on how to visit the city, are considered to be sufficient. Hard measures to control the flow of incoming visitors come into play in case of extreme pressures from tourism. Not many cities have experience with this latter type of measure, mainly because they have not yet been confronted with a situation of emergency. Venice has; and Venice is indeed studying measures to gain direct control over the flow of visitors invading its historic centre.

Although both the Law and the Constitution of all countries recognise that heritage needs to be protected and the quality of life preserved, the measures to regulate the flow of visitors to any attraction might easily be considered to go against the Constitution if they do not

explicitly guarantee the rights of equality, freedom of circulation and sojourn, and economic freedom. In practice, all forms of control that do not materially impede access to the centre are legally acceptable.

Freedom to travel, as has been underlined by Schmidhauser (1991), is still a primary goal and concern for the travel industry; but when mass tourism compromises the quality of life and that of the tourist product, measures have to be taken.

4.2 *Tourism management in practice*

The management of tourism flows forms part of the overall tourism development policy. In a recent study co-ordinated by UNESCO-ROSTE (see Costa and Van der Borg 1991 for more details) an inventory of tourism management policies was made by means of an extensive survey among some 20 important art cities, focusing especially on the management of visitor flows. The results of this survey with regard to tourism management, which will be presented below, give a clear picture of the actual situation.

Of all the cities having answered the questionnaire, only Weimar and Evora stressed the importance of having an explicit tourism development strategy. The local government of these relative newcomers is trying very hard to become competitive in the global tourism market.

In Savannah, tourism development forms part of the Savannah Area Marketing Plan. Also in Evora the tourism development plan has been integrated in the general plan.

Tourism, however, does not always fall under the responsibility of the municipal governments, but usually also under that of the provincial or the regional governments. In such cases, co-ordination problems may easily emerge.

The growth in local tourism demand seems to be encouraged by all cities. This is not surprising, given the fact that all cities put

much emphasis on the benefits tourism brings them, ignoring more than once its costs (Costa and Van der Borg, 1991).

Since the volume of visitor flows does not seem to be a threat to the physical integrity of the monuments and museums, there are no specific measures that foresee their preservation and conservation, other than the usual maintenance schemes. In Savannah, the maintenance of monuments and the city's preservation are primarily financed through private endeavours. With the exception of Evora, none of the cities thought about defining, a priori, what can be called their carrying capacity.

The cities that did not perceive any negative effect of tourism - Plovdiv, Aix-en-Provence and Dubrovnik - concentrate their efforts on promoting their tourism supply, on improving facilities and on providing adequate information to their visitors (together forming what can be seen as the traditional local tourism policy).

The cities that have mentioned pollution, congestion, and parking problems in the historic centre, due to the excessive use of private cars and tour coaches, are either studying, or have already implemented measures to avoid that these by-products of tourism occur too frequently. The German cities and Salzburg seem to be the most advanced as far as the closing to private traffic and the pedestrianisation of the centre is concerned.

Together with Granada and the English cities, they are experimenting with "park and ride" solutions. Salzburg has implemented a sophisticated loading/unloading and parking system for tour coaches. In Chester, the local administration is considering the building of a zoo in its suburbs, in order to take away some of the tourist pressure on the historic centre of the town.

In this context, Venice is the only city to study the possibility of making tourists book their visits to the city in advance. The introduction

of the so-called Venice card might offer the visitor an incentive strong enough to make him book his visit to the city well in advance.

In a recent article, Ermolli and Guidotti (1991) describe the conditions which have to be satisfied to guarantee a successful implementation of such a system. They come to the conclusion that, from a technical point of view, immediate monitoring and control of tourist flows does not create any problems. What is essential, however, is that all parties involved have to be convinced that the regulation of visitor flows is indispensable for all the sub-systems using Venice. Hence, there is a high degree of co-operation between the different users of the system. It seems that this condition is also about to be satisfied in Venice.

Such soft measures to control the flow of visitors are likely to be much more effective than hard ones such as entrance fees, physical restrictions on entrance, etc.

5. SOME FINAL REMARKS

Tourism might easily become a major source of well-being for cities of art, but only if tourist development strategies succeed in respecting the limits that are inherent to tourism. Sustainable urban tourist development (Van der Borg, 1991) is more than just a trendy slogan, as the results of our study have illustrated.

The case of Venice clearly shows that tourism generates considerable benefits, but at the same time huge social costs. The implementation of both sustainable tourist development strategies and the technologies that support these strategies is a major challenge that has to be faced by governments of many European countries. It is beyond doubt that the management of flows of tourists will concern many European cities, and not only the city of Venice.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO BE PURSUED IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE BETWEEN MASS TOURISM AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism, whatever its scale or nature, has become an indispensable fact of modern life. The process of guiding it, ensuring that people are happy with it, and, at the same time, deriving economic benefit from it, is one that requires great sensitivity.

While tourism has numerous different components, many countries use "history", "sun", and "architectural values" as the elements of appeal. The popularity of historically venerable settlements lies in their providing an alternative to the grimness of the modern urban environment from which people are trying to escape. If the natural and cultural values of these settlements and their surroundings are interesting, then local tourism needs to be founded on more than simply recreation and entertainment: the demands of people's curiosity and inquisitiveness should also be provided for.

One study conducted in Britain revealed that tourists wanted most of all to learn about the history of the places they visited and see their historical monuments; the general attributes of the locality, its overall atmosphere, shopping opportunities, and a considerate local populace were qualities that all assumed a less important position. Among those staying for only a short

duration, seeing "historical monuments", shopping, and a general familiarity with the city were equal in importance; among those staying longer, more time was devoted to viewing historical structures.

The negative aspects of the relationship between tourism and the architectural and natural heritage

The conflict and antagonism between tourism and the architectural and natural heritage begins the moment when the number of visitors exceeds the limit that a monument or site can cope with; beyond that, the process is damaging initially to the cultural property and thereafter to the tourism industry itself. The following are some observations concerning the harm that mass tourism can bring with it:

- Many of the units that serve mass tourism are located in urban centres. Entrepreneurs prefer to develop large-scale units (as opposed to small, individual ones) in an attempt to reduce their operating costs. This, however, not only increases the investment in land but can also lead to a loss of local settlement patterns.

- Natural sites worth visiting are first impaired and then destroyed by the new construction that is supposedly needed by the tourism industry. Such new construction tends to be unoriginal and imported from elsewhere and, while it may enhance the architectural environment, it also alienates the local populace.
- Urban services are unable to keep up with the demands of increases in mass tourism. Attempts are made to cover the shortfall by impairing local traditional lifestyles and cultural properties.
- Human-caused erosion can reach extreme proportions, particularly in the case of historical monuments. By way of an example, the rock churches of the Cappadocian region of Turkey and their interior frescoes are deteriorating rapidly due to an increase in ambient humidity, vibration, and rapid wearing away of pathways, all caused by the increased number of visitors.
- As local cultural activities become tourist-oriented, they turn into exhibitions that become mechanical and devoid of creativity.
- The income derived from tourism is not distributed equally; this leads to the development of adverse distinctions between urban inhabitants.
- New modes of behaviour, not at all in keeping with the lifestyles of the traditional groups inhabiting the locality, intrude rapidly into the region. Services customarily provided locally may develop in favour of tourists, but to the detriment of the local populace; local government may lose its control over decision-making mechanisms.
- Mass tourism is concerned exclusively with a town's "historical" dimension and is not particularly sensitive to the originality of structures or to the scientific accuracy of restoration work. This can

serve as a bad example to local governments and inhabitants when giving due attention to repairs and restoration.

In Turkey, a poll was conducted among the mayors of about 30 seaside towns on the subject of "tourism and preservation". These mayors reported opinions to the effect that the uncurbed growth of tourism activities, the start of mass tourism in some particularly vulnerable areas, and the increase in the number of visitors might actually be deleterious to their towns. In the early eighties, those occupying the same positions did not feel the same concern.

In 1991, some of the views expressed by local administrators in the poll were:

- If the destruction continues at this rate, the tourism industry itself will vanish.
- Our infrastructural services are not at a level where they can cope with tourism on such a scale. For this reason we think that uncontrolled growth at this stage is wrong.
- It is very difficult for the local inhabitants to adjust their social lifestyles to such rapid changes. For this reason, problems may emerge.
- There is a rapid turnover in property holdings. Persons from elsewhere in Turkey and from outside are seeking to buy up cultural properties or to open up new areas for development in order to build a second home. This change in property ownership has an adverse effect on the social fabric.
- A satisfied tourist will result in many other tourists coming to our country but uncontrolled development can create a mistaken and negative image in tourists' minds.
- Investments in new building development that is not well thought out and seeks only quick profits may, in the medium and long term, become useless and profitless.

- The ecological balance is being upset.

The positive aspects

There are nevertheless positive aspects in the relationship between tourism and the natural and cultural heritage. Foremost among them is the invigorating and activating impact that tourism can have. The economic dimension of this invigoration can contribute to the preservation of the cultural heritage, while its social dimension can bring about an awakening and develop an awareness for preservation among the local population.

The tourism industry also fosters the repair and use of old structures.

The support that an income-generating activity provides for preservation helps to ensure that preservation is more than a superficially applied concept and that local inhabitants participate effectively in it.

Establishing a balance between preservation and mass tourism

If due productivity is to be derived from the tourism industry, preservation must be undertaken simultaneously and, most important of all, the use of tourism as a significant element in the realization of preservation will resolve many of the problems cited above.

How is this balance to be achieved?

- The first thing that comes to mind is the principle of "spreading the pressure". Developing new focal points of interests not only makes it possible to offer visitors a wider range of choices but can also reduce the disruptive and corruptive impact on the historical fabric.
- When the quality of all the services (accommodation, food and drink, entertainment, and so on) required by tourism is maintained at the highest possible level, the physical damage that is caused to the environment is minimized. In particular, when buildings that need to

be preserved are put to use at the service of tourism, the resulting high-quality restoration and operation can extend the life of the structure.

- The effects of the quality of the tourists themselves and the identification of a "visitor's profile" for this purpose is another important factor in the balance. The questions of "numbers versus quality" or "lots of low-spending tourists versus a few big spenders" are strategic issues. A knowledge of the visitor's social status and his expectations of the locality will also provide guidance in the relations between mass tourism and any preservation of the natural and cultural heritage.
- Another element of any balanced policy is the realization that it is more correct to take the approach of letting the natural and cultural properties shape tourism activities. "Cultural tourism" should be proffered to those who are interested in it. In places where there are natural and cultural properties, the rules that are laid down to preserve them must first of all be taught to visitors. Only a visitor with a high level of interest is capable of appreciating and obeying such rules.

Mass tourism, for example, is a form of "hard tourism": the visitor has but little time and the route he takes is preset. He demands a particular level of comfort - comfort that may have to be imported. In such visitors, curiosity is the dominant element. He will have done very little in the way of preparation for the natural/historical setting he will be staying in or visiting. In the "soft tourism model", the visitor is a single individual (or perhaps a family). There is time enough to travel around as one will. He prefers becoming acquainted with local lifestyles and has an awareness for them. He has specific areas of interest and may have prepared himself with respect to cultural values. Another dimension to "soft tourism" that should not be overlooked is that such visitors are interested in and respectful of

local architecture and that this is an additional protection for cultural and natural preserves.

- Another important dimension to the balanced development in the relationship between preservation and tourism is that of planning. Purely physical planning in this case is not enough; social planning, operational planning, and the development of financing models are all at least as important as physical planning. In such multidimensional planning, the potentials of cultural and natural properties need to be identified, one needs to determine what kinds of services and functions can be provided without causing harm to these properties, the issue of the long-term impact of the relationship between tourism and architectural and natural values that is considered to be a short-term necessity needs to be thoroughly examined, consideration needs to be given to the measures that might have to be taken against the possibility of such long-term influence.

- Local governments are in a position to seek out help for themselves at whatever scale and level may be needed. Particularly in the business of preservation, the relationships between property owners, municipalities, regional administrations, and the central government need to be properly defined. Another urgent matter is the clarification of monetary resources. One survey carried out in Turkey revealed that local governments looked upon the central government as their greatest source of support (monetary, technical, and project assistance). In second place were organisations formed jointly by property owners and municipalities, while the idea that local units should lead the way and serve as examples by providing people with guidance and encouraging them to be heedful was placed third. Neither having everything done by the central government nor expecting individuals to do everything themselves were models that local administrators preferred.

The primary form of support that local governments expect from the central government is that of money. That is followed by assistance necessary for condemnation proceedings, technical support for project generation, and the assignment of experts in such fields as tourism, preservation, and facility operation.

Some concrete policy recommendations for local governments

These observations and searches for solutions have led us to come up with a few concrete policy recommendations for local governments.

It is believed that rooting one's basic policy in preservation and development is appropriate - especially inasmuch as architectural values that deserve protection can never be replaced once they have been lost - while tourism should be looked upon as a factor that will encourage both preservation and a healthy process of urban development. Upon this foundation one may then build up the following approaches:

- The local inhabitants and visitors should be provided with equal cultural and social services. This will prevent any alienation.

- Special watch should be kept over the balance between preservation and use.

- Preference should be given to approaches with an organisational structure necessary for the long term and that can generate sufficient monetary resources, rather than short-term profits.

- Local governments should take the attitude that the matter cannot be dealt with exclusively by means of physical planning and that the social and cultural dimension is also important; they should be able to make people understand this.

Under the headings of these general approaches, local governments should develop secondary-level policies which will ensure co-operation among organisations of differing

scales and levels, take measures to encourage and motivate local inhabitants and run model operations for this purpose. They should make spatial decisions that keep preservation and development in balance, oversee their proper implementation and develop new resources.

In the following section, some of the details are discussed.

a. Achieving a spatial balance

The first question should be how the new forms of use dictated by mass tourism can be brought into harmony with the problem of preservation. In other words, how is the balance between preservation and use to be achieved? One should realise that some preservation decisions may entail restrictions on the new settings and forms of use required by mass tourism. With this in mind:

- A balance must be struck between the areas in which facilities can and cannot be located.
- In areas that are to be preserved, activities that would impair them must be minimised.
- The density of building development should be reduced both horizontally and vertically.
- Large-scale facilities catering for mass tourism should be developed outside the preservation areas.
- When new spaces are required for mass tourism (or for its ancillary activities), attempts should be made to provide them by making use of the existing structural stock. To achieve this, one of the duties of local governments is to ensure that the legal and financial framework is in place to check up on whether or not the existing stock of structures is being properly used, identify the potential of cultural properties, and have them repaired and made sound so that they can be allotted for new uses.

b. Redistribution of the pressure

Another important matter is the necessity of dispersing the mass of tourists in such a way as to do away with the adverse impact of too great a concentration. This redistribution can follow two separate dimensions.

- Spreading the load over a greater period of time:

An effective policy for local government to follow might be to encourage local/national tourists to make their visits outside of peak season, for example, by offering lower rates.

- Spreading the load over a greater area:

Consideration should be given to creating a range of choices for visitors and organising different activities in different places to prevent overcrowding.

The numbers and attributes of visitors that buildings and sites can withstand without allowing tourism to cause damage to cultural and natural properties need to be identified. Some of the measures that can be taken once that potential has been investigated are:

- Selectively raising the entrance fees to specific buildings and sites
- Limiting the number of visitors admitted
- Reducing the number of days or hours during which visits are allowed
- Ensuring that mandatory protective measures are complied with at particularly critical sites.

c. Financing policies

Tourism is a profitable industry: an investment that is undertaken repays itself over a specific period of time and then starts generating income. Preservation, on the other hand, is often undertaken as a public good and, because it is not expected to be financially profitable,

does not attract as much interest or support as tourism does.

This is why the identification and location of the financial resources needed for the preservation and development of the cultural heritage in areas where the pressure of tourism is being exerted, is an important issue which local governments must concern themselves with.

- To my way of thinking, the cardinal principle that local governments should follow in this matter is that of "he who uses, pays". This means that tourism - especially so concentrated a type as mass tourism - bears the cost of its impact on the natural and cultural environment. If some particular facility is the focal point of tourists' interest because of natural, cultural, and/or historical values in its vicinity and if, on this account, it secures income then it should, with the local government acting as intermediary, make whatever contribution is necessary for those values that are generating its income. Its share in that contribution should be determined by the local government in proportion to the nature of the facility and the form of its relationship with the values surrounding it.
- Another course of action that might be taken by local governments - not only to secure financing but also to serve as both example and assistance for local entrepreneurs - is that of the "build - operate - transfer" model. As summarised, this model involves the restoration of privately-owned structures of a monumental nature or traditional dwellings by a local government, which undertakes the work on the owner's behalf. For some specific period of time, the restored structure is operated in order to recover the cost of the restoration and - also - to secure some specific margin of profit. At the end of this period, the property is turned back over to the owner. This model can make a number of positive

contributions to the relationship between preservation and tourism:

- . cultural properties are preserved;
 - . the local government secures a profit;
 - . a contribution to the tourism industry has been made by making good use of an existing structure, thereby eliminating the adverse effects that new construction can have;
 - . at the end of the specified period of time, the property owner is handed back a money-making venture without having spent anything.
- An admission fee should be charged to tourists entering areas in which cultural activities are taking place. Such fees can be an important source of revenue that can be spent on preservation. Under a programme that has been in effect for three years now in Turkey, the admission fees charged to visitors at archaeological sites and the revenues from the various services provided on the sites are spent on the landscaping, maintenance, infrastructural and transportation services, and restoration work taking place at those same sites. The programme is completely under the direction of local governments and has made it possible to provide more than twenty times the service than would have been possible by ordinary budgetary means.

d. The new dimensions of public relations

Another duty of the governments of localities that are the scene of mass tourism activities is to take measures to protect the quality of the local inhabitants' traditional lifestyles in the face of this new industry. If a town is to be oriented towards tourism, then its inhabitants must be too. This means that local governments must ensure that the local populace is not made to feel that it is under siege, that convincing research is carried out to

show that preservation and tourism can grow hand in hand, and that pilot projects are conducted.

CONCLUSION

In many countries where mass tourism is a newly-developing industry, local governments are under an obligation to make wise and correct decisions about its short-term

attractiveness. The long-term harm that this type of "hard tourism" can cause needs to be debated and policies, based on valid data, need to be elaborated to preserve and develop not just natural and architectural values but the traditional lifestyles of the local population. The necessary means should also be provided for "soft tourism" and the positive contributions that this form of tourism can make, especially in the areas of cultural depth and breadth, should always be kept in view.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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1. Tourism is by now a well established and significant factor in the economic development of numerous regions. In Italy, a country endowed with a very rich historic and architectural heritage and several landscape areas of outstanding value, it goes without saying that activities associated with tourism are assuming particular importance.

However, it would be wrong to underestimate the potential hazards that tourism can bring - especially if concentrated within certain periods of the year and confined spaces - to the areas subjected to the greatest pressure, where a balance has to be struck between satisfying a range of demands and the need to safeguard the natural and architectural assets which are the object of the visitors' curiosity.

This concern, which has come to light on several occasions, is of fairly recent origin; for a long time there was an entrenched belief that tourism had to be developed at all costs, since its economic impact was in many cases the principal source of income for the local communities concerned.

2. These are themes which the international and European Community organisations are addressing more and more frequently. The issues under review in this Council of Europe colloquy are also indicative of the importance of seeking appropriate ways of reconciling two essential objectives: to expand the tourist industry which, because it responds to the increasing desire of present generations to visit and become acquainted with other countries, must be accepted as ineluctable; and at the same time to safeguard a non-renewable heritage that is in many respects unique and is the feature which perhaps more than any other represents a nation's particular identity.

Such considerations lay behind the final recommendations of the recent conference in Luxembourg (28-30 October 1991) organised by the Commission on Human Settlements of the ECE. The subject was planning for the sustainable development of tourism.

On that occasion, emphasis was placed on the usefulness of encouraging initiatives to improve co-ordination in professional circles

and the need to develop more suitable instruments of analysis and draft a European Charter on the sustainable development of tourism, or a text of that nature.

3. Where this last aspect is concerned, a particularly important contribution from an analytical point of view was made by the Green Paper on the urban environment, compiled by the Commission of the European Communities which considers, correctly, as essential to strategy the need to abandon sectoral approaches when addressing the problems of the urban environment, and sets out policy objectives for the different areas of action.

The principle underlying the document is that, in order to be compatible with society's present and future demands, development must also prove sustainable. This means, very aptly, that environmental issues must be seen in conjunction and brought into harmony with those of regional development and economic planning. Only in this context will environment policy cease to be identified with the preservation of one or two internationally reputed areas - an idea which, however commendable, would relegate it to an auxiliary role - and become a factor having a positive impact on choices in town and country planning as well as on choices in the area of economic planning.

In line with this way of thinking, the Green Paper expresses concern over the profound changes that growth in tourism could engender. The quality of life of the inhabitants could be impaired, and the places themselves put to entirely different uses, possibly with the result of deteriorating the rich heritage of buildings and homes. To prevent this happening, the Green Paper urges that a "planning strategy for urban tourism" be immediately devised, as the only approach capable of avoiding the undesirable spin-off from a sector whose impact, in other ways, is unquestionably beneficial.

4. In Italy too, there has been growing concern about the way in which the

environment is frequently misused. One of the causes of deterioration is tourism, when it becomes a mass phenomenon: this is most striking in some of the towns of artistic interest, such as Venice and Florence, where plans to regulate tourist flows are seen as a necessity of the first order - along the coasts and, to a lesser extent, in the mountain regions; here, however, the most significant changes to the physical environment stem from the spread of second homes and related urban developments: this is borne out by the statistics gathered from the latest survey (October 1991) which shows that over 21% of all homes are unoccupied, most of these being second homes.

It is however clear that any action to protect and safeguard historic centres and environmentally sensitive areas will take the physical features as its starting point and endeavour to impose more stringent controls on their use.

Since the end of the 1960s, it has been compulsory, when drawing up urban development schemes, to divide the territory into homogeneous zones. One of those zones must identify "parts of the territory occupied by urban centres of historic or artistic interest or of special importance from an environmental standpoint". This is a preliminary condition explicitly laid down in the law, which permits the establishment of an environmental context within which any action must be extremely cautious: with only a very few exceptions, planning permission for changes to the existing building stock is granted only for purposes of maintenance, consolidation and protective sanitary improvements; or, in the case of buildings protected by special restrictive measures, for restoration work.

Thus while Italy is without any doubt conscious of the need to conserve the environment in which its monuments (churches, apartment buildings, works of art) were designed and constructed, it is nonetheless clear that even if this condition were fulfilled it would not suffice in itself to protect the country against the dangers of environmental deterioration or the process of

disruption of the original social strata by the spiralling growth of differentiated rents.

What to do about air pollution, noise, growing traffic congestion and the increasing tendency to put buildings to new uses; what action to take in order to safeguard the residents' security of tenure: all these problems have yet to be fully resolved.

More appropriate responses to some of them could be found if the legislation on urban planning were brought up to date. Very few amendments or additions have been made to the basic legislative text - Act No. 1150 of 1942 - since it was first drafted. In Italy, the start of a new legislature, is the right time to observe some of the significant initiatives taken at the local level and promulgate a sectoral outline law which would include, among numerous other themes, the criteria to be taken into account for putting in place the instruments of town planning.

Briefly, it is likely that in drafting future schemas, allowance will have to be made not only for the size, location and purpose of whatever additional buildings or new infrastructures are planned; it will also be necessary, in the case of urban areas and other environmental contexts, to sketch out the final pattern that it is desired to achieve via the schema, overcoming in this way all excessive constraints due to the establishment of town planning parameters which in some cases are relevant to certain zones only. To take the historic centre as a particular case: here alterations to buildings will have to be regulated in the light of preliminary investigations into their historic structure and their typologies in such a manner as to establish criteria of compatibility between the present building's characteristics, its normal uses, its functional organisation and its impact on the urban landscape; this should even apply to other components of the built environment outside the historic centre.

5. The protection of the natural environment was the subject of a legislative text promulgated in 1985 for a particular purpose.

This Act (No. 431) which still suffers from being hard to apply and somewhat inconsistent in its consideration for regional realities, did at least have two clear merits from an operational standpoint and, in a general way, assisted the progress of culture and education. Firstly, it focused attention on the whole problem of territorial quality by endeavouring to apprehend environmental assets in all their complexity, irrespective of the intrinsic characteristics of each: natural, historical and physical features, contribution to the plant cover, aesthetic and constituent features. The second merit is to have established that the protection of the environment requires appropriate management tools - landscape designs, urban schemas and land-use plans, having regard to landscape and environmental assets in particular - and abandoned the virtually constant practice of equating protection with the application of rules to restrain would-be developers.

After protection, which is inevitably also a process of selecting modes of use for certain areas in relation to what the community sees as the main advantages of conservation, the next stage must be to increase those activities that are compatible with the places in question; tourism, provided it is promoted in a manner that respects the natural context, must have a particularly important role here.

Local communities are more and more aware of this, as we know from the willingness with which local authorities welcome the idea of being situated within the territory of a national or regional park. The number and extent of such parks has been increased by recent legislation. Until recently, their creation was hotly disputed because it was believed - wrongly as it turned out - that economic development might slow down as a result.

6. A very important role could be assigned in this new context to the Ministry of Public Works. This could consist partly in helping to devise legislative measures and reinforcing its own guidance and co-ordination activity in the context of environmental issues (a mere assessment of the colossal demand from all

sides for organised and systematic information shows just how indispensable it is to have a place where information is assembled, processed and circulated); and partly in initiating programmes to evaluate the environmental impact of state sponsored public works such as major infrastructure networks.

For reasons such as this, the Ministry of Public Works is now taking steps to create a permanent observatory in order to monitor changes that have a major environmental impact, and also to build up a data base which will ensure that during the land-use planning stage due account is taken of the demands of protection and enhancement of the natural environment and historic heritage.

The studies and surveys that are under way in connection with this particular scheme are

progressing well. They were promoted and co-ordinated by the European Community agencies and by the Ministry of Public Works partly in order to introduce what the Green Paper calls a "Community system of recognition of the historic and cultural significance of individual buildings and parts of urban areas".

This is without doubt a challenge for the years ahead, to which the Ministry of Public Works intends to respond to the best of its ability, using the full array of advanced technology, professional experience and available skills, in addition to the indispensable contribution which the scientific and cultural community will certainly make.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS FOR THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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1. CONTINUING MOBILITY

If all predictions are correct, individual mobility will continue to remain sacrosanct as a major political asset in the future. In other words, provided that there is political stability, we can expect a growth in immigration and an influx of tourism. In terms of social anthropology, the car in particular represents the mobile spirit of modern man. As such, it is a political taboo.

The economic and political utilisation of scientific discoveries brought radical changes in the workplace and in production processes. Technopolisation and globalisation, international division of labour and specialisation, profit maximisation and capital orientation led to the epochal crisis of meaning in our working culture. Alienation and crises of identity provided compensation via new aims and a new sense of purpose, earning money, mobility and consumerism became the main content of the affluent society, a society from which stress-weary man flees to the intact idyll of contrasting or twin worlds.

There is no doubt that traditionally free public property, viz. biotopes - cultural sociotopes - are jeopardised by mass tourism. Within this fundamental human right, inherent to the

system of the affluent society, there are various strategies to ecologically and socioculturally maintain the balance mentioned in the title: one major motivating factor of our mobility will thus continue to exist.

2. COMPENSATORY STRATEGIES

2.1 Strategic rationalisation by price control

This includes all efforts in the direction of ecologisation of mobility with particular reference to price. When we talk of a so-called 'rationing effect of price', just what do we mean? Imposing high admission charges on areas of value, such as towns, national parks and national monuments. In the Tyrol, for example, valuable skiing areas that can no longer be enlarged, in particular glacier skiing areas, follow a high price strategy in an attempt to bring about a certain ecological rationing effect. If the price is high, this means that less people visit the sensitive areas or towns in need of protection, thus sparing these cultural and ecological gems. In response to the argument that such a strategy is unsocial it can be countered that price strategies of this kind bring about a desirable distribution, i.e. tourists are diverted to other ecologically and culturally interesting sites which would

otherwise be less frequented. In this way it would be possible to counteract a certain polarisation in demands as to time and place.

2.2 A new appreciation of free public property

In general, so-called free public property, i.e. scenery, water, air, natural monuments, etc., is underestimated by the population. The costs of these items are not therefore, incorporated in prices (internalisation of external costs). In order to bring about proper appreciation for public property, however, there will have to be a new cost structure on these lines. In the Tyrol, for example, the imposition of a general ski touring usage fee is being considered for Alpine areas and mountains which were hitherto free.

2.3 New leisure time habits

Mobility ought to be further optimised by distribution and rephasing. In other words, the existing temporal and local polarisation ought to be replaced by a new attitude to leisure time habits. First and foremost, this means adjusting the annual holiday timetables of various countries. Relevant talks are already being held by national governments and at EC level. It is also a matter of easing industrially determined weekly working rhythms. Such improvements would in particular lead to a greater social acceptance in the service trade. They require a radical rethinking in the consumer habits of the various occupational groups. A mobility rearrangement of this kind would further protect endangered areas from temporary overcrowding and would prevent resentment by the inhabitants of the area.

2.4 Limiting capacity

Various ways of regulating the capacity on offer are being considered. As a part of regional planning, systems are being developed to introduce upper limits for area capacity. In particular these limits will be applied to obvious infrastructural resources such as lifts, water, roads and houses, this automatically leading to restrictions in the number of visitors

and to protection for the areas visited. A start has been made in the Tyrol by way of a voluntary self-restriction in lift areas. The next regional planning regulations will also lay down upper limits for accommodation capacity.

2.5 Guest quotas as required

Information strategies (in particular of an electronic kind - see TIS pilot model in the Tyrol) could be used to introduce guest quotas wherever necessary at certain times. This has proved to be a necessity in the glacier skiing areas of the Tyrol, the precarious snow situation frequently leading to excessive demand in these areas on certain days. These areas are in the process - already completed in the Arlberg region - of laying down certain upper limits in respect of the number of visitors, thus ensuring consumer safety and easing traffic problems.

2.6 Prohibiting private traffic in busy places

Intelligent traffic concepts like park and ride are meant here. Systems like this enable the use of public transport from certain points. If they are not obligatory, they have to be attractive in terms of time and price comfort. Otherwise the social acceptance of public transport will never match that of individual transport.

2.7 Long-term ecological strategies - network models for endangered areas

The entire network of leisure trade factors will have to be rethought. In particular this means new ecological awareness, a reassessment in terms of conservation rather than of expansion. Many processes will have to be slowed down and examined when they constitute an ecological burden or affect energy management. Altogether, damage must be minimised via overall concepts. This general demand particularly applies to mobility-minded areas. There are numerous strategies of this kind at local, regional and provincial level; integral touristic models are useful in this respect. Now obligatory for all places in the Tyrol, these models lead to a constant process

of examining the connections between individual damaging factors, thus showing how something 'bad' can be engendered by something 'good' and vice versa. A well-meaning, ecologically protective strategy, for example, when applied to one place, can mean that other places in the vicinity become more attractive and perhaps suffer a greater traffic burden. The general aim is greater awareness of the ecological and sociocultural effects of mobility. We are only at the beginning of a wide-scale survey in which the affected population will have to be constantly involved.

2.8 Social self-assurance on the part of the population in tourist areas

In particular we know far too little regarding the detrimental effects on the self-assurance of the population visited and on their willingness to serve. The great problem of social disdain for simple service occupations arises here. These occupations depend on providing visitors with archetypally idyllic old images in modern times. This particularly affects the self-assurance of the inhabitants of endangered sites and landscapes.

2.9 Nature conservation as a subsidiary strategy

Nature conservation should ensue subsidiarily. The exclusion of protected and 'ruined' areas should be minimised. As far as regional planning and economy are concerned, it is vital to give desolate places a quality of life and to see nature conservation as an overall concept. The old paradigms of nature conservation philosophy were frequently excuses, farming museums and national parks being laid out to conceal the destruction in other areas. The new paradigm is to give all areas a quality of life. Changing technology in industrial and trade production will lead more strongly than ever to an 'interlaced landscape': agriculture, industry and the leisure trade will interlock, thus making nature conservation obsolete in many areas. As mentioned in 1), it will be of importance to increase the sense of appreciation for free public property by introducing more charges. In this respect

individual good examples will have an autocatalytic effect on all other areas. Mention must be made in this connection of the wide problem of so-called replica territories.

2.10 Relief in the form of 'virtual worlds'?

For socio-psychological reasons it is not yet possible to say whether in future so-called Disney worlds will satisfy the interests and demands of tourists, and whether this development will perhaps make the vulnerable towns and natural areas less interesting in the long term, thus protecting them. All signs point to the demand for virtual worlds increasingly replacing that for natural worlds. They would have the advantage of professionalism, concentration and a new evaluation of the services provided by the staff. In simple terms, new theatres will perhaps develop here, the spectacle of nature and culture replacing reality.

2.11 Conservation strategies

In future various questions will arise in a museum connection, new forms of dramaturgy and recreationalism having to be created here for tourists in order to increase the attractiveness of such sites. Here, too, the various Disney world questions play a part, since replicas could replace originals for purposes of touristic appreciation.

3. THE FUTURE OUTLOOK IN BRIEF

3.1 New amenities for new requirements

Various questions arise in connection with the subject of achieving a balance in mass tourism and of changes in and the maintenance of a cultural and ecological balance in highly frequented areas: in particular I refer to the problem of finding leisure-adequate architectonic solutions (entertainment-health sectors) for new buildings in the vicinity of holidaymakers, e.g. on the edge of large towns. There is a great discrepancy between future requirements and the existing mobility of

suppliers. For various reasons it will be necessary to adjust architectonic leisure solutions to demands, thus bringing relief to existing attractions of a historic nature and to a certain extent, meaning less of a burden for cultural and natural property at present endangered.

3.2 New targets via new communications

One interesting sector to which insufficient attention has hitherto been paid is that of communications. In the Tyrol, for example, we are seriously considering ceasing to promote insider tips and generally introducing a new

kind of communication. This must depart from 'banana tourism' and lead to authentic cultural signals of geopolitical unity. Here, much will depend on the extent to which the population accepts its publicity image. Tourist advertising and information will have to be re-interpreted for visitors, thus perhaps highlighting new focuses of interest and thereby relieving traditional holiday destinations.

I shall refrain from taking a third, cynical view of the future - the prospect of existing ecological and cultural steps being destroyed by tourists - on account of the very constructive subject title.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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1. TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN - BRIEF HISTORY

The Mediterranean basin, as the geographical unit in which tourism was born and developed in the form it has today, continues to concentrate about 30% of international tourism. Despite the differences in the number of tourists admitted and the formation of the particular tourist zones, differences which definitely need to be considered according to each case, there are many common problems and the question of confronting them in a coordinated way has already been questioned.

We thought it appropriate to refer in short to the evolution of tourism in the Mediterranean, the reasons for its development and the way tourist concentrations were formed, not only because historical knowledge is a valuable instrument for any planning, but also because

a large part of the tourist building infrastructure in the Mediterranean already tends to acquire value, needing protection and distinction. The Mediterranean reflects the history of current tourism.

Up to the end of the 19th century, Mediterranean tourism consisted of the visits of travellers who (already since the 16th century) pushed forward to discover the values of the Greco-Roman culture and its monuments. During the 18th century, the few privileged aristocrats making this grand tour, mainly English, also started settling in coastal Mediterranean cities in winter time, and gradually, influenced by a concept for healthy living in mild climates, they invited their families too.

Ever since that period we have the first patterns of remarkable villas, often in the form

of palaces and castles on the Côte d'Azur in Nice, San Remo and even Greece (Corfu).

1.1 The first massive arrivals

A landmark in the evolution of these tendencies was the arrival of the railway on the France-Italian Riviera during 1865, accompanied by a large tourist stream. In order to serve this first tourist flow, which does not include the summer tourism, the first large hotels, as well as leisure installations (casinos, theatres) appeared giving the region a cosmopolitan character as well as uplifting the economic life of the south. At the same time, the first indications of land speculation appeared with the massive disposal of farm land for the erection of villas.

1.2 The period between the two world wars

During the period between the two world wars, this stream started to evolve from the aristocratic classes to the rich urban ones, as well as to the business world and that of the arts. This was a significant turning point, accompanied by a time extension of the tourist period into the summer and a geographical extension towards the coast around Venice and Spain.

The development of luxury hotels expanded rapidly, both on the traditional Franco-Italian Riviera and in the new admittance regions, as well as the development of various forms of leisure pursuits, such as theatres, opera houses, golf courses, clubs, horse-racing courses, etc. This new luxury tourism had a character which was more active and open in preparing the way for the new massive tourism that would develop after the war.

This phase was also connected with the development of the automobile as a means of transportation. As far as "cultural visits" are concerned, as they are not a primary motive of tourist flow, they have moreover been widened to new values of the Mediterranean cultural heritage (medieval cities, museums, etc).

This pre-history of tourist development in regions comprising the first generations of tourist receivers and the variety of income classes they currently address, gives a multiformity and a multifunctionality to whatever concerns tourism. This multiformity and multifunctionality is desirable in any tourist development in the world.

Finally, this evolution of tourism has contributed to the actual incorporation of tourism in the other activities of the country's economic and social life. This does not always happen in the regions developed over a short period of time and under the instructions of the current organised massive tourism, which tends mainly towards the development of the "coastal" natural resource, often resulting in economic "monocultivation".

1.3 Current massive tourism

After World War II, tourism began to spread to the middle and lower urban classes and gradually formed the features of the current massive tourism, the basic motive of which is the sea and the sun. It is interesting to note that the social expansion of tourism to new classes and new populations (eg America) was accompanied in the first stage by a revival of the stream of cultural visits to the archeological sites or the interesting Mediterranean medieval cities, before evolving clearly to the summer seaside tourism. At the same time, this expansion revived the phenomenon of pioneer travellers discovering new unexplored and "picturesque" places (eg Cyclades, Capri, Southern Spain, Middle East and the Magreb), added to the traditional tourist receivers, which until then were the Riviera and the lidos of the central Mediterranean.

Another new phenomenon during this period was the massive demand for summer housing, the development of which burdened especially the coasts neighbouring big urban centres (eg Liguria, Milan, Turin) and added a new form of building to the morphology of these regions: the apartment block.

Finally, given that this phase of tourist development relies mainly on airline connections, those regions located at shorter distances from the north-central countries of origin of the great tourist flows (eg Dalmatic coasts, Costa Brava, Costa del Sol) were particularly favoured. One result of the new forms of international tourism, organised totally and massively by the tour operators, was that it became possible to develop regions from nothing, relying neither on the existence of tourist traditions nor on the proximity to middle or small urban centres as in the first phase of tourist development in the Mediterranean. In these cases, apart from the problem of the creation of a cement front along the coast, which is a serious alteration of the landscape, the problem of insufficient economic and social connection of tourism with the hinterland (beyond the seasonal employment of personnel) emerged. Excess cases of development right from nothing, operating almost like a ghetto, are the tourist concentrations in the lidos of Tunisia.

Finally, in this phase of tourist development, island tourism is especially favoured. In the original geographic region, particularly rich in the Mediterranean (3,300 islands of varying sizes from 25,000 sq. km to 25 sq. km), tourism holds a significant position both on an economic and a social level and during the development phase itself, sometimes being the main economic activity of the region, while on other occasions it is harmoniously matched to other economic sectors.

The forms of tourist concentrations on the island differ, depending on the size of the island and the country, varying from tourist villages (of the "Club Méditerranée" type) to large hotels or rented room installations in the villages. Sailing tourism in the form of marinas and "ports de plaisance" have especially been developed.

Synoptically, we would close this brief retrospect with the conclusion that in the Mediterranean, due to the long lasting history of tourism, but also due to the variety of the geographical region, there is a wide range of

tourist concentration forms. This is an additional tourist resource of great importance. By this we mean that it is always possible to develop alternative forms of mild tourism (such as agritourism, ecotourism, mountaineering and therapeutic tourism), in addition to our familiar massive organised tourism. For in this concept we believe that any physical planning policy will have to aim at the preservation of each region's special features.

Very often by a short-sighted concept of instant economic return, a mistake is made by levelling all local features under the pressure of international competition. In this framework the principles of protection of the natural and cultural heritage are an objective of primary significance for the improvement of tourist quality.

2. ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS OF THE TOURIST AREAS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

As we said in the introduction, over and above any local originality, there are certain problems which are common to the Mediterranean tourist regions. It is worth dealing with them as such, besides the fact that they can or cannot be tackled in common:

- 2.1 The pollution of the sea, which creates special problems, because the basin waters are renewed at a very slow rate from the open sea (it seems that, in this field, UNEP Med-Pol coordinated programme, as well as the international conventions to penalize pollution from ships have initially been somewhat effective).
- 2.2 The pressure exercised on farm lands by a constant massive urbanisation of the region, pushing land prices up and resulting in the disaffection of farm land. Certain traditional crops, (such as olive groves) which are usually situated on plains open to the sea, present a special problem.
- 2.3 The alteration of the built-up environment and the local morphological aesthetics by

the development of large scale building complexes, either as an extension of small-sized settlements or in direct contact with the sea.

- 2.4 The high use density of certain coasts which, combined with the aesthetic depreciation, already push certain areas to the limits of saturation.
- 2.5 The traffic overload of the networks both in the countryside and in of small- or large-sized settlements which reproduces urban type problems such as congestion and sound pollution.

3. SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE REGION OF GREECE

In Greece, tourist development has followed just about the same route as the rest of the Mediterranean, resulting in the concentration of a whole range of tourist activities, on a smaller scale of course than the basic Mediterranean receivers, but with more or less the same features.

It is worth mentioning, however, that we have not organised receivers and installations in virgin natural regions because, until recently, the policy was to discourage this sort of development. It was considered that, as long as there are 12,000 settlements, tourism should contribute to their improvement and not waste virgin natural resources. This principle (despite its apparent correctness), due to the inefficiency of the public sector in taking investment initiatives, has led to the decrease of investment in high level tourism and has already been re-examined.

A first effort to standardise the tourist zones in Greece and involving the following criteria:

1. the time phase of their development
2. their short distance from urban centres
3. the possibility of means of transport to serve them

4. the dependence of tourism on the local economy and society

would lead to the following conclusions:

1. The regions of summer housing and hotels developed as an extension of large urban centres (Athens-Thessaloniki), the first generation of which (in the 1950s) has already developed to clearly urban districts. A second generation of such regions is developing in the large urban centres (Patras, Pyrgos, Kavalla) and at a longer distance from Athens and Thessaloniki, with a main characteristic that it is usually the result of an unprogrammed development.
2. The tourist concentrations on the big islands (North Crete, Rhodes, Corfu, and secondarily Kos, Samos, etc) which have plenty of common features (international airports, archaeological sites, dense coastal hotel infrastructure, urban recreation activities), even though presenting some differences as to the income classes they address.
3. The small-sized island complexes, which (excluding Mykonos, Santorini and Skiathos) have the originality that they still preserve the structures of free travel tourism, averting the tour operator programmes, and offering significant income to the local population.
4. The continental coasts, having many common features with the tourist concentrations on the big islands, with a basic difference in the development of organised tourist camping (Peloponnese, Chalkidiki, Pieria).
5. Complexes of traditional settlements in the continental part of the country (Mani, Pilio, Zagori) where, even though the tourist numbers remain low, tourism contributes decisively to the conservation and revival of these settlement systems.

It should be noted that, of the above-mentioned regions, only those referred to in paragraphs 2 and 4 and partly the small famous islands (Mykonos, Santorini) depend directly on massive international summer holiday tourism, and certainly represent high numbers in relation to the tourist flows to the rest of Greece. Hotel infrastructure in regions is decreasing due to a drop in cultural tourism focused on the archaeological sites, when it often hosts new forms of tourism, such as business tourism and seasonal tourism. Finally, in the areas of small islands and mountain regions, tourism may not contribute particularly to the economy on a national level. It is, however, decisively significant for a local development within the framework of a regional policy concept.

The environmental problems of Greece's tourist regions are, in general, those that have been recorded above for the Mediterranean. Apart from this, there are also cases of unregulated building construction and unlicensed hotels which often impede the financing efforts of high level tourist accommodation in the regions which rely on massive international tourism.

In this concept the following chapter will refer to the policy and the means of regional planning, as a whole, in Greece.

4. INTERVENTION MECHANISMS, PROJECTS - PROSPECTS

4.1 Regional town planning mechanisms and measures

The current regional planning in our country has been based on the 1975 Constitution and on the laws issued according to its provisions:

- a. on the protection of the natural and cultural environment, and
- b. on the protection of ownership, but also on the obligations of owners to society as a whole.

The main basic intervention mechanisms and policy measures developed and currently applied are:

1. The determination of land use and of terms and restrictions of building construction in and around the urban regions.
2. The general restriction of activity development around the urban region, by determining special terms and restrictions in building construction according to use.
3. Measures of land policy in the planning procedure of new regions (contribution of the land owners in land and money).
4. Decentralisation of decisive planning competencies on a prefectural level for settlements of less than 5,000 inhabitants and, to a lesser extent, to local government.
5. The establishment of special construction terms for the preservation of the appearance of traditional settlements' historical complexes or even individual buildings.
6. Planning control, which, with an aim to check the uncontrolled development in regions where no plans of land use have yet been established, examines the possibility of the installation to match existing land use and the development and environmental elements of the region. Currently this control is the first stage of environmental control.
7. Environmental control of a wide range of activities, including the whole tourist establishment. It should be noted that the procedure to approve the environmental terms is preceded by a procedure to inform the agencies and citizens concerned.

8. The protection and distinction of the archaeological sites by prohibiting building construction or imposing of additional terms and restrictions in the use and construction of sites.
9. Policy measures for the protection of the public use character of the coasts.
10. The protection of forests by totally prohibiting building construction in forests of special aesthetic and ecological interest, as well as in those protecting surface and underground waters and the exceptional possibility to turn to other uses, tourism included, spreads and other categories of forests, of up to 10% of the total spread.

4.2 Projects

Constitutional provision L.360 was issued in 1976 "on physical planning and the environment", in the provisions of which the meanings of physical planning and of the project of spatial use of physical planning levels were defined for the first time and instruments and procedures were established for the approval of the above-mentioned projects.

In the framework of L.360/76, about 15 decisions have been issued establishing physical planning policy guidelines, for the physical planning distribution of activities and environmental protection in particular regions.

In 1982, a physical planning development programme started formulating per prefect, ending up by drafting "proposals for a physical planning organisation" for the whole of the country's prefects (1984).

These proposals include:

- the basic development target per prefect,
- the desirable structure in the area of the production system,
- traffic transportation and other technical infrastructure networks,
- housing construction,
- the special protection zones.

This effort was not as effective as it could have been, given that it was not institutionalised and was not made compulsory.

In order to cope with the special problems of certain sensitive regions the elaboration of a project of special physical planning studies started in 1988. These studies, depending on the special problems of each region aim at:

- a. the environmental improvement and protection of regions presenting degradation problems and an excessive tourist development (eg Corfu landscape);
- b. the creation of the appropriate receivers to face the pressures mainly from tourist development, while at the same time protecting the wider natural area (eg M. and S. Aegean islands);
- c. the support of tourist development in districts with little facilities, though having significant tourist resources (eg coastal zone of S. Preveza and Thesprotia);
- d. the protection and distinction of world-wide significant biotopes (Nestos, Mitriko Lake, Visthonida);
- e. the distinction and development of significant housing complexes (Mani).

As weaknesses of the present project one may record:

- the lack of clear physical planning choices as well as the absence of specialised policies concerning the various sectors of production,
- the lack of effective mechanisms for the realisation of the necessary measures and especially for the coordination of the physical planning with the direction of investment. This results in limiting the study to establish off plan zones as a rule much larger than those that would be selected for the needs of a development project in the region, where restrictions would be imposed on the use of sites and

building construction. Here the following must be noted:

1. the inefficiency of the public sector to secure sufficient resources for the development of the infrastructures that are necessary for a rational development;
2. the exclusion, until recently, of the private sector from undertaking projects;
3. the fact that investment activity in the tourist sector is carried out to a high degree, even at present, by land owners, and
4. until recently, under L. 1947/91 (with the exception of L.1650/86, providing the possibility to create of production zones, a law that has never been applied), there was no possibility to establish town planning organisations from the start, in a region that could receive tourist activities.

Simultaneously with the establishment of special physical planning studies and with an objective to facilitate the investment activity, but also to protect insignificant natural and cultural resources, the establishment of zones for the protection and development of production activities is forwarded on a prefect level.

Also, the elaborated pilot study of an integrated physical planning of the island of Rhodes, which started in 1990 in the framework of the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) is particularly interesting.

Many of the tourist regions mentioned above have been dealt with lately in the framework of a project to plan the urban region (which started in 1985) and which covered with regulatory plans and city planning studies all settlements with a population of over 2,000 inhabitants and with simple limit setting all other housing totals in the country. It must be noted that in the framework of the above project, the protection and distinction of the historic centres of cities, traditional settlements

and preservable buildings is dealt with in a special way.

In order to cope with regions of a semi-urban character, the elaboration of a new institutional framework which is more flexible than that of the urban regions has started.

A project of NTO traditional settlements is underway, including the preservation, restoration and maintenance of traditional buildings (individual or groups) and their transformation into tourist guest rooms or common heritage buildings, such as museums, textile industries, farms, infirmaries.

4.3 Special measures - monitoring tourist development

A significant step towards monitoring tourist development and encouraging the qualitative improvement of tourist facilities in our country has been the NTO's institution in 1986 of measures (Ministerial Decision No. 2647 Ministry of National Economy, 53886 National Tourism Organisation of 14/11/86) worked out in cooperation with the Ministry of the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works in regions with either developed tourist infrastructure and intense demand with a more or less sensitive natural and man-oriented environment, or developed tourist superstructure and incompleteness.

These measures differentiate depending on the special features of each region, including restrictions on:

- a. the operational form and the class of tourist lodges (only the establishment of A and AA class units is allowed), and
- b. the size of the installations, by imposing restrictions on the size of the units, high or low as the case may be, even prohibiting altogether the creation of new accommodation facilities or the extension of those already existing in regions judged cramped by tourism.

It is worth mentioning that the transformation of traditional buildings into tourist accommodation has been exempted from the above restrictions. Currently we estimate that the outcome of this policy has been positive, despite the fact that certain side effects have appeared. These are:

- a. the development of the phenomenon of unlicensed hotels in tourist regions (Corfu) often financed by the tour operators;
- b. the appearance of pressures on neighbouring regions.

These measures are completed/reviewed in stages when forwarding the planning for each of these regions to the Ministry of the Environment, Physical Planning and Public Works.

4.4 Motives for tourist development

The constant objective of a balanced development of the country's production activities, which was realised by the differentiation of the financial support of private investments depending on the development degree of each region (L.1892/90 on "modernisation and development"), is expanding towards the improvement of the tourist offer of the country. More specifically, this means:

1. The establishment of recreational harbours, conference centres and golf courses has been included in the "production investment", which may be financed by the state.
2. Simultaneously with restricting motives (sum of finance and subsidy of interest) compared to the previous status, a more favourable status is established for each zone to create tourist installations, viz.
 - the establishment or the extension of units serving medical, sports or winter tourism;
 - the creation of pleasure craft harbours, conference centres and golf courses;
 - the creation of high level hotels - AA and A class;

- the repair and restoration of traditional settlements and their transformation into tourist lodges;
 - the modernisation of hotel units in regions with non-existent motives.
3. For the first time, a common ministerial decision which cannot be modified for two years provides the possibility to restrict the motives, depending on the degree of concentration of tourist activity and the type of investment.

PROSPECTS

The fact is that in the last few years, the spreading of an environmental protection consciousness is favoured by the political and administrative authorities and the public at large, in spite of the fact that the institution of a planning practice that limits development in the name of (environmental) protection always opposes the expectations of groups and individuals of local or non-local origin. Tourist development in the framework of international competition may, in current circumstances, become a motive to preserve the tourist resource, which is often the landscape or the significant built environment.

We stress again our original position on the need to match the needs and goals of massive international tourism with the protection and distinction of the natural and cultural heritage, which also includes the protection of the natural and cultural identity of monuments, and the originalities and peculiarities of the regions of the tourist wave, through a concept linking local development with international tendencies without diminishing its possibilities.

Finally, there is a need for a unified European tourist policy aiming at increasing intra-European and international tourism, through a series of specific decisions and policies responding to the more general and specific institutional, physical planning, environmental and functional problems. This policy should be harmonised in view of the more general European reality.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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1. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

Tourism, as an economic activity in the developed tertiary sector, has great potential as a stable resource qualifying economic development.

Moreover, in view of its social character, the tourism phenomenon is in a state of constant renewal. Nowadays, as a result of the higher living standards and increased leisure of the working classes, there is an upward trend in tourist activity which has been extended to the broadest segments of society, going beyond the narrow limits of the elite to whom it was originally reserved.

This new brand of "mass tourism" is often confused with a form of "concentrated" tourism, synonymous with high-density tourist settlements offering low standards of quality and no diversification of activities, cultural facilities etc. More often than not, this has resulted in serious environmental deterioration, affecting both the natural environment and the cultural heritage.

At the present time, a reaction can be observed in different countries and sectors against the environmentally deleterious effects of such "tourist products", and more and more tourists take the status and cultural quality of the environment into account when choosing their holiday destination.

All this is closely bound up with the new political and social sensitivity to the destruction of natural resources and the historic and cultural heritage as well as - in the final analysis - of "planet Earth", which has been taking place since the beginning of the industrial era, ostensibly in the name of economic development.

It should not be forgotten that it will be impossible to attain the future goals of stability, qualification, competitiveness and profitability if tourist development is not suitably dovetailed with the other resources of a country and integrated, in every case, into the natural and urban environment and the socio-economic and cultural ecosystem of each site.

Tourism can become a highly positive economic, social and cultural factor contributing to modernisation and dynamism. On the other hand, if it is not properly planned, it can produce damaging effects on towns and regions, and also destabilise other basic sectors or pre-existent ways of life.

This contradiction can therefore be resolved by focusing on action to facilitate a form of integrated tourist development which is in harmony with the social and regional ecosystem, and not simply opposed or superimposed, a type of development which exploits resources without destroying them: in short, a form of tourist development in which the factors of location and the tempo and conditions of growth are determined by the response to the physical, human and economic environment of the area in addition to market conditions. Accordingly, the concept of "reception capacity" is of key importance to the planning of tourism. Such capacity will therefore have to be determined primarily in the light of the actual ability of the physical environment and the built environment to absorb development without suffering irreversible damage, as well as those capacities and characteristics which are human (skilled labour etc), economic, infrastructure-related, social and cultural.

The issue - once the potential for economic profit has been demonstrated - is that of working out a sustainable development strategy which is compatible with the human lifestyle and with the protection and conservation of the historic and cultural heritage and of nature.

2. THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE URBAN/ARCHITECTURAL AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Before describing the characteristics of the strategy required for the purpose of harmonising tourist development with the protection of the architectural or natural heritage, the most common adverse effects of tourism should be analysed with a view to devising the most appropriate policies for avoiding them.

The development of tourist activity in existing built-up areas, such as historic towns, traditional residential centres, etc, gives rise to a set of functions which may produce pressures and hence change the traditional architectural and urban set-up.

The diversity of situations and types of tourist development means that its effects and the problems to which it gives rise are also complex and diverse, calling for specific analysis in each case. However, the problems share a number of common aspects, and this facilitates a measure of standardisation for the purpose of establishing generally applicable methods and policies of action.

Consequently, the effects of tourism and the problems associated with it could be listed as follows:

- Effects on the physical environment;
- Effects on towns and regions;
- Economic and administrative effects;
- Social effects;
- Legal problems.

Effects on the physical environment

Landslides, highway construction and the presence of buildings on certain sites entail the deterioration of the original topography and have an impact on geomorphological assets.

Extensive development causes damage to the plant cover and the disappearance of existing fauna, thereby endangering indigenous species which are of endemic interest or threatened with extinction. Thus, a change takes place in the pattern of land used involving the replacement of natural vegetation, agricultural and stock-raising activities or forestry by physical development of the land.

Similarly, from the standpoint of the landscape, the special and natural features of much of the land are transformed and damaged.

Basically, these phenomena can be put down to the following factors, the importance of which is bound up with the characteristics of the planning process itself: surface area occupied, number of buildings and dwellings and the reception capacity of the environment in which the buildings and dwellings are located.

- Extensive occupation of land involving changes in its uses and geomorphology;
- Danger to interesting, endemic or threatened fauna and flora;
- Emission of pollutants;
- Pressure exerted by occupants on the environment of the space occupied.

Effects on towns and regions

There are two basic situations which may give rise to different types of impact: tourism concerning towns of historical/cultural interest and tourist developments of recent date concerning essentially sun-seekers and visitors to coastal resorts.

In the first case, some of the most important adverse effects are found to be the following:

- Loss of decisive environmental assets, as a result of congestion, noise and pollution caused by traffic;
- Gradual physical deterioration of buildings and other urban structures;
- Replacement of traditional uses by new service uses incompatible with the typological characteristics of buildings;
- Deterioration and loss of the true cultural and historical significance of buildings and monuments, as a result of "controlled" mass tourism;
- Impossibility of integrating the tourist population in transit into the local population, in the absence of any real cultural exchange.

In the second case, particular reference should be made to:

- Strains affecting the traditional architectural heritage;
- Problems connected with the relative lack of housing or the failure to meet local demand on account of rising prices;
- Excessive and uncontrolled extension of urban space;
- Increase in applications for grants and equipment and community infrastructure;
- Seasonal peak use of these facilities and temporary lulls;
- Changes in the system of settlements and urban scale;
- Difficulty of integrating new settlements into the urban system in spatial terms;
- Increase in infrastructure requirements according to seasonal needs;
- Abnormalities in the functioning of the public highway infrastructure and the transport system in general.

Economic and administrative effects

Tourism produces positive economic effects such as the creation of permanent and, more especially, seasonal jobs, the raising of living standards in the municipalities which receive tourists and the increase in municipal receipts, effects which are offset by the rise in the cost of infrastructure maintenance, the increase in consumer spending, the purchase and sale of land and the process of land speculation.

The agricultural sector sees part of its workforce peel away or move to other economic sectors. Crop and grazing land disappears, as do tracts of irrigated and non-irrigated land.

The industrial sector benefits from tourist development, especially in the sub-sector of construction.

The influence of the services sector is growing, from the standpoint of both output and its share of the working population.

These effects may be classified in two categories:

- Effects on economic activity;
- Public sector effects.

The range and intensity of these effects are dictated by the characteristics of tourism, the local economic base, users and the administrative and management capacity of local organisations.

The following are the most important effects in the sphere of economic activity:

- Abandonment of previous agricultural activities;
- Impact on land prices;
- Higher levels of employment in the construction sector;
- Higher levels of employment and income in industries supplying the construction sector;
- Higher employment and income in the commercial and accommodation sectors;
- Greater interregional imbalances;
- Uneven distribution of income;
- Balance of payments impact of energy demand for transportation and supply of services.

The most important effects in the public sector are the following:

- Increase in municipal revenue from building permits, regional and urban rates (ie levies assessed on property values) and charges for services rendered;
- Infrastructure maintenance costs;
- Increase in administrative costs.

Social effects

From the social standpoint, the appearance and development of tourist areas give rise to a series of transformations which, as a rule and at the outset, affect the system of production, but which a series of chain reactions subsequently extends to the entire social and cultural system.

The most important transformations can be summarised as follows:

- Increase in the rate of population drift;
- Rejuvenation of the age pyramid;
- Variations in migratory movements: decrease in departures and possible attraction of an immigrant population;
- General increase in the level of employment;
- Diversification and displacement of the working population towards the tertiary sector;
- Increase in the income of the labour force;
- Growth of seasonal and casual employment;
- Increase in per capita income;
- Complexity of the pattern of social relationships;
- Appearance of new, progressive social groups;

- Changes in social scale and social power;
- Changes in the rules of behaviour;
- Modernisation of the system of values and consumption models;
- Crisis of community identity;
- Possible loss of linguistic identity.

Legal problems

From the legal standpoint, tourist development poses the following problems:

- Difficulty of handling the establishment of urban tourist sites in the context of municipal and supramunicipal planning;
- Non-observance of urban regulations;
- Difficulty of tax inspection;
- Problems caused by illegal purchase and sale activities and consumer fraud.

3. BALANCE BETWEEN TOURIST DEVELOPMENT AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE

If the negative effects of tourist development are to be obviated and its positive effects accentuated, a whole range of varied and co-ordinated measures (social, economic, fiscal, environmental protection, urban, etc.) are required for the control and advancement of such development.

Measures relating to regional and urban planning are, of course, of fundamental and overriding importance in this respect, since most of the effects of tourist development are due to location and planning.

Consequently, the introduction, development and siting of tourist activities must be envisaged in the context of overall regional planning policy and in the light of the spatial model selected.

In the light of the above remarks, it is necessary to adopt the most suitable project for each town, each region and each specific situation, not on the basis of a one-sided vision of the tourist market, but in the light of the latter's implication in the requirements and characteristics of the social, cultural and regional ecosystem. The time is therefore ripe for planning, management, selection, etc.

In this context of planned integration, the architectural heritage, the physical environment and the landscape can be regarded not as secondary aspects of planning proposals, but as one of their key components.

Nevertheless, there is no question of making radical proposals for the conservation of every rural area and monument; rather, it is necessary to look at them in relation to the cultural tradition of each locality and region and to nature, while adapting to the new historical needs.

4. ELEMENTS FOR A STRATEGY OF INTEGRATED TOURIST DEVELOPMENT COMPATIBLE WITH THE PROTECTION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

Further to what was said above, the following questions would have to be taken into account for the establishment of a tourist development strategy compatible with the protection of the architectural and natural heritage.

- Establishment of tourist development forecasts in the regional planning context, in the light of the spatial model selected, with a view to determining the reception capacity for tourist activity in relation to the whole range of variables and components of the town and country planning system: balance of the urban structure, integration into the system of communications and infrastructure, characteristics of the natural environment, areas to be protected on account of their architectural and natural assets etc.

- Integration of the planning of tourist provision into overall urban planning, with appropriate definitions of building typologies, management and planning aspects, in order to guarantee the quality of the environment and respect for cultural and natural assets.
- Production of impact studies on not only the siting of tourist activity but also the use and future development of facilities: means of access, number of visitors and, above all, spatial dispersion. It should be recalled that one of the principal features of the impact of mass tourism is the lack of dispersion.
- Diversification of the tourist product offered in accordance with the above-mentioned regional perspective - not so much by developing large-scale infrastructure but by stimulating the integrated development of each region or town, while regulating existing supply on the basis of precise action plans and consolidating tourist or leisure facilities in harmony with the environment.
- New forms of management based on the participation of the local population and consideration of the value of architecture or the natural environment as a resource to be not only exploited but safeguarded.
- Sharing of responsibility and co-ordination between administrative agencies in respect of the planning and control of urban/tourist processes, as well as consultation and consensus vis-à-vis the private sector.
- Information and consciousness-raising campaigns to create tourist awareness of nature, culture and the lifestyles of host populations.

5. THE SPANISH STRATEGY FOR ACHIEVING BALANCED, COMPATIBLE TOURIST DEVELOPMENT, WITH IMPROVED SAFEGUARDS FOR THE ARCHITECTURAL AND NATURAL HERITAGE

An assessment of tourist development in Spain over the last 20 years shows that it has had a positive impact on the economy as a whole, although there are some negative aspects from the social and environmental points of view.

The growth of the peripheral sector of mass tourism, excessive development of the coastline and the deterioration of the environment are perhaps the most important negative aspects.

Two major strategies have been devised to deal with this situation:

- i. The preparation of the "White Paper on Tourism in Spain" which proposes a set of directives with the aim of regenerating and thoroughly rehabilitating existing tourist areas.

The following schemes in particular are proposed:

- . system of resources: inventory and production of plans for the improvement of resources, catalogue of natural areas to be protected, measures of environmental protection;
- . infrastructure: construction or improvement of access roads and infrastructure in tourist areas and the surroundings of towns and airports;
- . tourist accommodation: modernisation or replacement of old facilities, enlargement of the high quality end of the market and selective expansion of supply in congested areas;

- . diversification of the "products" offered and provision of supplementary facilities: development of leisure capability in tourist areas and development of tourist capability outside coastal areas, with the rehabilitation of historic centres;
- . product marketing system: harmonisation of marketing plans in the different branches of the administration and the private sector, support for the promotion of new products, support for research;
- . action by employers: establishment of management and training schools, improvement in the quality of service, integration of small and medium-sized firms.

ii. Preparation of an infrastructure plan by the Ministry of Public Works and Transport, at state level, based on the prior definition of certain regional planning strategies for Spain, with a view to going beyond the imprecise sectoral half-measures which previously characterised the planning and definition of the different types of infrastructure and the location of activities. This will facilitate a comprehensive exposition of the different activities and objectives, tourist development and the preservation of cultural and natural assets in terms of both their potentialities and their limitations.

Furthermore, the different regional governments (Autonomous Communities) are in the process of developing an active policy for the formulation of regional and integrated planning directives, paying special attention to tourism.

The recently adopted Island Plan for the development of the territory of Lanzarote (Canary Islands) deserves special mention on account of its unusual features. In order to cope with the chaotic speculation on the land market, the plan provides for drastic cuts in tourist development, slashing the scheduled

accommodation capacity from 260,000 to 108,678 places which will, moreover, be subject to co-ordinated planning up to the end of the century.

At the same time, backing has been given to a higher standard of tourist development, protecting 95% of the island's territory in recognition of the high value of its physical environment and landscape. Similarly, co-ordination is guaranteed between the Regional Council and the seven municipal councils of Lanzarote in the taking of decisions on all spatial issues which determine the quality of the island.

The Special Plan for the Protection and Internal Reform of the "Alhambra" is another example of this approach. The current problems of the Alhambra are basically caused by the activity to which it is exposed. Its adaptation to tourist uses is currently producing a series of physical transformations and secondary effects on the surrounding area. There are also plans for new infrastructure, reforms, repairs etc, which will have to be assessed on an overall basis in order to define the problems and clear them up by means of appropriate measures.

A plan has been devised to deal with all these problems; its aim is not to restore the monument to its original condition, but to safeguard and rehabilitate its components and its basic spatial connections, in this case with the town, the region and the landscape, through the identification of its key structural elements, by facilitating appropriate changes in the extension of the current and future activities to which all development gives rise.

Thus, it is proposed to build new access roads for car traffic, to rearrange and improve pedestrian access and the links with the urban centre, and to safeguard the adjoining areas of the town and the "Vega" by limiting the use and the types of construction, etc.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Tourism in Cyprus, as well as in other Mediterranean countries, has become a generator of economic activity which exerts pressure and expansion trends at increasing rates. The capacity of this complex phenomenon for rapid economic growth underlies almost all major development choices and policies adopted in Cyprus since its independence in 1974. After the Turkish invasion and occupation of the northern part of Cyprus in 1974, the island's economy collapsed and it was tourism that fuelled the economic miracle which took place in the southern, free part of the Republic.

2. Tourism, today, is a leading industry and the most important earner of foreign exchange. It generates jobs for 20% of the population and sustains a boom in new construction and other related business. While fully recognising the importance of this economic activity, especially in smaller countries where the primary and secondary sectors of activity and employment are not competitive, awareness is increasing that the growth of tourism must take place in

harmony with the natural and built environment and the lives of the population. Tourism is a mixed blessing, taking its toll on the island's splendid environment and resources. Our actions of today, belated as they are, must react and look to the future, as they affect not only us but also the livelihoods of future generations.

3. THE BEGINNINGS OF TOURISM

In 1960, tourism in Cyprus was in hibernation with only 21,000 arrivals and agriculture was the largest employment sector covering 50% of the population. The planning strategy of this period was to set up a viable national economic framework aiming towards balanced regional development. In the 1970s the mass exodus from Europe favoured development in the Mediterranean basin and Cyprus was part of it. Contrary to balanced development, a spectacular growth was achieved in tourism. Arrivals in 1974 reached 264,000 (20% annual growth) and the rate of increase in foreign exchange was 19%, against 12.5% at international level.

4. THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF TOURISM

Arrivals in 1990 reached 1,560,000 and this year (1992) are expected to exceed 2,000,000. The contribution of tourism to the Gross National Product was 6% in 1983, increased to 8.3% in 1988 and is expected to reach 11% this year. The indirect contribution to the GNP is expected to exceed 15%. The average rate of growth of tourism in recent years has reached 14%, compared to the average increase of the Gross National Product which was about 6%. Similarly, tourism made a spectacular contribution to the unregistered income from foreign exchange which is estimated at 60%. These significant figures concerning the growth of tourism growth and its share in the island's economy, reflect the trend towards monoactivity. It is obvious that tourism has assumed the role of pacemaker in the country's economy, at the expense of agriculture and industry. The deficit of the commercial balance is mainly compensated by resources from tourism, repatriation of capital from Cypriots working abroad and foreign investments.

5. The number of registered tourist beds is at present estimated at 70,000 and is expected to exceed 100,000 by the year 2000. The population of the free part of the Cyprus Republic is estimated at 720,000, 45% of which live in the four major towns; Nicosia, the capital, is the only one located inland. Tourists are attracted to Cyprus because of its temperature and pleasant climate throughout the year, its beautiful natural resources and the attractive combination of sun, sea and sand. Local culture and history, although rich and abundant, have only recently and to a limited extent become elements of primary interest. As a result of these trends, 90% of all tourist development is located in the coastal areas.

6. THE BEGINNING OF THE PROBLEM

The economic potential of tourism and its rapid growth recorded in the last two decades, has salvaged the country's economy from bankruptcy and contributed to the creation of

an affluent society. However, at the same time, it has failed to adapt to the traditional pace and mode of development and to use the country's resources prudently. Tourist development has been marked by limited knowledge and lack of experience and insight. Furthermore, the greed of local and foreign investors for quick profits has led to the exploitation of virgin and unique natural resources for intensive development. This state of affairs could not have been averted by planning provisions and intervention, since the instruments of planning control were based on traditional patterns of growth ignorant of the impact and momentum of tourist development pressures.

7. The islands and smaller countries of the Mediterranean basin, whether in the east or the west, face the same onslaught of mass tourism pressures mainly from the industrialised northern parts of Europe. The economic stability and affluence of Western Europe, charter flights and the possibility of attractive and reasonably priced holiday packages, have popularised travel holidays and created the phenomenon of mass tourism on a commercial level. The primary objectives of mass tourism are to enjoy the sea, the sun, the warm climate and the night-life. The appreciation of the country's natural beauty, history and culture, way of life and social and political aspirations are of secondary interest. Since 1970, the number of tourists with destinations to the Mediterranean has tripled from 60 to approximately 180 million. In the case of Cyprus, there were 130,000 tourist arrivals in 1970 and they are expected to exceed 2 million this year, ie. 15 times as many.

8. It is necessary to point out that in Cyprus, like in many other Mediterranean islands, tourism was regarded as the only means to go beyond the limited economic horizons attributed to their small size, limited resources and lack of water which inhibits agricultural activity. In the face of the prospects of tourism, a series of measures were adopted to ease planning control, facilitate development and provide economic and fiscal incentives and tax benefits in order to attract tourist development

and secure a piece of the pie. Long stretches of coastline, in excess of any logical demand, have been zoned for tourism with high plot ratio provisions to invite investment. Planning provisions were relaxed in favour of expediency and high profits. The free economy of the country and the prevailing "laissez-faire" attitudes put the desire to maximise profits at the top of the priorities and the respect of the physical and built environment somewhere at the bottom.

9. THE TOURIST PRODUCT OF TODAY

Most of the tourist product which has emerged lacks the desired character, quality and ambiance and has little or no respect or affinity for its natural context, immediate surroundings and the architectural heritage and culture of the country. Coastal tourist development pressures are responsible for the following negative environmental, amenity, architectural and social impacts.

i) Seaside hotels in the form of tall, long monolithic concrete structures have encroached upon the water front, obstructing views and monopolising the use of the beach. This high density building has violated optimum open space standards and contributed to beach congestion beyond acceptable environmental tolerances.

ii) Incompatible architectural forms and conflicting land use, as well as activities such as discotheques, souvenir shops, cafés, restaurants and tourist supermarkets create a confused environment and a false, stage set atmosphere. The lack of an adequate transport infrastructure and parking provisions create untidy and obtrusive settings which are made worse by uncompleted buildings and ongoing construction sites.

iii) The exploitation of space in favour of more lucrative uses and activities and the trend to maximise short-term profits, has led to an apparent lack of proper amenities, planted areas and organised open spaces for passive and active recreation and outdoor sports.

iv) In most cases, the quality of the architecture shows little cohesion with the surrounding built environment and no respect for the country's culture and architectural heritage.

v) Tourist apartment hotels, which cater for lower income clients, are usually organised by mediocre developers. They are badly constructed, finished and furnished. These makeshift tourist apartments create unfair competition for the properly constructed and serviced hotels, because their prices are lower and they appeal to mass tourism's tastes and choices.

vi) Areas of outstanding and unique beauty, natural monuments, nature reserves and fauna and flora sanctuaries are exposed to the pressures of tourist development in or around them. Some of them have already yielded to these pressures and the consequences of this thoughtless onslaught against the natural environment are irrevocable. Ancient monuments and archaeological sites are also known to have been sacrificed to serve the lucrative prospects of tourism.

vii) Traditional buildings of notable architectural quality have either been pulled down or shamelessly modified beyond recognition for some tourist use. The local residents of many seaside settlements have been displaced by expansive tourist needs. They have sought new accommodation in pseudo-modern and nouveau riche houses and denounced their traditional roots, culture and moral values. The architectural heritage of many such settlements has been transformed irreparably into a tourist stage setting. The danger of alienating and isolating local residents from their traditional environment and the interaction of imported moral standards of social behaviour has put social stability to the test.

viii) The unpredictable and unprecedented patterns of tourist development in coastal towns have directed urban expansion away from the traditional direction of growth towards higher and cooler land in the

mainland, and have resulted in ribbon development along the coastline. These abrupt changes in urban growth patterns have resulted in the orientation of commercial, service and entertainment activity away from the traditional central business district and into the developing tourist areas.

ix) Excessive tourist demand and activity is usually accompanied by the prospect of higher salaries. As a result, tourism either attracts employment from industry and agriculture, or the salaries of the latter are increased to the extent that they are no longer competitive. In either case, industry and agriculture lose employment to tourism, salaries go up and inflation creeps in. Furthermore, local migration, dislocation and commuting are encouraged to an extent that they are likely to upset the demographic characteristics and the social structure of the whole nation.

10. THE INTERVENTION

The imminent danger of a deteriorating tourist product and a small country being gradually converted into a massive tourist camp at the expense of its human and natural resources, has alarmed the Cyprus Government to such an extent that critical decisions have been taken and implemented without hesitation.

11. In the light of the above, in June 1989 the Council of Ministers took the brave decision to freeze all tourist development, by introducing a moratorium as a temporary measure. This was not only to halt the rate of growth, but to gain time and breathing space while preparing and adopting a National Tourist Policy. This moratorium lasted until 1 December 1990 and was lifted concurrently with the enactment of the National Tourist Policy and the Town and Country Planning Law. The basic philosophy of the approach to the problem has three primary aims. The first concerns the need to reorganise and improve the environment of existing tourist development with corrective measures and interventions in a comprehensive way. The second highlights the need to programme, regulate and cater for the desired forms of new

tourist development and activity in places where there the capacity exists. The third draws attention to the need to upgrade and diversify both the market and the tourist product - present and future - and to improve services.

12. Both legislative frameworks enable the Cyprus Tourist Organisation and the Department of Town Planning and Housing to implement the policies approved by the Council of Ministers: a development control process (planning permission), obligatory hotel approval certificates and a tourist operation permit. Central government also intervenes in the tourist development process through fiscal and other indirect economic measures such as taxation, import duties and other levies. These economic measures have a limited effect, mainly because of the prevailing free market economy which allows for alternative means of finance and because duties and other levies can easily be covered by the expected profits.

13. THE PROVISIONS OF DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The urban and regional development plans which have been enacted and the Statement of Policy for the Development of the Countryside, a weak substitute for an island plan, provide for the following:

a) Land use for tourist development and related activities will reach much lower densities than before, corresponding to smaller plot ratios, lower building heights and considerably increased open spaces and service requirements. These provisions are complemented by a policy statement concerning the quality of tourist development, its relationship with other land uses and the natural environment. The social content of these tourist areas is enhanced by the introduction of incentives for residential development within existing tourist zones, so that a balanced community between locals and tourists is maintained. The environmental content is also protected by disincentives and restrictions which aim at limiting to an optimum level the provision of commercial and

entertainment facilities in tourist development areas.

b) Aesthetic control of the architectural character and form, the site, the overall appearance and the materials used for tourist development in relation to its existing built and natural setting and the surrounding area.

c) The preparation of detailed planning studies in critical areas (action areas) with an emphasis on improving of the capacity of available beaches, providing adequate infrastructure and service facilities, public access to the sea, landscaped open spaces and organised sport and amenity areas.

d) The preservation, protection and enhancement of areas of historic or traditional value and of cultural importance against the threats of tourist or other development. This is achieved by preservation orders and protective zoning (buffer zones) as stipulated in the Law.

e) The encouragement and adoption of town centre renewal and revitalisation projects with an emphasis on the preservation and promotion of urban historic cores, neighbourhoods and their traditional activities. Similarly, the proposed invigoration of commercial, entertainment, recreational and cultural activities in the central business district, aims at maintaining its importance as the focal point of attraction against that of tourist growth. In the rural areas, traditional village settlements and buildings have been listed for protection, preservation and enhancement so that, together with their cultural context, history and way of life, they attract visitors and tourists away from the congested coastal strip.

f) The protection, preservation and enhancement of the natural environment by a global and comprehensive strategy which designates forest parks, nature reserves, national parks, areas and sites of outstanding natural beauty, natural monuments and the coastline.

14. THE PROVISIONS OF THE NATIONAL TOURIST POLICY

The National Tourist Policy provides for the overall improvement of the quality of the environment in areas with tourist activity and the facilities provided within them, and for the upgrading and diversification of the national tourist product by encouraging new forms of tourist accommodation and activity such as ecotourism, agritourism, thematic tourism, cultural tourism, etc. The measures adopted provide for the following:

a) The upgrading of the quality of tourist accommodation and service (higher ranking hotels) by stricter space standards and prerequisites (i.e. minimum area per site of 20,000 square metres).

b) The almost total discouragement of hotel apartments and their replacement by "tourist villages".

c) The exploration of the possibilities offered for tourist activity in the mountainous resorts and village settlements.

d) The improvement of the hotel occupancy index by extending of the tourist season and exploiting the possibilities offered for winter tourism, owing to the temperate climate (sports events, coach tours, etc.).

e) The correction of peripheral imbalances caused by the distribution of the tourist product, by using facilities and other incentives.

f) The encouragement and classification of "luxury tourist villas" in the form of clusters, to cater exclusively for family needs of the highest order, with private facilities (tennis court, swimming pool, etc.).

15. The tourist policies adopted and the development plans, as well as satisfying the previous objectives, must give serious consideration to three aspects:

- a) respect of the environment and its possibilities for tourist or other development;
- b) the available human resources with regard to the employment needs of tourism;
- c) the local and national needs of the primary and secondary sectors of employment.

16. CONCLUSION

The measures which have been adopted to curtail tourist growth to compatible levels and to improve its content are not expected to solve all the problems overnight. It will take years of effort, investment and persistence in order to

halt the rhythm of deterioration of the tourist product on the environment and national resources, and to reverse it to one of enhancement and improvement. It is a process which implies containment, high short-term investments and long-term rewards. It may be politically painful and economically unyielding. It is, however, the only way to prevent total and irreversible loss of all the investment in tourism, which is the inevitable result of an over-exploitation of the human and natural resources of the country. The short-term profit attractiveness of commercialised mass tourism leads us to Greek mythology and the legendary King Midas who asked the Gods to give him the power to turn everything he touched into gold; he died of hunger because he could not live on gold.

A BALANCE BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MASS TOURISM IN VULNERABLE TOWNS AND NATURAL AREAS AND REQUIREMENTS TO SAFEGUARD THE ARCHITECTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE

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INTRODUCTION

The continuous rise in living standards and the sociological changes in our developed societies, in which "non-working" time is on the increase, are adding considerably to the public's needs in terms of culture (learning) and discovery (going and seeing). Mass tourism is thus expanding all the time and becoming increasingly subject to powerful qualitative "constraints", in respect both of the tourist services provided and of the content of tourist activity. The "major sites" and protected natural areas are therefore more and more obviously attractive, both to "active" (those who want to learn) and more passive (those who merely want to see) tourists.

These trends have made it necessary for areas and sites to manage the **tourist development and durability of sites in the longer term**. A strategy for sustainable, high quality tourism thus involves **balancing the following elements**:

- **sustainable tourism**: guaranteeing its durability;
- **high quality tourism**: in our view, this should give the public maximum satisfaction, regardless of what it wants and of social origin (matching supply and demand);

- **mass tourism**: qualitatively, accessible to everyone, and quantitatively, attracting large numbers.
- **heritage conservation**: preserving the architectural or natural quality of sites in the long term.

A region's or country's architectural or natural heritage is its **environment**. In most cases this environment is the basis of both tourist attraction and of tourist activity.

In other words, **the concepts of environment and tourism are very closely linked**, inimical though they may seem at first glance. Is an increase in the number of tourists visiting a site (a social and economic aim) actually incompatible with protection of that site (a cultural and ecological aim)? Is this not an irresponsible behaviour pattern, with tourism destroying the resource on which it depends?

In our view, there are two basic structural links between the (architectural or natural) heritage and tourism:

- 1) the only possible purpose of safeguarding a site is to enable as many people as possible to enjoy it;

- 2) the only possible economic response to the investment required for restoration or protection of a site is tourism.

Thus the real problem is indeed that of balancing mass tourism, which involves implementing techniques to ensure its development, and the need to safeguard the essential resource on which tourism is based. In our view, the solutions cannot be radical, and exclude any given category of operator; they must be sought in the management and operation of sites, and this depends on:

- being able to determine a given site's tourist capacity;
- devising innovative approaches to site operation;
- incorporating the regional development dimension.

I. THE HERITAGE: AN ECONOMIC RESOURCE

a) Characteristics of the "market"

. **A constant increase in visitors to heritage sites:** 32% of French people were visiting monuments and sites in 1980; the figure now is 40%.

. **Tourism concentrated in space and time:** 60% of visits take place during the holidays; in 1985, 7% of state-owned historic monuments attracted 56% of all visitors.

. **A varied clientele:** some 50% of visitors have no direct cultural or environmental involvement and do not travel to "learn". Their motives remain uncertain.

. **A plurality of protagonists, making ill-defined supply and demand:** institutional bodies which finance the heritage (the state and local authorities playing a public service role), although private sponsorship is tending to increase; users or consumers who want different things depending on the category to which they belong; private operators providing tourist services on or close to sites.

b) The current problems

. **Concentration on sites,** causing damage or pollution (eg Sarlat, or "seasonal shock").

. **Lack of information on visitors,** on what they want and what they get from visits (average 15 minutes for architectural heritage).

. **Diversity of operators wanting different things** from a given site (eg difference between a scientific association and a municipality).

. **Low-quality heritage service provision,** which does not try at present to satisfy all sections of the public.

There can thus be no doubt that, as a result of their economic significance, heritage and environment are increasingly recognised as vital elements in local development policies. At the same time, this recognition makes it necessary to master the following functions:

- accommodation
- conservation/protection
- provision of services.

II. VISITOR CAPACITY OF SITES

The concept of "visitor capacity" is central to our theme as one of the points where a balance can be struck, making it possible both to perpetuate tourist activity and to safeguard sites.

The basic question is: **can a given site's visitor capacity be determined unilaterally?**

The plurality of operators and users leads us to the following conclusion:

- There is no one answer to this question because:
 - . a natural site's "visitor capacity" is not the same for hunters, scientists or picnickers (eg the forest of Paimpant);
 - . if an architectural site's visitor capacity is exhausted at the point where any

further increase will reduce the satisfaction of all visitors, this point is not the same for specialists and casual visitors.

For example, for a Dutch scientist, a dune's visitor capacity is three persons; for a French scientist it is around one hundred. This difference is due to the fact that dunes are vital to a Dutch scientist. This example clearly shows that visitor capacity in terms of damage to a site or natural area cannot be objectively determined .

This is why, in our view, the issue is not the arbitrary establishment of quotas for visitors. As we see it, mass tourism is harmful to natural or heritage sites only when it is badly planned, and fails to give all categories of visitor legitimate satisfaction.

Site protection thus depends on solving the problems of tourist operation in ways which give visitor categories maximum satisfaction (respect for sites, developed interest, etc).

However, there certainly is a "fragility threshold" beyond which damage to a site becomes inevitable; we can use this threshold to determine a site's "load capacity" on the basis of objective physical criteria. Since the aim should not be arbitrary regulation of site access, solutions must clearly be sought in the methods used in running and developing the site, and in co-operation between the various parties involved (the state, local authorities, site managers, associations, and the community at large).

III. OPERATING AND MANAGING SITES

a) Aims

The operation and management of "fragile" sites must have two main aims:

- securing agreement between the various partners and protagonists on an approach to management and operation which satisfies everyone (concept of balance);

- since no site attracts visitors of one type only, ensuring that all visitor categories gain pleasure and greater understanding from their tourist experience.

b) Methods

- **Gearing site development to conservation** is one type of solution when sites are genuinely endangered by excessive pressure from visitors. An example is provided by a Breton forest containing rare species of tree, where trampling by visitors of the soil around the trees was threatening their survival. The solution was to lay out a path using planks between the trees, thus preserving the site visitor access.

- **Adopting an educational approach, helping people not only to see but also to understand.** This does not mean limiting access to an elite, but intelligently making what the site has to offer available to everyone. A corollary here is diversifying the products to meet the expectations of the various categories.

- **Diversifying what a site (natural or architectural) has to offer:**

- . on sites, dividing groups up and focusing them on different points of interest (this optimises use of space and quality of the visit);

- . extending the possibilities offered by sites spatially and temporally.

- **Managing visitor reception:**

- . following the pattern increasingly common in the cultural field (museums, exhibitions), reservation systems, backed by an information policy, might be introduced to stagger admissions.

Examples:

Mont-Saint-Michel

Since the rock is effectively saturated at certain times of the year, the current development

strategy for the Mont-Saint-Michel sets out to spread the site's huge potential visitor intake across a broader area by introducing new activities: viewing points in other locations where visitors can enjoy the spectacle of the rising tide, a Medieval stairway following the path of William the Conqueror, etc.

Carnac

Relying on the fame of the Carnac site, which has had to be protected, a "megalithic route" linking 36 developed sites throughout southern Brittany has been laid out.

From this point of view, we consider the work done by the **Centres Permanents d'Initiation à l'Environnement (CPIE - permanent centres for introduction to the environment)** on vulnerable natural habitats exemplary in the field of education and in making a certain type of knowledge generally accessible. The innovational experiments of these local associations lead us to **consider sites as a motive force in "local development"**, a dimension without which heritage conservation would lose part of its meaning.

c) Regional development

The management and development of sites should provide an opportunity to implement **partnership schemes and give local development an impetus** - two factors on which any tourist project depends for its viability and durability.

Since every site is, in the tourists it attracts, a **potential economic asset**, it must be given the means to realise that asset (investment) and sustain it (operation). This means:

- in investment terms, bringing suitable partners, viz Europe, the state and the regional authorities, into the funding process for the purpose of completing the major development often needed for the operation of sites;
- in terms of operation, developing, on the basis of a management structure (association, inter-municipal syndicate, etc) **a series of schemes to optimise local resources centred on the site.**

In other words, it is vital that investment be planned to give the areas concerned local development tools (generating activities and jobs and managed locally), in contrast to a "protectionist" approach which does nothing to build on local assets.

CONCLUSION

- "Conservation" and "tourism" are not contradictory, but complementary.
- There are no general principles which can be used to solve the "tourist use problem".
- The only possible solutions are case-specific in terms of development, tourist use and the management of "heritage resources", the aim being to give optimum service to a maximum number of people.
- There are major implications for local development, justifying efforts to secure agreed solutions.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAIR ON THEME 1:

"A balance between the development of mass tourism in vulnerable towns and natural areas and requirements to safeguard the architectural or natural heritage"

1. In the developed countries, the right to travel is nowadays regarded as one of the fundamental human rights. Each person, as an individual, is probably not very willing to accept restrictions on this right.

At the same time, the increase in leisure time, the raising of living standards, the ostensible guarantee of an adequate income in old age provided by compulsory retirement schemes - all those factors encourage substantial numbers of the population to travel more and more frequently, and further afield.

In addition, in view of the economic and social importance of tourism and the prospects it offers for the development of certain regions, as well as its weight in the commercial scales of certain states, a great many measures are taken to encourage the development of tourism everywhere, at all times, for everybody.

Finally, tourism can be considered as a change of scenery and period of detachment from everyday life - the latter being frequently encapsulated in a framework devoid of natural features - which is essential to physical and mental health.

The reasons why they visit a limited number of places are ostensibly the same for the vast majority of tourists; this factor, combined with the advantages inherent in certain forms of transport (charter flights, package tours), is inevitably conducive to mass tourism directed towards a limited number of places which are highly publicised by travel agencies.

It can be concluded, without any danger of being mistaken, that mass tourism is a phenomenon of present-day society which is bound to grow.

2. Certain habits, as well as the way in which work is organised today, in particular the concentration of holidays into short periods, add to the disadvantages of mass tourism which is also confined to small parts of the year.

Tourism has developed rapidly in Europe over the past forty years or so without any long-term planning, very frequently at the expense of the environment and the architectural and natural heritage, as if those assets - which form the fundamental basis of tourism - were renewable or everlasting consumer goods.

Far too few tourists and people responsible for tourism are aware of the time and energy it took our ancestors - not to mention nature - to bequeath to us natural beauty together with the historical, aesthetic and cultural heritage, in the absence of which tourism would scarcely be of any interest. The cost of "nature capital" has not been - and still is not - adequately reflected in the prices paid by tourists.

3. The natural, cultural and touristic heritage must be considered as an inalienable asset, of which the present generation is merely the depository, and which has to be transmitted in satisfactory shape to future generations.

The local authorities responsible for tourist development have to ensure that any such development does not incur an unconscionable erosion of natural resources; they have in particular to control the installation of infrastructure required for the treatment of waste and sewage.

4. All too many protagonists, not to mention tourist and even political enterprises are only

interested in the short-term maximisation of instant profits arising out of tourism.

Tourists naturally provide certain advantages for a limited number of persons living in tourist areas; but they also incur serious disadvantages for a part of the local population (increase in the cost of living and housing, noise, various nuisances) and they also consume - sometimes unconsciously - a non-renewable and limited heritage.

Too much tourism is death to tourism, and it is not necessarily profitable to attract a larger number of tourists: the cost of the damage frequently exceeds the profit which can be extracted from tourism in the short-term.

5. Tourists must realise that they are the guests of local populations and are under an obligation to preserve the existing heritage for future generations.

The local authorities of each major tourist area ought therefore to be instructed (and obliged) to determine the maximum capacity for tourist accommodation in those areas; they ought then to take the necessary and appropriate measures to contain the flow of tourists within the established limits.

6. Tourist policies have so far given precedence to the economic, short-term aspects of this activity; this has provoked speculation and uneven development, as well as erosion and destruction of the natural, historical and artistic heritage, which constitutes the very source of tourism. Tourists have been increasingly attracted by tempting, cheap offers which failed to cover the minimal cost of safeguarding the "source of tourism".

7. Tourists must now be taught that sustainable quality tourism is expensive, that if measures are not adopted in the short term, everyone (both tourists and local populations) will be dissatisfied with mass tourism; that the unrestrained development of tourism at all times and in all places is not satisfactory for anyone. Tourists have to realise that the places

nowadays visited by an impressive number of people were not intended for such large numbers. It will probably prove necessary to revert to less tourism during certain times of the year and to accept restrictions on the development of tourism in certain places.

The tourist who pollutes has to pay. He has here and now to assume responsibility for the cost of the tourist infrastructure, which is undoubtedly high in view of the short period during which it is used, but which can neither be disregarded nor postponed until a later date. He also has to contribute to the financing of maintenance costs as well as those for preserving and rehabilitating the heritage in general. The costs of safeguarding and restoring the "tourist heritage" will be extremely high in the near future and will continue to increase: the tourist will have to finance those costs.

8. Balanced, harmonious and sustainable development of tourism can only be achieved in the medium-to-long term if it is controlled and supervised by the authorities responsible for regional planning, at central as well as regional and local level. The authorities concerned have to take the measures necessary to safeguard the "tourist heritage" and pass on the costs to the tourists. The central authorities have to participate in the financing of actions to preserve the natural and architectural heritage: in exchange, they have to ensure compliance with certain standards and basic principles which the local authorities - frequently for reasons of short-term or competitive interest - fail to impose on the various bodies responsible for developing tourism.

Effective measures will have to be taken to encourage and facilitate a better seasonal distribution of tourism.

9. Perhaps we should consider for the future the creation of imaginary worlds which would progressively replace natural worlds, and would be designed for (but for how long?) and depend on mass tourism.

THEME 2

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

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Chairman of the Committee of Senior Officials of the
European Conference of Ministers responsible for
Regional Planning (CEMAT)

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THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

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During the millenniums of Palermo's history, Sicily has met and got to know populations, cultures and different civilisations. I hope that this "historical background" is a good presage and that this debate can give rise to co-ordinated tourism policies.

When dealing with the topic of this meeting, I would start with some considerations on the role and meaning of a "new area": tourism that is at the same time an economic and cultural sector with an increasingly important role in the post-industrial scenery of tertiary sector growth.

In brief, we are entering a phase of diversified tourism, which represents today the mass tourism of the last ten years. In this phase, "holidays" are no longer an option but an individual and social right.

Unfortunately, we have little idea about the complexity of the tourism phenomenon and its trends and significance. The general attitude neglecting the need for global tourism strategies is inadequate for our society at the dawn of the year 2000.

But Europe is going to fill the gap, albeit slowly, in the sense that the proclamation of "European Year of Tourism" in 1990 has marked a reversed trend and has again drawn

attention to this sector. A sector which, as everybody knows, produces wealth, increases investment and employment and creates new professional outlets.

Tourism is not only linked to the world of commerce, but also to services and industry. I refer here to firms manufacturing telematic devices and construction companies providing hotel accommodation.

Finally, tourism is an expanding sector and its constant growth is expected from now until the year 2000.

According to the World Tourism Organisation, tourist arrivals in 1991 amounted to 450 million, that is 15% more than the previous year (in spite of the Gulf crisis). In the year 2000 they will reach 637 million.

As far as income is concerned, 278 billion US dollars have been recorded, an increase of more than 9%.

These data are clear: they mark a process with a planetary dimension, in which Europe will continue to have an active role. In fact, the old continent in the years to come will remain an important tourist area, even if it loses important market shares, going from the present 54.4% to 39% in the year 2000.

But this will not be a painless loss, and neither will it be easy to avoid a decrease caused by the new dynamic markets emerging in the world of tourism (spreading from the eastern asiatic areas to Oceania and Africa, and even to the Mediterranean basin). However, this loss will be useful to stimulate the creation of better conditions for the development of Euro-Mediterranean tourism, whose offer and services are more specialised.

In any case, we hope that this loss will not leave the European hosting sector powerless.

It is a macrocosm with 35 million employees, accounting for 8% of the total employment figure, a turnover of 5.7% of the European Gross National Product (GNP), and receipts amounting to 104 billion US dollars.

The Mediterranean area does not play a marginal part in this scene. The south of the Mediterranean alone accounts for 15 to 16% of the world's tourist flow.

But in 1989 the situation changed, and for the first time tourism in the Mediterranean was confronted with a negative phase. This was due not to the lack of tourists - in fact they were more numerous than before - but to the shortening in the length of their stay.

This is why there is a need for a global strategy, on a Euro-Mediterranean basis, and co-ordinated and organised policies of offer. No one can renounce such good business, testified by the trend of increasing offer; neither the weak countries on the European scene nor the strong ones can afford to. America has taken advantage of this.

The most likely consequence of the actual trend in world tourism policy will, on an international level, be more and more ruthless competition. Competition between countries outside the EEC will get stronger and, at the same time, it will increase inside the Community.

Hence a dual necessity: on the one hand, to plan European strategies, especially among

homogenous countries in Europe, aiming at improving a sustainable quality tourism, and on the other hand, to project a balanced Euro-Mediterranean tourism policy which would not trigger off keen competition between regions.

There is no contradiction between these two priorities. They are a matter of urgency and necessity, otherwise the result will be a decrease in the overall strength of tourism in economic and social development.

In the coming years, the great challenge for Europe will be the importance to consider tourist demand as a unique chance for economic and social development.

All this should be supported by an effective tourism policy: a diversified Euro-Mediterranean tourism policy offering a "tourist product", and including both the north of Europe and the Mediterranean area. The latter has, for far too long, been kept in a marginal position as far as investments are concerned, and has received insufficient resources for international connections.

All we have said up until now can sound provocative:

- There is a need for Community interventions to organise and promote the "Mediterranean" tourist product on the international market, and an offer complying with European standards regarding the quality of services.

- There is a need for an alternative policy to safeguard the environment, not only for ecology's sake, but also for economic reasons: the environment is the main source of tourism. Modern tourism for the post-industrial society.

- It is also necessary to give full value to the Mediterranean architectural heritage, which is part of the artistic complex left by the world's greatest civilisations.

- Furthermore, a European transport policy is needed to increase the competitiveness of "made in Europe" products on both the

northern and southern international markets. The European market has therefore to be considered, as far as transport is concerned, as a single internal market.

- Moreover, it is necessary to regulate service prices and list the European hosting facilities which guarantee uniform quality standards.

I should say that I consider these few points as the main ones for a rebalanced strategy and tourist development in the north and south Mediterranean. They are the fruit of experience and competence: "sine qua non" conditions of intra- and extra-European development.

The ruthless competition between tourist areas in the same region will be reduced if there is increased tourism in the old southern continent, a guarantee of equal chances for fair competition, a single market and an extra-regional communication policy. Consequently, imbalances will be avoided, the quality of tourism will be increased and the offer will be lasting. This will have a positive influence on

the economic and social growth of the old continent.

I should again like to express my gratitude to the Council of Europe for the attention given to the problems linked to Mediterranean tourism. In conclusion, I hope that, from now on, a special meeting will be held every year to sum up the main points. This would respond to the wish expressed some time ago by the Italian Minister for the Navy: to organise an annual confrontation between European partners, aiming at harmonising naval and pleasure craft regulations.

Mutatis mutandis, the Council of Europe should promote the need of public and private tourist operators and entrepreneurs from all over Europe for mutual confrontation and growth.

This could be the start of periodical meetings, thanks to which the concept of European unity will be strengthened, together with a new tourist attitude creating chances for a sustainable and quality tourist flow.

SOME IDEAS ABOUT THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF SUSTAINABLE QUALITY TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: THE DIMENSIONS OF THE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Sustainable development is development that meets the present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This means that resources must be used at rates which correspond to their capacity for renewal. Sustainable use of resources will result in sustainable development, which means improving the capacity to convert a constant level of the physical use of resources to fulfil human needs. This is also true for tourism.

Until recent years, it was thought that increasing the number of beds to a maximum level would suffice for tourism and economic growth. But the inefficient infrastructure, various types of pollution, uncontrolled crowds and unequal distribution of income derived from tourism caused decision-makers to re-examine policies and approaches. The result was that "the unrestrained and sometimes irresponsible competition between tourist areas to attract visitors" was not a reliable strategy to base policies on.

The following observations also strengthened the worries of authorities and experts:

- over-exploitation of natural resources
- short supply of some basic goods due to overcrowding
- sharing the local resources between more and more people
- increased noise, congestion, traffic etc.
- growing number of visitors using the same area for tourist purposes.

These unhealthy developments resulted in the following undesired changes in tourist areas:

- overcrowded coastal resorts
- insensitive architectural designs
- litter-strewn woodlands and forests
- polluted lakes and rivers
- undesired social changes
- loss of cultural identity
- economic dependence of local people on the revenue generated by tourism.

The measures to be taken against these undesirable developments and degradations should be defined through a procedure based on "decision", "control" and "planning" mechanisms.

2. THE MECHANISMS OF TOURISM PLANNING

As in all social events, there is an economic base of tourism which shapes the "decision" mechanism, whereas the "control" and "planning" mechanisms are inseparable parts of the system.

Concerning these mechanisms, there are two groups of people who encourage undesired competition between the towns, and influence "decision" and "planning" mechanisms in particular:

a. Those who make a profit out of tourism and directly influence the competition:

These people desire "every type of tourism" and do not worry about how dense the activities are. Their aim is to make a maximum profit in the shortest period of time. They do not care about the loss of natural, cultural and social values in the long term.

In this group, the following people or groups exist:

- the investors (native or foreign) with large amounts of capital
- the investors with small amounts of capital
- the local people of a resort town
- real estate agencies and building contractors
- the groups possessing land on the coastline.

b. Those who influence the competition indirectly:

The people in this group are against very dense and uncontrolled tourism activities. They also want to keep up social status and not lose the necessary cultural and social services they have had for many years. They are:

- middle and middle-high income groups which use the tourist accommodation units;
- the officials who produce data, and act as decision-making bodies for various aspects of tourism;

- the foreign tourists.

How do these mechanisms affect the unrestrained and sometimes irresponsible competition between tourist areas to attract visitors? What measures have to be taken?

The "decision mechanism" creates and shapes tourism. If it only serves for "land speculation" and uncontrolled development of "second dwellings", the environmental and social degradation will gain speed. Therefore, this mechanism should be controlled by the majority who considers tourism as an activity purely for rest and recreation.

Until now, the "control mechanism" in various countries has focused its activities on increasing the number of available beds for tourists. Besides, the people involved in this mechanism should try to find more resources for tourism, and should establish organic relations between tourist installations, transportation, management and marketing.

The people involved in the "planning mechanism" should collect necessary data for a balanced and sustainable quality tourism and propose planning decisions based on financial, administrative and legal instruments.

The mechanisms discussed above should be in harmony with land use decisions taken at regional level. They should also be applicable for the local characteristics of settlements. This leads us to the role and the importance of local authorities who may put an end to irresponsible competition, or (as in some cases) encourage it.

3. THE ROLE OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES

The unexpected pressure of tourism, exceeding the limit of social and environmental capacities; the approaches which do not respect public interest in the long term: these factors force the authorities to take measures. How can the local authorities resist this irresponsible competition? It is very difficult if a lot of people earn their money from mass tourism

and hard tourism. Those people are unaware that, if the features attracting the tourists lose their authenticity and become banal, the number of tourists will decrease and "cultural tourism" will soon disappear.

How can the local authorities behave towards this new phenomenon? Four alternatives seem possible:

- to reconcile themselves to live with tourism and spend the necessary efforts to develop it;
- to adopt tourism in principle, but to reduce unexpected development in favour of the local population;
- to reshape tourism by reducing its effects on the town, while at the same time increasing the benefits;
- to do nothing.

The second and third choices will support a sustainable quality tourism which will be subject to a planning process.

At this point in the report, one of the most important inputs of the tourism planning process, namely the "physical, social and economic carrying capacity", will be discussed.

4. THE DETERMINATION OF CARRYING CAPACITIES OF THE TOWNS SUBJECT TO TOURIST PRESSURES

The Mediterranean coast is a very effective and dominant input owing to its tourist potential. It is also subject to degradation from unplanned and irresponsible use.

In order not to lose the natural, cultural and social values of this unique source because of the irresponsible competition among the tourist areas, the main objectives of determining "carrying capacities" can be summarised as follows:

- to maintain the quality of resources

- to provide a quality experience and maximum satisfaction for the user
- to define a convenient level of use
- to define the type of tourist opportunity the area is going to provide
- to reduce or control the impacts that threaten the quality or specific type of experiences.

Three types of carrying capacity should be determined when establishing the land use policies of an area:

a. Social carrying capacity:

Local people's tolerance of tourists and tourists' capacity to tolerate other tourists and impacts on their tourist experience.

b. Physical carrying capacity:

Determination of an area's capacity to absorb a given amount of users engaged in particular activities without any ecological deterioration.

c. Economic carrying capacity:

Determination of the most suitable activities which are competitive in the area from an environmental and economic point of view.

The social carrying capacity's indicator is the inhabitant's tolerance of tourism and tourists.

The arguments that should be presented to inhabitants in order to keep the social carrying capacity at a desired level are as follows:

- tourism is a desirable alternative to resource-depleting industries
- tourism creates economic and social benefits
- tourism-related facilities and infrastructure are managed by local residents and owners
- local attractions are designed to give tourists an idea of the way residents live
- certain tourism-related problems are solved by local groups and agencies
- tourist facilities or attractions do not interfere with everyday private life.

The inhabitants will understand the meaning of this undesired and even destructive competition, and be aware that the sustainable and balanced growth of tourism will improve living standards.

When determining the physical carrying capacity, the following measures should form of the basis of work programmes:

- to determine the most suitable and sustainable quality type of tourism for that particular area
- to constitute the land use decisions for the chosen type of tourism
- to establish a control mechanism for future land use developments (eg 5 years, 10 years, 20 years)
- to determine the principles of infrastructural projects
- to determine the principles of new buildings.

These measures are also of vital importance for the preservation and rehabilitation of the cultural and natural heritage. Therefore, the next step should involve the determination of the physical-cultural carrying capacity of an area and include the following measures:

- an inventory of unused stretches of land suitable for recreational tourism
- an inventory of original architectural units, both urban and rural
- passing of special laws to prevent the degradation of environmental values
- the devising of plans for the preservation and rehabilitation of old city centres, making them habitable and useful for tourist purposes
- protective measures to combat irresponsible and purely profit-motivated exploitation of cultural and natural resources.

5. THE TURKISH EXPERIENCE

Tourism activity in Turkey has increased to a substantial degree in the last decade, especially along the country's western and southern

coasts. This has made an increase in the bed capacity an issue of particular importance, and led to a number of stumbling blocks.

i. Planning-related difficulties

Although the native populations of the towns along Turkey's western and southern coasts which are attractive to tourists generally range between 3,000 and 15,000, these towns' administrators generally set the sights of their development planning activities on numbers four to five times higher than that. In doing so, their aim is to attract to the locality not only tourist facilities but also those who might be interested in acquiring a second residence for use as a summer home.

A good example of this is the town of Mezitli, located on the Turkish Mediterranean. It has a settled population of 3,500 and, at the moment, occupies an area of some 15 hectares. Assuming a normal rate of population growth, one might envisage this town having a population of about 5,000 by the year 2000. One might, except that a plan drawn up by the Mezitli municipality rezones an area of about 850 hectares for development, most of which it expects to be in the form of tourist facilities and summer homes.

Ayas is another town along the same coast. Its permanent population is about 2,000 and, furthermore, there is a multitude of archaeological and natural assets located within the municipal limits. A zoning plan being prepared by the city government covers an area of some 1,000 hectares, into which it expects a population of about 30,000 to settle.

Situations such as these raise a number of problems:

- a. Local governments lack either the strength or the capacity to administer areas on the scale they are making plans for. For this reason, an uncontrolled situation arises in building development within city limits, in common urban services, and in the use of undeveloped areas.

b. Structures erected for use as second homes go unused for a large part of the year. The result is the creation of a huge stock of idle building capacity.

A survey conducted among thirty municipalities reveals that, to an overwhelming degree, the nature of the tourism activities prevalent in these towns make new construction necessary, and a large number of these new structures are intended for use either as second homes or for boarding-house enterprises.

c. The combination of intensive building activity and an abnormally inflated population can disrupt ecological balances leading, in particular, to an impairment (or complete loss) of natural and scenic values.

ii. Infrastructure-related difficulties

Another problem that high population densities and plans to open up extensive areas for development lead to is that of inadequate infrastructural facilities. Although new areas are designated for construction, the infrastructural services on which work ought to be started simultaneously generally lag behind the rate of growth.

By way of example, the "South Anatolia Tourism Development Project", one of the most important planned and organised tourism industry activities in Turkey, was prepared with an approach that encompassed a variety of types of tourism and provided for a bed capacity of 25,000. One of the most important features of this project was that infrastructural services were to have been installed (by the state) before entrepreneurs would be allowed to initiate building activities of their own. In this way, the problems of transportation, communications, energy, water, and waste would have already been solved when their construction got underway.

As it happened, a number of politically-inspired decisions resulted in a concentration of use that was greater than planned and, because

it exceeded infrastructural capacity, problems arose.

At this stage, it has proved impossible for local governments to deal fully with the problem. Twenty local administrators were queried about the uncontrolled development of tourism activity in their towns and asked whether or not it was beneficial. Sixteen of them responded that it was not. This reply is important because it shows that, even though local administrators have a certain awareness of the issue, they nevertheless lack the political, legal, and economic means with which they might have kept the problem under control.

iii. Manpower-related difficulties

Quality in the tourism industry can only be achieved with qualified manpower that has been properly trained. This means not just a specific initial training process but also practical on-the-job experience.

The majority of tourism investments undertaken along our country's Mediterranean and Aegean coasts are the products of little (if anything) more than physical planning; adequate consideration has not been given to planning the manpower that will be needed for them during the operation stage.

This is why the services provided are inadequate and never succeed in reaching the level of quality desired.

Even if we do agree that the tourism industry creates employment on the local level, the fact that professionally-trained people are needed in certain areas means that the local population cannot always profit from an increase in tourism activity to the degree it should.

iv. Finance-related difficulties

Local governments need to have clearly defined sources of finance to provide adequate support for an expanding volume of tourist activity.

Such support includes, for example, installing new infrastructure, maintaining and repairing existing infrastructure to keep it in constant operation, taking measures to prevent damage to the environment, developing conservation programmes to prevent natural and cultural properties from impairment due to human erosion, and ensuring the security and safety of local inhabitants and tourists.

The mayors of towns with a high degree of tourism potential in various parts of Turkey cited the following problems, in order of importance, which they regarded as having been created in their towns by excessive tourism demand:

- . infrastructural services become inadequate
- . centralised governmental control cannot cope
- . municipal services cannot keep up with the increasing demands of tourism
- . there is a shortage of qualified personnel in many branches of the tourism industry.

Even though local governments have acquired new sources of revenue since 1985, municipalities in Turkey that are sitting on tourism potential still lack the means to adequately deal with the problems outlined above.

Information gathered from twenty such municipalities indicates that sixteen of them were able to devote very little - if anything - out of their budget resources for tourism. The other four reported that their appropriations for tourism services amounted to about 10-20% of their available means.

This is why many municipalities have to appeal to various organs of the central government (the tourism ministry being foremost amongst them) for financial aid. And because that aid is distributed to so many municipalities, it is neither effective nor adequate.

The issue that should be of prime concern is that "users" should pay something for the things they use locally whereas, in practice,

tourism investors take advantage of numerous services that are vital to their existence without paying anything at all.

While agreeing that tourism makes a contribution to the local economy, eighteen town mayors also had the following to say about some of its alleged detrimental effects:

. the notion that excessive numbers of tourists damage the natural and cultural environment was given short shrift;

. uncontrolled development has not, as a rule, adversely affected the traditional social life of the townspeople, though there could be problems in the future.

6. CONCLUSION

The following are some of the opinions that were cited by local administrators as ways to counteract, in view of Turkey's ongoing experience with tourism, the adverse impact caused by competition in the tourism industry.

i. The limits of the locality's physical, social, and economic capacity must be identified; no planning or investment activities should be allowed that would exert strain upon that capacity.

ii. Excessive demand in the tourist industry has led to an irresponsible race among towns to accommodate it. While the initial stages of this race look profitable and locally invigorating, one must not forget that, in the medium and long term, it achieves a dimension that becomes disruptive to the environment and traumatic for the local inhabitants.

iii. Physical planning and decisions concerning land use should be kept modest; growth should be paced rationally; the problems involved in new areas of development should not be such as to exceed the strength or capacity of local governments.

iv. Preference should be given to new construction and spatial uses that can be taken

advantage of during the greater part of the year.

v. Infrastructure should be developed to a level where it can support the burden that tourism will bear upon it.

vi. The manpower required for a quality tourism service should be recruited. Measures should be taken to ensure that some of this

qualified manpower is recruited from among the local population, thus creating new jobs locally.

vii. The principle of "make the user pay" should be adopted and enforced. This will enable local governments to provide adequate services for their tourism industries and also to carry out the investments that are needed locally to support it.

CONTROLLED TOURIST DEVELOPMENT IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION: "HOW TO CHECK THE UNLIMITED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION AMONG THE TOURIST REGIONS TO ATTRACT VISITORS"

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1. INTRODUCTION

The development of international tourism during the post-war period has been a prevailing typical feature of modern civilisation and we can observe a dynamism featuring its rapid and constant evolution.

Tourism today corresponds to a personal human right and has been a significant part of socio-economic life in the Mediterranean countries. Its significance is constantly increasing. It may become an important source of prosperity for many regions and contribute to the improvement of the populations' cultural level. It must be stressed that even in times of international economic crises, tourism, contrary to other sectors and branches of the international economy, has retained a relative level of expansion.

The Mediterranean sea has proved to be a significant region for the admission of the tourist stream.

Unfortunately, the type of massive tourism prevailing in the Mediterranean has caused harm and side effects which are very difficult to heal, as we are currently discovering.

This fact has caused intense scepticism about the effects of tourism on society, culture and the environment. It has been proven in practice that if appropriate steps are not taken tourism may evolve to become a somewhat dangerous tool for social, economic and cultural intervention.

However, where the negative effects seem more intense is in the environment.

This is because in the Mediterranean countries the "tourist product" itself is nothing more than the total sum of the natural resources (sea, sun, shores, changing landscape, flora and fauna), the works of civilisations, the character and habits of the people and modern life. Without these elements, the tourist has no motive to travel and this applies to both full-scale tourism, where it prevails, but also to the

special forms of tourism (maritime, mountain, conference, cultural, winter, etc), even where the environmental dimension is not directly reflected in their name. That is to say, it occurs not only with so-called ecological tourism (the environmental dimension of which is self evident), but also with maritime tourism, which presumes clean seas and shores, winter and cultural tourism which presume correct protection of monuments and remarkable landscapes for excursions, or even with conference tourism because the possibility to visit monuments and go on excursions play a significant role when selecting the place to hold a conference.

The intensification of spatial exploitation created by massive tourism has aggravated the problems and led to a further burden on the environment.

The domination of massive tourism in the Mediterranean countries has resulted in intense competition among the tourist regions on a national or international level, with the objective to attract tourists. This is permissible as long as the competition is healthy and responsible, contributing positively to the development of tourism. However, the way things are evolving in the field, that is to say not taking into account the special features and limits of the tourist product, as well as the endurance of the natural and man-made environment, unfavourable implications arise for the environment and market forces contribute to lowering the balance level at all stages (prices decrease to cope with, in many cases, irresponsible competition and the strong pressure of multinational tourist organisations) with apparent unfavourable implications on the quality of services, the competitiveness, the rendering of the field and finally its further evolution.

We believe that the need is currently urgent for tourist development to be controlled from now on. Our future actions must not be based on improvisation or opportunities, aiming mainly at restraining a posteriori rather than trying to prevent any more harm. The aim should be a long-range intervention project based on co-

operation, as well as on the special features of each country.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOURIST SECTOR AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE GREEK ECONOMY. QUANTITATIVE DATA

Greek tourism appeared on the international tourist market at the beginning of the post-war period, simultaneously with other Mediterranean countries. Ever since, tourism constantly claims one of the top places among the resources bringing foreign currency into our country, despite the fluctuations appearing in the revenues of each accountable year. These fluctuations are due to the relatively short-range, independent dimension of tourism within the framework of the international socio-economic circumstances.

It is known how the influx of tourists, and therefore of valuable exchange, is influenced by the international socio-economic circumstances, the conditions prevailing at the time in Greece, the interstate relations and the confrontation, as new tourist destinations now seriously make their claim on the world markets.

Greece has appeared on time, we might say, in the foreground of the world tourist market and has been established as a country for summer holidays and tourist leisure activities.

In order to comprehend the contribution of tourism to the Greek economy, we can supply some basic statistics.

During the 1983-87 period, the influx of foreign tourists increased by an average annual rate of 8.7% and the package formulas also increased by a rate of 8.1%. The evolution of the above figures for the 1978-82 period was 9.7% and 18% respectively. During the following years, until 1989, a considerable slowing down was recorded in the influx, while in 1990 an increase of 9% was observed.

In 1991 certain problems appeared owing to the Gulf war and the civil war in Yugoslavia.

According to current data for the January - September period, arrivals decreased by a rate of 12.6% in comparison with 1990, and package deals decreased by a rate of 8.6% for the January - November period. It is estimated, however, that for the whole year the decrease is much smaller according to the first indications for 1992. Certainly there are still problems in Yugoslavia, but we believe that the mobile tourists from central Europe will come to our country via Italy and the Adriatic sea.

Tourism is a significant economic activity in Greece. It is estimated that in 1990 a total sum of \$4.160 billion was collected, accounting for 25% of the hidden resources and covering 21% of the commercial balance deficit. For 1990, among the three large categories of hidden resources, the travel exchange accounted for 71.8%, the navigational sector 29.5% and emigration 28.7%.

10.6% of the country's active population are directly or indirectly employed in tourism, which is higher than the average percentage of those employed world-wide (6.2%).

Finally, Greece has a total of 43,800 hotel beds covering all categories. Their number increased during the 1983-87 period by an annual rate of 3.9%. During the following years, until 1989, the interest for investments in tourism intensified mainly as far as the number of hotel beds was concerned (the increase exceeded 20,000 beds per year), while in 1990-91 an increase was recorded at a rate of 15,000 per year.

3. BASIC PROBLEMS AND INEFFICIENCIES OF THE TOURIST SECTOR, CREATED BY THE ABOVE EVOLUTION. NEW TENDENCIES

3.1 Uneven distribution in time

Seasonal demand is a natural consequence of the climatic conditions in our country, but also of the kind of holiday we offered until

recently. It cannot be coped with only by providing special motives either to the organisers of tourist packages or to the consumers (eg social tourism). Off-season activities need to be organised.

3.2 Uneven distribution in space

The main structural problem of Greek tourism, in the last twenty years, apart from seasonal demand, has been the concentration of tourist activity in certain regions of the country with the consequent economic and environmental malfunctions:

- exit of the active population from the primary sector and abandoning of agricultural land;
- dependence of the market on international circumstances;
- urbanisation of the countryside: transformation of farm land into building land;
- excessive exploitation of natural resources, pollution, alteration of the environment;
- change of infrastructures, etc;

to the degree that this "uneven" development has not been related to:

- the tourist resources of each region;
- the structure of sectors other than tourism and land use in each region;
- the proportion of public and private investments in tourism and their connection.

Yet active demand for new investments in these regions increases instead of decreases, on the one hand because of the "establishment" of these regions in foreign markets, and on the other hand because the financial motives system in practice favoured the concentration of all forms and classes of hotel beds in the developed tourist regions (Crete, Rhodes,

Corfu, Kos), where until recently their viability was, more or less, taken for granted.

Primary consequences of this are, on the one hand, the weakening of the position of Greek businessmen to negotiate with tour operators who, due to excess numbers of beds on offer, succeed in imposing their own terms with the main objective of decreasing prices and, on the other hand, the extension of the unfavourable social impact on the income of those employed in the tourist sector.

3.3 Low competition

Ever since the beginning of the previous decade, a tendency has been recorded towards an increase in the number of lower class hotel rooms. This fact, combined with the rapid increase of supplementary accommodation, has had a negative effect on the quality of tourist demand. This development has caused many worries over the last few years.

In parallel, the sudden increase in operational costs, competition among illegal lodges and the lack of co-ordination and organisation on a regional level, weakening the capability of businessmen to negotiate with multinational tourist organisations, have had a negative effect on the services provided and on the formation of the right kind of tourist customers.

4. ATTEMPTS TO SHIFT FROM QUANTITY TO QUALITY OF INCOMING TOURISTS

The problems have been intensified over the last few years, resulting in the depreciation of regions developed for tourism, the further lowering in the level of tourist customers, the illegal operation of certain hotels and the problems of high level units being filled to capacity.

As regards tourist policy, it is necessary to redefine tourist requirements and tourist offer. It is basically pursued to improve competitiveness, with an emphasis on selective

tourism (organised or individual), by improving and enriching the tourist offer (high quality accommodation and services, satisfactory installations, special tourist infrastructure, emphasis on sports, recreation, spare time, training in provision of services).

5. STRATEGY AND MEASURES FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE NEW OBJECTIVES

The tourist policy applied is focused mainly on measures to improve and specialise the tourist offer and to lengthen the tourist period.

With the aim to strengthen the "competitiveness" of the tourist sector and improve the services offered, the whole network of institutional, economic and organisational measures and motives must be harmonised, bearing in mind the desirable form and the natural distribution of tourist activity, and taking into account factors of physical planning.

These measures have the following objectives:

- to check tourist development in regions with problems of over-concentration of tourist activity;
- to control the development of tourist activity in regions with tendencies towards over-concentration and in regions possessing particularly significant environmental elements;
- to develop tourism in regions where this is possible.

Besides, modern tendencies in tourist demand require improvements, specialisation, modernisation, completion and enrichment of our tourist facilities to supply all the installations and services necessary for the varied activities of a modern tourist.

We are intensifying our efforts in all directions and, among other things, we intend to:

- complete the general infrastructure (airports, harbours, ports of entry, road networks, etc);
- create or complete special tourist infrastructures (marinas, convention centres, golf courses, winter sports centres, hydrotherapeutic centres, etc), in order to attract special forms of tourism, such as maritime, conference or therapeutic tourism. These present advantages, not only for better package holidays but also for high-profile tourists seeking culture and with a developed environmental conscience;
- modernise existing tourist lodges and establish new ones of a high level;
- encourage the re-erection of preservable or traditional buildings to serve as tourist installations.

More especially due to the current circumstances in Europe and the new international situation, as far as Greece is concerned emphasis is given to:

- improving the equipment and installations of all the ports of entry to the country from Italy;
- a programme for the extension of leisure ports (marinas) from north to south - emphasis on maritime tourism;
- the redetermination of physical development in the western continental part of the country (tourist superstructure), owing to a redistribution of the burden and new demands in the region.

The following means can be used to achieve the above objectives:

5.1 As far as the general infrastructure is concerned, support of its integration within the framework of MIP, EDP, etc;

5.2 As far as the rest of the investments in the private sector are concerned, the new

Development Law (No. 1892/90), "on modernisation and development and other provisions", which enables the investors to choose either:

- i. increased interest subsidies and payoffs;

It should be noted that there is an initial difference in the motives depending on the regions of the country aimed at a quantitative differentiation between the economic subsidies depending on the development level of each region (already since 1982).

- ii. provision of reinforced subsidies for larger tourist installations of a high level;
- iii. additional motives for supplementary installations such as meeting centres, golf courses, hydrotherapeutic centres, marinas;

5.3 The transfer of the NTO's business activities, which sometimes exceeded the available financial means, to the private sector. More specifically, the use of the NTO's land property will be transferred to the private sector, which will undertake to finance the modernisation or completion of installations or the construction of new projects, aiming at their tourist development;

5.4 The improvement of tourist facilities by vitalising and reinforcing the control mechanisms;

5.5 The modernisation and adaption of tourist legislation to new realities and necessities (modernisation of the technical standards for the creation of new installations with, since 1987, an innovatory mandatory provision for people with special needs, who are also part of the tourist customers). New technical standards for the establishment of meeting centres and golf courses;

5.6 Consigning to the care of the National Centre of Planning and Research the elaboration of the National Preliminary Economic Physical Planning of Tourism;

6. NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION AND CONVERGENCE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN BASIN (PROGRAMME OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS)

This has been stressed on several occasions and significant initiatives have already been taken in the framework of international organisations. A section of the Malaga Declaration in September 1987 states:

- in the Mediterranean it is necessary to apply a physical planning policy, aiming at a harmonious development and preservation of the environment;
- the possibility of a common approach will have to be examined to ensure a reasonable exploitation of the sea and land resources to ease the difficulties, taking into account a national and regional approach to the problem;
- a study of the state of the Mediterranean coastal landscape in comparison with the hinterland;

- a study of the urban coastal zones that will have to be developed or renewed for tourism and of their connection with the rural or mountain areas, in order to ease tourist pressures existing on the coast;
- an analysis of the coastal agriculture and its demographic aspects;
- a study of the possibilities to differentiate activities in tourist zones;
- a study of the tourist flow from north and central Europe to the Mediterranean and of the new motives of tourists.

The reinforcement of co-operation between the Mediterranean countries is necessary and desirable in view of the new findings. However, the question is whether it is possible to succeed such convergence, or whether the differences between the Mediterranean countries' structures at social and financial level are such that only decisions of a restrictive not a preventive character can be reached, mostly concerning certain tourist resources such as the sea.

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

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1. THE TOURISTIC SUPPLY OF THE DIFFERENT MEDITERRANEAN AREAS

One single reference: the sea

The sea "naturally" belongs to holiday imagination. It is a regressive element which symbolizes escape and dream. It was the deepest desire of urban citizens going on holiday for the first time.

Still today, in spite of the fact that the seaside is more and more artificial and despite the pollution, the sea remains magical. It combines all the symbols leading the French to choose their holiday destination. Most people decide to go on holiday by the sea, especially when it is for the first time. They are insatiable.

They find:

- water, which is life, movement, entertainment in itself. It is also essential in the countryside. It represents the scenery. In fact, holidays are spent by the sea, and not in it. There are less people practising watersports than those just lying on the beach.

- crowds, which can, over a certain limit, be harmful. However they constitute for visitors the safe environment that the urban population is used to. Here people do not get bored, especially the children, who play games on the beach and easily make friends.

Half of the visitors who go on holiday in July or August choose this period because they will find "people", animation, etc. Out of season, they fear emptiness. Holidays at the seaside are a break with a working life, but a soft break.

- sun: and the hedonistic possibility to take care of one's body and get a suntan.

The Mediterranean coast: the search for differentiation

An ordinary product: sea, crowds and sun, was sold for a long time by the Mediterranean regions. These banal products were even more so when they were marketed only by tour operators.

On the Mediterranean coast, one can find two types of tourism: package tours and individual tourism.

Individual tourism: on the north Mediterranean coast, which can be reached by European tourists by car.

Package tours: on the south Mediterranean coast (for example Tunisia) which can only be reached by plane. In order to attract customers, countries have overbuilt their coastlines (e.g. Spain), only taking into consideration market shares and tourists flows, without considering the economic and ecological consequences of this policy.

However, to attract tourists one must attract tour operators: in complete control of the products they sell, they choose or abandon a market depending on the hotel prices. The countries do not control their own market.

As it was not controlled by tour operators, the north Mediterranean coast has developed various and differentiated products.

In fact, the south Mediterranean countries have chosen the wrong strategy: a mass policy without the means to develop it.

The different competitive systems

The different systems can be classified by crossing two criteria: the coast's possibility to have a strong competitive advantage, and the nature of this advantage, whether it is based on a more or less wide differentiation of the product supplied.

By combining the possibilities of differentiation and the importance of the advantage, four competitive systems appear as can be seen below:

DIFFERENTIATION POSSIBILITIES	Strong	DIFFERENTIATION	FRAGMENTATION
	Weak	MASS	DILEMMA
		Strong	Weak
		COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE	

(source: BCG)

Mass strategy

This belongs to competitive systems in which the volume gives an important advantage to cost and therefore to prices. Very few possibilities exist to differentiate the products; the successful criterion is the market share. Most of the coastal resorts have chosen this strategy, developing only banal products without concentrating on differentiation. For example, Turkey has developed a "Spanish-

type product": sea, sun, seaside hotels, crowds; whereas the possibilities to differentiate the product of the Turkish coast were enormous: the hinterland contains incomparable historical and architectural treasures.

Mediterranean countries have forgotten that, to carry out a policy of volume, they must have the strong competitive advantage which most of them lack.

The present situation is the result of an increase in buildings and changes in demand: the supply outweighs the demand, leading to a policy of cut prices and a poorer building quality, which is contrary to the evolution of the demand.

Differentiation strategy

On the other hand, choosing the differentiation strategy would have led to product valorization and more responsible competition.

Differentiation strategy is based on the search for "niches", strategically defensible in the long term.

2. HOW DEMAND CHANGES

What are today the holidays of your dreams?

In reaction to everyday life, the tourist wants	According to modern times, the tourist wants
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to live in a village (anti-town) - to go back to nature (anti-artificial) - to strike up relationships (anti-loneliness) - to be in good form (anti-office) - to have fun (anti-stress) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - to live together but separately (cohabitation but not overpopulation) - to gain time (do it for me) - to avoid constraint (as I want - or if I want) - everything is possible (to have everything available, a maximum of leisure and sports, even if we do not use them) - to have a good time

They want to give a sense to their life:

- search for authenticity
- cocooning (return to family life)
- demand for immaterial provisions
- return to the steady, true, lasting values: the point is no longer to show off, to look like a model, but to be oneself
- revival of ecology, natural medicines, authenticity, nostalgia.

But this does not mean:

- they are active holidaymakers;
- they escape from the sea: the countryside is the second holiday destination after the sea, but it attracts only 7 million people out of the 30 million French people going on holiday in the summer;

- they no longer just want to get a suntan: they want culture, nature and gastronomy, but few "cultural holidays".

People still need sun, sea and sand holidays, but the majority of holidaymakers need something else: the 3Ls – Lore, Landscape and Leisure:

- an attempt to capture the essence of the real culture and way of life of the region (architecture, traditions, local products, etc.)
- the search for physical satisfaction by practising sports
- the desire to "have fun"

These changes enable the different destinations to specify their products in terms of location

and image, and to improve the quality. This means more regional planning and environmental protection.

If the Mediterranean tourist areas want to reduce competition amongst themselves, they have to develop tourist marketing. This means adapting their tourist policy to meet the new needs and demands of customers.

3. CONTROLLING THE COMPETITION: MARKETING AND REGIONAL PLANNING

3.1 Different types of differentiation

The minimum to be respected to avoid disappearance

The development of tourist resorts must replace the notion of tourist planning. The resort is a homogenous unit; this harmony is its strength and superiority compared with tourist planning, which led to the juxtaposition of infrastructures which were badly connected, lacked complementarity and were unattractive to the visitor.

The resort must be coherent in a certain number of ways:

Coherence and location

The resort's equipment must be well adapted to one or more compatible or complementary markets. A seaside resort can be opened to different types of clients but cannot mix, for example, international tourists and local working class tourists.

Coherence and content

The different areas of the resort are defined according to its general location. Needs are taken into account, avoiding excessive competition and leaving room for expansion. Shops and leisure pursuits must be chosen and placed in relation to accommodation and outside visits. A private or public financing company is responsible for organising the area.

Coherence and company financing

The final creation is the result of a will:

- to build equipment which is not profitable but necessary according to the needs of the tourist,
- to sell or rent building authorisations with strict specifications, which define the type, conception and management of the components;
- to maintain, like a commercial centre, a centralised management concerning security, communication, maintenance and promotion. This centralised management is also a means to ensure that the partners respect the specifications.

A resort is like a puzzle: all the pieces must fit together.

The amount of the lease can be indexed on the result of the resort's activity, which is a way to compensate the company in charge of financing and management for the initial risk it took.

Coherence and image

A resort must have only one identity, one signature (name, logo, slogan) for communication and promotion purposes. This signature which must be known, obvious and appreciated, must correspond to the location chosen for the whole resort.

It is:

- the main brand for the resort products
- the seal for all the local suppliers.

Coherence and urban concept

Car and pedestrian traffic planning must be located and measured in accordance with the nature and the exploitation of the equipment and accommodation planned.

For example:

- a square and a few streets concentrating and organising entertainment at any time of the day;
- some streets which irrigate the accommodation and converge towards a square;
- parking spaces which can be used for different purposes with the best access. An expert in urbanism can guarantee this coherence.

Coherence and architectural concept

All the buildings of the resort must be homogeneous according to a style defined at the outset: harmony of volumes, height, openings, materials. A common architectural style will be determined, on the basis of which architects will propose their own creations.

Note: investors are recommending more and more that theatre designers and decorators step in before the architects.

Management coherence

Like as a commercial centre, a resort should be managed in a centralised way in order to ensure for the partners the best prices for security, maintenance, various supplies but also entertainment, promotion, commercialisation, management of basic equipment etc.

The managers constantly analyse the resort, realise market surveys, suggest changes, check that specifications are respected by shopkeepers and restaurant owners. Management expenses are paid by each partner.

Entertainment coherence

A resort should have an entertainment programme in places especially for that purpose. This includes street entertainment, shows, exhibitions, festivals etc. The entertainment is supervised by the Tourist Office.

Promotion coherence

The promotion of the resort cannot be organised by the different partners. They have in common: the tourist office, promotion videos, public and professional shows, public relations, etc.

Commercialisation coherence

Hotel owners commercialise their products themselves. The tourist residence investors can set up a company to develop joint commercialisation.

The factors of differentiation

i. Client differentiation

- choice of thematic clients: golf, business tourism, thalassotherapy, water sports
- choice between high class clients or mass tourism
- choice of clients coming from near or afar.

ii. Supply differentiation

- quality of supplies, reception
- international label, quality obligation, leisure activities.

iii. Product supplied differentiation

It is possible to add to the common product (sea and sun), cultural activities, discovery of the historical heritage. The quality of the environment can be part of the differentiation.

3.2 An example of tourist marketing: the sailing resort

The first choice of the tourist who goes to the seaside is to be by the sea and not in it.

Rural tourism knows this only too well. The holidaymakers in the countryside want water. "No water, no leisure!" Holiday property

developers know this fact too. They want a 100% view of the sea - or of the harbour. The lakes in the "Centre Parks" are designed in such a way that the water reaches each bungalow.

The holidaymaker looks for the sea, for a resort where he will not get bored, where he can do everything, see everything - but only if he wants to. "Everything" means enjoying entertainment and trying several activities.

A sailing resort which offers activities as diversified as possible is attractive. The "sailing resort seal" is determining for the tourist who has to choose a resort. It is a seal of quality, of a complete, active, well-managed, and modern resort.

One can find everything; something is always happening.

In a sailing resort, we know we can find everything - but this does not mean that we intend to buy everything, to consume everything.

Something is always happening in a sailing resort. Should we recall that amongst the visitors, there are the exhibitionists (active) and the voyeurs, who represent the largest group. For some tourists (the "seniors"), the sailing seal represents a guaranteed lively resort where there is always something to see.

Activities for some people only

Two remarks concerning the sailing resort concept for the resort holidaymaker: sailing activities are not within everybody's reach; they require financial means, determination, organisation, ability. Surfing (not to mention the fun board) is rather a holiday tool: the surfboard is put on the car roof like the bag of French "boules" is put in the boot. But although everyone can buy a board, physical ability makes the difference in practice. For all these sports, even swimming in the sea, some holidaymakers need to overcome their apprehension.

A must rather than a plus

Improving supply, as confirmed by the "sailing resort seal", is not a lasting advantage for the resort. This seal is necessary to maintain the standing of the resort, otherwise it will be overtaken by competitors.

This seal is a must. Sailing resort investments are offensive as well as defensive. A resort cannot neglect these activities, otherwise it will regress. Thirty years ago resorts well equipped for tennis attracted attention. Today we do not notice them, they are just mentioned, they exist: they are normal. The resorts will not eternally be able to pride themselves on having sailing activities or a golf course to build up their image. But the ones without these activities will be behind the times.

Other coast and sailing resort clients: sportsmen and women

Sportsmen and women are attracted by at least one of the activities proposed by a sailing resort. They choose to practise their favorite sport during their holiday. They are active and enthusiastic. They usually practise their sport all the year round, different types (e.g. diving, sailing, waterskiing) close to their home, in a club or association.

The exclusive enthusiasts

Usually they have a passion for only one activity at a time and make it the main purpose of their holidays (in a group or alone). There are not many people who practise several water sports at the same time. Nevertheless, many people practise several activities depending on their age or on fashion (e.g. funboarders changing to diving or fishing ...) and not always in the same place. One single resort cannot be the ideal place for all activities. The sailing resort will have to be specialised.

What can be concluded concerning a tourist marketing policy?

Yes, sporting clients are able to stagger the season of a resort but with a low frequentation

rate. The resort must be organised in order not to close during the off-season.

No, the products proposed are not destined for any kind of clients. They are specialised products to be promoted and sold through specialised channels of distribution, such as sports stores, sports clubs, specialised magazines, etc.

3.3 Controlling regional planning

The coast is a limited heritage: the different partners responsible for its development are today aware of this. However, this means adopting an active protection policy and future space-saving constructions. Any new operation on the coast should follow strict rules and impose on the operators active responsibility for protection.

More severe building regulations

- Preserve green areas by the seaside where building is forbidden.
- Check the quality of constructions: clients nowadays demand quality constructions and are ready to pay the price.

The quality must be based on:

- traditional components: density, insertion, respect of technical prescriptions
- construction standards: number of square metres per flat, a ratio between common services (swimming pool, laundry, tennis courts, etc.) and the number of flats
- ecological standards: materials and energy, elimination of waste, etc.

Active responsibility of the operators to protect the coast

To preserve unbuilt areas is important, but it is not enough: they have to be kept in good condition. It seems normal that these plots of land should be looked after by the people who use them the most, even if they do not own them, because they are close to their property. Any building authorisation should oblige the owner to maintain the plots of land surrounding his property.

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INTRODUCTION

There is nothing more healthy in the context of our deliberations than to learn from our past mistakes. It seems very logical to me that recognising and understanding these mistakes is perhaps the first step towards gaining a deeper insight, and maybe proposing better and more realistic solutions, to the problem of conflicting interests/competition found in the various tourist areas literally dotting the Mediterranean coast.

One cannot help referring to the local scene every now and then, primarily as a comparative exercise but also as a means of justifying the ideas put forward. This paper has been consciously biased towards the built-up environment and its effects, basically reflecting my formative years as an architect and working experience as a planner.

For those of you who have never visited Malta, some basic facts about our islands are in order at this stage.

The Maltese islands fit snugly in the strait of Sicily between Italy and North Africa. The distance to the southern coast of Sicily is about 90 kms, and to the eastern Tunisian coast, 300 kms. The archipelago spans a length of 45 kms, with Malta as the largest island in the south (246 sq. km) and the island of Gozo (67 sq. km) in the north. The quaint islands of Comino and Cominotto, covering a total area

of 2.5 sq. km, are separated by the one kilometre wide north Comino Channel and the two kilometre wide south Comino Channel. Just 4.5 km off the southern coast of Malta, one can catch a glimpse of the tiny island of Filfla, which is only about 100 square metres in size. The Maltese islands which rise up steeply to a height of 253 metres above sea level, forming the emerged part of the north-east shoulder of the Pantelleria Rift which cuts through the shallow shelf platform connecting Europe with Africa (Illies, 1981).

But coming back to our subject, it was only during the early 1960s that the tourist trade really started to take on important proportions in the Maltese islands. Prior to 1960, tourism was, to all intents and purposes, a direct result of the presence of British services in Malta. Since then, the number of visitors has increased rapidly. In 1959, there were 12,583 visitors to the islands. This number rose to 38,380 in 1964 and, with an average annual growth rate of 25%, to just under 340,000 in 1976 and 517,864 in 1985. The latest figures for 1989 are 828,311. The Maltese population is currently 343,000. There is no denying the fact that from the economic point of view the Maltese islands have benefited generously from the tourist trade.

In 1972, the journalist Nigel Dennis had this to say about tourism in Malta:

"The tourist and the settler have been invited in with enthusiasm, to replace the sailor and the soldier, and to defend the poor from unemployment; the resulting invasion which bears no arms except money has done more damage in five years than was ever done in five thousand."

Simple but dramatic words, now even more appropriate after two decades of intensive construction work of all types which has disfigured, if not totally destroyed areas of great aesthetic value.

Some of you might question why we are gathered here to discuss a topic which at best is now long overdue for some of the developing countries in the Mediterranean. Irreparable damage has been done and, even sadder still, is still being done in countries which have been slow to recognise the perils. In recent years this damage has largely been due to the relatively new phenomenon of package holidays which, when taken together with the desire for more permanent summer residences, has led to the devastation of some of the finest areas, and especially coastal areas, in the Mediterranean.

THE MEDITERRANEAN SITUATION

The term "Mediterranean" literally means the sea in the middle of the earth. The acclaimed naturalist David Attenborough, popular for his television series, refers to the whole of the Mediterranean world as "humanity's first Eden" where "mankind's exploitation of the land began".

Eighteen countries border the 46,000 km of Mediterranean coastline. The predominant attraction of the Mediterranean, and particularly the islands, is the mild climate and the coastline. Of the 350 million who populate these countries, some 130 million live in the coastal regions. This figure is expected to rise to 200 million by the year 2000. Another 100 million or so tourists come to the Mediterranean shores every year for relaxation and recreation, making it the world's foremost

tourist area. What has arisen is a conflict between the local population and these tourists. This has generally led to a "windows on the sea" movement with the local population eager to retain some visual access to the water.

The Mediterranean coastline is, as one might assume, under severe strain from human activities, quality- as well as quantity-wise. Its fragility is emphasised when one considers that the waters of the Mediterranean are only slowly renewed through the straits of Gibraltar at a rate of about once every 80 years.

The Mediterranean has become more and more industrialised over the century and from its traditional role as a trade link, it has developed into a vital shipping link - more than half a billion tons of petroleum alone are carried over its waters every year.

But what exactly is happening to our coastlines? Does any one of us sincerely think that the average man in the street is aware that the Mediterranean, "il mare nostrum", is slowly dying?

This same "average" man is deploying industries on our coasts under the disguise of tourist development. He is polluting our sea with heavy metals, pesticides, organic and domestic effluents and radioactive pollution. He is also assuring that the pressure on coastal land resources which have played key roles in our world's economic and social development, particularly in the last few decades or so, will be kept up. But above all he is a man full of apathy and short-sighted greed.

Unfortunately it is this type of animal that we, particularly as planners, have to deal with whether we like it or not.

It so happens that the coastal areas, more than any others, are "the scene of intensive competition between public and private interests, between economic and environmental values and between diverse land and water uses: residence, business, industry, transportation, tourism/recreation and conservation".

These pressures are rarely compatible with the actual capabilities of the coastal environment and its natural resources.

As such, coastal areas must therefore be first on our priority list when discussing issues pertinent to the control of speculative interests vis-à-vis tourist areas as generators of mass tourism as a whole.

Following independence in the sixties, economic diversification became the password for Malta. Tourism was earmarked as a priority on the list of economic supporters. By 1979 however, it was already becoming clear that Malta was having to face the almost impossible task of preventing the numerous tourism-generated developments from destroying the very attractions that the tourist sets out to enjoy.

During the sixties and seventies a large proportion of the areas along the Maltese coastline with tourist potential were exploited. The stampede to attract foreign investment did not stop there. Growing economic returns and unrestrained competition between these new tourist centres, coupled with the overcrowding of the older, more established coastal areas has culminated in the development of sites previously considered inhospitable. In almost every coastal resort and village one can see the tentacles of building construction inching their way steadily along the shoreline. The result has been the disappearance of the amenities of large stretches of the coast, and the former freedom of access to and along them has been seriously jeopardised. The increasing prosperity of the country is bringing an increase of schemes for further development on a larger scale mostly located on or near the coast.

Throughout the world, development has sprawled steadily along the coastline imposing significant threats to this important natural resource. The aesthetic, psychological, social, economic and even metaphysical attractions of the coastlines have been major drives for the location of human activities in coastal areas. In Greek and Roman times respect for seaside

and lakeside topography led to imaginative planning in order to gain the advantage of scenic views, morning sun, protective moorings, terraced gardens, bathing pools, constructed walks, colonnades and porticos. Nowadays these, shall we call them natural design guidelines, are more often than not totally ignored. In this day and age the driving force is how to make the biggest profit with the least possible effort.

Quite often such speculative development is oriented to the most attractive, and ecologically most fragile settings. Of the world's ten largest metropolitan areas, seven border on existing or former coastal regions. The development of ports and related trade has accounted for much of the urban growth along coastal areas. As Cooley explains, the economies of transfer create a comparative advantage for the growth of urban centres. As trade expands, so do urban centres. This expansion often occurs along the coastline due to topographic and physiographic features, and the need for access to open space for leisure and recreation: Hong Kong, Rotterdam, New York, Lagos and Dammam are a few of many examples. It is not coincidental that Doxiadis' vision of Ecumenopolis 2100 AD closely follows the world's coastline.

Industrial development has been particularly focused on coastal areas for two main reasons: access to transport facilities and an inexhaustible supply of water. The establishment of industries in coastal areas has in turn attracted a whole range of secondary industries that use the products of the primary sector. These then attract support industries that take advantage of the agglomeration of economies created leading to further industrial development on the coast, and so on. This process has been called "matrimisation of the economy", meaning the shift of economic activities to the coast.

Tourism which is particularly oriented towards coastal areas has both positive and negative impacts on the economy of the region and its coastal environment. Every year the need for open space and leisure attracts millions of

people to the coastline. Rising incomes and expansion of leisure time account for a substantial increase in tourism, a large proportion of which is coast-oriented.

Tourism and tourism-related activities contribute significantly to regional employment and income but the coastal orientation of these activities often results in substantial competition for the use of the limited coastal resources. This competition manifests its most negative aspects both on the resources and economy of coastal areas.

The Maltese economy has as its three mainstay sectors: **INDUSTRY, AGRICULTURE** and **TOURISM**. All three are, to a certain degree, inter-related. A continual increase in tourist flow over the years has resulted in:

- a. a demand for holiday accommodation of all types and for improved recreational amenities;
- b. the necessity for an increased agricultural output, which has to contribute not only to the greater tourist demand, but also to a decreasing dependence on imported food material, and
- c. the inclusion of certain types of products in the national industrialisation programme.

All this seems to be a step in the right direction but I would venture to question the sacrifices we have made to satisfy the demand for holiday accommodation. Were they the most appropriate answer to this demand? What were the side effects of these strategies?

Does the fact that we have targeted our sights on "beach tourism" make it that much more difficult to compete with other "tourist" islands worldwide for the same market? A disregard for attractions that may be present in the island's interior is counter productive to creating initiative and a healthy economic base which is crucial to the tourism sector.

The type of tourist development created in any country is a reflection of the class of tourist attracted to that country. The ideal would be to react against this norm and design tourist centres which target the more desirable class of tourist - the higher spending, more educated visitor.

The average tourist who visits Malta has changed over the years. Soon after Malta shed its role as a military base in 1964 it became the holiday destination for British visitors who, to a large extent, still had nostalgic ties with the islands. Over the years the increasing number of tourists from other European countries, and even further afield, has served to swell this number. These people have a wide range of tastes all of which have to be catered for. In 1992 three main classes of tourist can be identified:

- i. the short-term visitor, ie mass tourism;
- ii. the semi-permanent or foreign resident, also known as the settler;
- iii. the domestic tourist, incorporating a substantial group of Maltese who religiously vacate their normal residences and go and live in second homes during the summer months.

Each class has specific needs, and unfortunately in meeting these needs there has been a lot of undesirable tourist development.

i. The short-term visitor

The whole of the traditional Maltese tourist industry centres around this class of tourist. The requirements of this sector demand the building of hotels, guest houses, holiday villages and holiday flats together with the necessary catering and leisure facilities such as restaurants, night clubs, beach and water developments.

In general, tourism of this nature produces beneficial economic results, but also mixed

social and environmental impacts especially on the coast.

Although hotels actually account for only a small part of the development generated by tourism, their impact on the landscape, mainly for reasons of scale, is usually very resounding especially when they are located on the coast.

Architecturally speaking, a good number of hotel projects in the last three decades have been of a high quality, if considered independently of their location. The American designed Hilton Hotel, which sprawls over a large stretch of coast to the east of Malta, bears no relation at all to the scale of the area in which it is located and in its time has been described as "one of the two most deplorable recent buildings of any prominence". Another example is the hotel complex which dominates the cliff top at Ghajn Tuffieha to the north-west of the island. No attempt was made to integrate this development with the site and as such it has become a garish reminder of a blinkered approach.

Among the projects where a positive building/site relationship has been successfully achieved is the hotel complex at Salina, on the east coast of Malta, which appears to grow calmly yet assertively from the rugged terrain. Further north, at Mellieha Bay, the Danish holiday village goes a long way to illustrate how developments of this kind can complement the environment. Far from dominating the skyline this complex is virtually camouflaged in the surrounding landscape, in spite of some weaknesses in its basic composition.

The number of beds in registered flats and villas, now estimated to be over 15,000, gives a good indication of the amount of building which has sprung up to meet the demand for this type of accommodation. The impact on the landscape from this kind of development has been much greater than from hotels, owing to the larger areas of land required. One only has to take a look at the built-up coastline of the Qawra promontory on the north-west of the island or the development on the headland

between St. Thomas Bay and Marsascula Bay to the south-east to get an idea of the problem. Furthermore, the traditional urban seafront - the English-inspired bay windowed, two-storied terraces, once so common in places like Sliema - is being replaced by monstrous blocks of ambiguous flats and apartments which are sprouting up to dwarf former dominant landmarks such as the village church.

The rehabilitation of vacant buildings, particularly buildings of historical importance which are found around the Maltese coastline, has been a very successful venture proving beneficial not only for the tourist sector but also for the local people as a whole. Two good examples of this may be found along Tower Road in Sliema with the conversion of a 19th century British fort and one of the 17th century coastal towers into catering establishments. Furthermore, when floodlit at night, landmarks such as these serve to enhance the environment.

ii. The foreign resident

Tax incentives, combined with the relatively cheap cost of land and construction, has made Malta an attractive place to set up residence - the island has a considerable reputation as a retirement retreat. The influx of these foreign residents has had a profound effect on the architectural character of most of the post-independence developments. The majority of the foreigners' idea of a "villa in the sun" is in direct contrast to local, traditional dwelling forms.

One very perceptive writer, himself a foreign resident, could not have described the phenomenon better when he wrote "the settler's house cannot fit into the landscape because he places outside the very features that used to be inside. Far from avoiding the sun, or contenting himself with the fact that it is always there, he comes south to satisfy what is virtually a lust. The plain cube with its small door and one or two small lights, is abhorrent to him, his front must be exposed to catch the maximum heat and glare; the glass doors and the larger windows of the court must be

dragged out and placed in the outerwalls. A small balcony of local stone, large enough to harbour two local gossips in the cool of an evening is totally inadequate for him; he must run his balcony round his whole front, making sure, however that it does nothing to prevent the sun from penetrating as far as possible into the rooms behind. Far from regarding his roof as a place for catching rainwater he sees it only as a plane on which to spread-eagle his blanched visitors who cannot afford to go back to the north without showing indisputable evidence that they had been to the south.

That this attitude to the Mediterranean is as vulgar as over-eating is simply a matter of opinion; what is a fact is that no southern landscape can satisfy it without destroying itself".

iii. The domestic tourist

The third group of tourists classified is the domestic group.

Domestic migration, especially to the beaches, is of considerable importance. The reasonable standard of living of the Maltese and the increased number of cars on the road are factors which, together with the tendency to "go to the beach" as a direct result of the increased number of foreign tourists, has caused a boom in domestic tourism. It has been a long-established custom among the Maltese to own or rent a "villegatura" house in one of the coastal urban areas. This demand for accommodation, coupled with the boom in the holiday flat business, has resulted in a continuous strip of development along the shore line.

Going through the tourist classification, an interesting point which springs to the fore is the capability or otherwise of an area to attract and accommodate its potential visitors and in what manner it promotes its own image locally and abroad.

The local situation as one might have gathered throughout this paper is one of unprecedented overdevelopment of tourism, placing undue

pressures on the environment. It necessarily leads to congestion, physical deterioration in facilities and services, inability to ensure quality, falling visitor totals or down-market substitution. The prospect is one of stagnation or decline. The situation can be halted or reversed with a major rethinking of national strategic policies if these have been proven defective and, along with this, an equally major overhaul of existing infrastructure and major intensive management of natural built attractions.

Speaking of national policies, not many of you may be aware that it was only the Building Permits (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1988 that provided for the drawing up of the first structure plan for the Maltese islands.

The history of planning in Malta is a treacherous one. Various attempts have been made over the years, particularly since the second world war, to establish some sort of proper planning on a sound footing. It has always somehow escaped us.

The structure plan and a parallel planning legislation is the most recent attempt. This time round, along with the previous problems of a very limited land supply, there are the known facts of a tourism industry almost three times the size of the population, the fact that we have applied for accession to the EEC and that environmental issues are now appearing on the national agenda. At the present stage both the plan and the legislation are about to be tabled in parliament. Interesting to note here are the three main goals of the structure plan:

1. To encourage the further social and economic development of the Maltese islands and to ensure as far as possible that sufficient land and support infrastructure are available to accommodate it.
2. To channel development activity and energy into existing and planned development areas through a programme of the rehabilitation and upgrading of the existing fabric and infrastructure,

thus constraining further inroads into undeveloped land.

3. To radically improve the quality of all aspects of the environment of both urban and rural areas.

Comparing these goals to the definition of sustainable development put forward by the Brundtland Commission in its report "Our common future", one cannot help seeing the parallels, although the thrust of the structure plan document is not specifically laid down as being in favour of sustainable development. The tourism development plan also puts forward a number of recommendations on how, in the specific field of tourism as a physical product, sustainable development can be achieved. These suggestions, to all intents and purposes, were adopted in the structure plan policies.

Until recently, the tourism sector was treated somewhat in isolation and its facilities catered for exclusively. The result was that the resources of the existing built environment and the natural heritage were not fully realising their potential. To put it simply, we were squandering our existing resources through neglect by trying to provide other new facilities for tourism.

The strategy for sustainability actually tries through the structure plan - if you will allow me the analogy to "kill two birds with one stone" - to provide the facilities and the needs for tourism (which is a life-line for the Maltese economy) and at the same time carry out the required improvements in the vast cultural heritage.

This basically means turning a "liability" into an asset.

This obviously requires creative approaches, which we hope can be achieved by this recent attempt at proper planning.

As a guide to possible approaches, the survey report on the structure plan for the Maltese island sets out three possible tourism development scenarios (for the year 2005) - the present trend scenario; the partially innovative model scenario, and the innovative model scenario. It is important to note that the first scenario basically involves the rationalisation of the traditional (model where the status quo is broadly preserved). The second scenario, which has a quantitative target, focuses on the gradual shifting from the present model to more planned development, whilst the third model has a qualitative target where innovative planning is channelled to improve existing tourist structure on mainland Malta and promote new qualitative development in Gozo.

All three scenarios tend to reinforce the trend towards holistic planning and foresight, which is not without its own dangers. Present patterns suggest that more reliance on experts, cost-benefit calculations and computers will be the order of the day and not the involvement of ordinary people. This is seen as an important aspect, as one can say that the environment does in fact belong to the local people and future generations. It is well worth keeping this Kenyan proverb as our guiding principle in our work:

"Treat the earth well. It was given to us by our parents, but loaned to us by our children."

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

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1. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND THE CONSERVATION OF THE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: AN ISSUE THAT CONCERNS THE PUBLIC INTEREST

Throughout its history the Mediterranean has been a crossroads enabling different civilisations, to exchange ideas, goods and techniques. As a result, it has its own characteristic landscape, but one as rich and diverse as the various civilisations and villages which developed there and the countries which now border on the sea.

The Mediterranean basin is thus a unit which, while being made up of sub-units, has an overall identity of its own in addition to its purely geographical identity: an identity which reflects a heritage of great value to all mankind in terms of nature, history and culture.

It is in the public interest, but particularly in the interests of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, that these assets should be protected and safeguarded. Nor should it be forgotten that, in addition to its historical importance, the Mediterranean basin has potential and resources for economic and social development.

Throughout history, the natural resources, cultural riches and temperate climate of the

Mediterranean area have attracted visitors and tourists.

Present-day mass tourism has produced a remarkable influx throughout the Mediterranean area, with the result that, despite a slight decline in the trend in recent years, tourism is more concentrated and is increasing faster in the Mediterranean area than anywhere else in the world.

In Spain, 80% of the 34.3 million foreign tourists who came in 1990 and 50% of the Spanish tourists were bound for the Mediterranean coast, which has 78% of the accommodation capacity of the Spanish coastline as a whole. 65% of camp site places and 63% of beds in small flats for tourists are on the Mediterranean coast.

All this brings undoubted economic and social benefits, but seriously threatens the environment and the cultural heritage in a variety of ways.

We are all familiar with the problems of coastal water pollution, air pollution, excessive water consumption, the emergence of concrete façades, over-building, the undermining of traditional land uses (farming, forestry and cattle), the threat to both natural and historic sites, the disappearance of indigenous species, and so on.

There is a growing awareness of these problems and the perpetrators of the damage are beginning to suffer the consequences. Tourism is falling off somewhat in the areas worst affected by environmental problems.

2. TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA IN THE CONTEXT OF CURRENT WORLDWIDE AND EUROPEAN TRENDS

Despite the reduction in tourist demand referred to above, the general tendency is to try and sustain tourism in the Mediterranean area, in a context that is favourable to tourism on account of the following factors:

- economic development;
- increased leisure;
- European integration;
- liberalisation in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe.

In addition to the constant influx of tourists into the Mediterranean area, there are qualitative changes in the market which must be taken into account because they affect the planning of tourist amenities. These changes include:

- The need for a higher standard of comfort and more attractive landscapes in tourist destinations.
- The need for higher-quality, more personalised tourist services. Increased critical awareness on the part of the tourist.
- Changes in tourist motivation patterns, resulting in a gradual decline in certain traditional tourist activities and the emergence of new activities. The following take precedence as motives: business, conferences, climate, nature, culture, etc.
- An increasing tendency for people to split up their holidays. This is leading to the development of new types of tourism and new destinations.
- Growing segmentation of demand: the specialised tourism on offer is becoming more structured, with the result that new

marketing schemes are emerging and what is on offer is becoming more personalised.

- Increased demand for information about what is on offer.
- Increase in urban tourism.

3. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE MEDITERRANEAN NATURAL HERITAGE: AN ISSUE THAT CONCERNS THE PUBLIC INTEREST

As a result of these changes- the fact that tourists are seeking greater variety and becoming more demanding - the policy in the various countries concerned is to reorganise what is on offer. Such policies are often very beneficial, since they are usually based on an improvement in the quality of tourist sites and their surroundings, the motive and basic objective being to improve the competitive position of the country concerned in the tourist market as a whole.

This objective, which is logical and legitimate from the point of view of each particular country, may be in contradiction with the actual basis for these reorganisation policies, mentioned above, namely to improve the quality of the environment.

Although, as has often been pointed out, the quality of the environment is becoming increasingly important in sustaining tourist demand, it must be borne in mind that unrestrained competition between countries to attract tourists may lead to a build-up of tourist developments which will eventually prevent the desired quality of the environment from being attained.

We must be aware that the Mediterranean is a unique natural and cultural ecosystem and that its environmental protection and conservation must be planned in an integrated fashion, not least because water and air pollution, the deterioration of biotopes and biocenoses and forest fires in the Mediterranean area are problems whose causes and effects extend beyond the actual place in which they occur.

It is because the Mediterranean is a virtually closed sea that it is essential to preserve a balanced renewal process. Renewal which is based on the influx of sea water from the Atlantic through the Strait of Gibraltar and of inland water from the rivers on the side of the strait can be impaired if the rivers bring in chemical pollutants or non-biodegradable waste (plastic, etc). Similarly, if urban waste is not treated, the sea will become so polluted that the pollution cannot be removed. The deterioration of the renewal capacity of the Mediterranean waters and the resulting pollution is, of course, a problem which concerns not only the particular area producing the waste but all the countries bordering on the Mediterranean.

As for air pollution, it is a well known fact that industrial fumes can be carried upwards by the wind and can fall into the sea as polluting atmospheric dust or acid rain in areas far away from the place where they were emitted.

The beaches and rocks can also be seriously damaged by polluting deposits thrown up by waves, very often from oil tankers which dump their products in the sea despite international bans.

Although the threat is not the same in all areas, the drift of the currents, atmospheric movements and very heavy sea traffic mean that the entire shoreline shares the same problems.

Tourism is not, of course, the cause of all these problems: in many cases industry and the chemical pollution it generates are much more serious factors. Nevertheless, tourism also generates waste that must be treated.

Tourism is, however, responsible to a large extent for the deterioration of the landscape, natural sites and beaches. Tourist developments have very often destroyed the balance between the sea and the coast, and at the same time led to erosion problems.

All the countries bordering on the Mediterranean have, in recent years, taken measures to deal with these problems. Such measures are, however, of only limited

effectiveness if they are one-off measures to repair the damage after it has occurred.

What is needed if the Mediterranean is really to be protected is an overall approach designed to counteract the causes and not the effects. Rather than take steps to prevent the erosion of dunes or beaches, it would be preferable to look, for example, for better sites for tourist activities. This means planning and co-ordinating policies so as to find suitable places and the appropriate intensity for each activity, especially tourism, and thus control the effects of the various uses and activities on the environment before the damage occurs.

In short, we must be aware of the fact that we have a joint duty to protect the Mediterranean - with its potential for tourist development, which is desirable for everyone, and as an economic and social resource - and that this is a task we must share.

Projects such as the Blue Plan and the Unesco MAB project are good examples of joint ventures, but it would seem necessary to go further and arrange for the countries bordering on the Mediterranean to draw up guidelines.

4. NEED FOR CO-ORDINATION AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PARTIES INVOLVED AND THE COUNTRIES PROMOTING TOURISM

While each country's ability to take decisions and entitlement to compete should be respected, it seems necessary to establish means of co-operation and reach a consensus on the following aspects in particular:

i. if tourist development planning is to be considered in the context of regional development and regional planning, it is first necessary to co-operate over the establishment of a coherent regional or physical planning framework. This means tackling such general issues as:

- the identification of areas and sites warranting special protection;

- the determination of the capacity to receive tourists of certain areas at least, if not general recommendations on the subject;
- establishment of restrictions on, or conditions for, the siting of polluting activities, with allowance being made for the fact that they can pollute the sea even if they are a long way from the coastline;
- general recommendations concerning the siting of activities, types of activities, their intensity and structural patterns;

ii. Co-ordination of rules or legislation concerning coastal protection. To this end, Spain passed the Coastline Act in 1988. Its main features are as follows:

- beaches and coastal areas have been clearly established as public property;
- the Act defines exactly what constitutes public property along the coastline, namely:
 - . the seashore and the shoreline, including:
 - * the sea/land interface, or the area between the low tidemark and the boundary reached by the waves during the most violent storms ever experienced. This area also extends to the river banks, as far as the effects of the tide are felt;
 - * marshes, lagoons and, in general, lowlands which are flooded by sea water;
 - * beaches and areas with deposits of free-moving substances such as sand, gravel and pebbles; dunes, with or without vegetation, formed by the action of the sea or the sea breeze or from other natural or artificial causes;
 - . territorial waters and inland waters, including the bed and subsoil, are defined and regulated by this special legislation;
 - . the natural resources of the economic area and the continental shelf are

defined and regulated by this special legislation;

- establishment of a protected strip 100 metres wide (which can be extended by a further 100 metres) where the following are prohibited:
 - * the construction of buildings for residential purposes;
 - * the building or altering of trunk roads and roads carrying more traffic than is permitted by the regulations and of service areas;
 - * activities that entail the destruction of deposits of aggregates;
 - * the discharge of solid waste, rubble and untreated waste water;
 - * advertising by means of posters, hoardings or acoustic or audiovisual methods;
- establishment of an influence area 500 metres wide with the following restrictions:
 - * by parts of the beach where there is access for traffic, areas of land will be set aside for car parks in sufficient quantity to ensure that people can park outside the area through which there is a right of way;
 - * buildings must conform to town planning legislation. The formation of concrete walls and over-building must be avoided: to this end, the density of building must not exceed the average for the land set aside for urban development or suitable for such purposes in the municipality in question;
 - * prior authorisation is required for the award of planning permission or permission to discharge waste along the coastline, which is public property;
- establishment of a right of way through a strip running six metres inland from the shoreline. This area must always be kept clear to allow pedestrians and surveillance

and rescue vehicles to pass through, except in specially protected areas;

- provision whereby regional and town planning ensure access to the coast. To ensure that the public have access to the coastline, which is public property, regional and town planning regulations concerning the coastline - provide, except in areas singled out for special protection - for adequate access to the sea and for car parks outside the coastal strip which constitutes public property. In urban areas and areas likely to undergo urban development, access roads for traffic must be not further than 500 metres apart and paths for pedestrians not more than 200 metres apart. All access roads and paths must be signposted and opened to the public on completion;

The land needed to provide or modify other means of access to the sea for the public and car parks (not covered by the preceding paragraph) is to be declared necessary in the public interest so that the state authorities can expropriate it or impose a right of way.

In any event, constructions and installations likely to hinder access to the sea are prohibited.

- regulations governing offences and sanctions.

iii. Co-ordination and consultation over transport and communication infrastructure for the purposes of establishing an operationally consistent framework.

iv. Joint environmental impact studies and pollution control and environmental protection programmes, plans or projects, covering such aspects as:

- establishment of minimum requirements for the treatment of waste and pollution measurement limits;

- establishment of common limits for the emission of air pollutants;
- measures to preserve the Mediterranean landscape by preventing erosion; changes in the relationship between the coast and the sea, and the disappearance of indigenous flora.

v. Establishment of discussion bodies and think tanks, and means whereby countries can exchange information.

It should be remembered that tourism implies exchange between the inhabitants of various countries and that the situation in each country as regards level of economic development, leisure and holiday facilities, and so on affects the number of tourists and the strategies to be pursued.

Accordingly, knowledge and discussion of the general situation, together with an awareness that common interests and objectives exist, will undoubtedly make for tourist development based on realistic, responsible competition. Countries will be aware of the potential of each activity but will not launch into a frantic race ending in disaster, which would be damaging both to the Mediterranean area as a whole and to the socio-economic situation in each country.

vi. Joint information campaigns to help the public gain an insight into the cultural and natural assets of the Mediterranean area and promote awareness and a responsible attitude among tourists, so that rather than damaging the environment they actively contribute to its conservation.

All this is designed to establish a link with the historical process which made the Mediterranean area what it is: a cultural crossroads which, without sacrificing the identity of each culture, with its wealth of diversity, forms a harmonious whole based on an in-depth knowledge of local conditions and the area's history, potential and limitations.

**THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA:
HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE
COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS**

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**INTER-REGIONAL CO-OPERATION FOR THE DEVELOPMENT
OF A NEW FORM OF MEDITERRANEAN TOURISM**

INTRODUCTION

I intend with my presentation to give a contribution on the understanding of the potential represented by inter-regional co-operation for regional development.

Co-operation between regional communities was initiated on a voluntary basis at the beginning of the 1970s, when it was realised that there was an institutional vacuum in the European regions. This co-operation developed rapidly with the creation of large European inter-regional associations which supplied the appropriate tools and the legal framework: it was, all the same, an opinion movement whose only financial resources were the membership fees of the regions.

The first financing was supplied by art. 10 of EEC regulation 4254/88 relative to ERDF: it is a limited financial support, but it has nevertheless rendered possible the implemen-

tation of ambitious projects and we hope that the second "Reform of Structural Funding" will add the necessary impetus to this tool.

I mention this now because one of the most significant projects financed by art. 10 is that for the development of Mediterranean tourism, co-ordinated by the CPMR (Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of the EEC) Inter-Mediterranean Commission, with the participation of French, Greek, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese regions.

As the Executive Secretary of the Inter-Mediterranean Commission, I should like to sketch a general outline of the project to demonstrate to what extent inter-regional co-operation can contribute to European integration and regional development.

The CPMR and its Inter-Mediterranean Commission

The "Conference of Peripheral and Maritime Regions" was founded in 1973 in Saint-Malo by the delegations of 23 EEC regions. At present, it has 65 member regions among the least developed in Europe (which has put together in a single organ all the regional organisations and all the east and west European regions).

Inasmuch as they are "peripheral", the member regions have more or less the same structural handicaps: geographical distance, under-industrialisation, under-development, low standard of living. But coastal regions all have the same asset: the sea, which in the past has been the basis of their prosperity and which might again perform an essential role in the reintroduction of the inter-continental and European economies.

The CPMR, therefore, has performed a leading role in the achievement of European regionalism and it carries out an important role in the AER (Assembly of European Regions). It carries out many specific actions, all intended to bear in mind the lack of balance between the centre and the periphery and to assert the principle of economic and social cohesion.

For a better work organisation, the CPMR was divided into 4 working Commissions: the Islands Commission, the North Sea Commission, the Atlantic Arc Commission and the Inter-Mediterranean Commission.

The latter obtained from the Commission of the European Community, DG XVI, the co-financing of the project called "the creation of networks of tourist services in the Mediterranean area".

Why the choice of tourism?

Tourism is quickly becoming the largest industry in the world and since the 1970s has represented one of the fastest growing economic sectors. This trend has major implications for those areas where tourism has

traditionally been a significant sector in the economic activity of the regions.

Moreover, tourism has an importance over and above the amount of revenue and total employment it produces. Tourism is a producer of cultural and political integration, thanks to its promotion of integration and mutual understanding. The explosion of tourist traffic in the Community has contributed to creating the "Europe of the people", moulding public opinion and the notion of European integration.

The regions, nevertheless, have pointed out that the EEC, so far, has not paid sufficient attention to such an important sector for development.

The need for a common tourism policy is evident in its globality, and inter-regional co-operation can be instrumental in this development.

In most cases, the regions in the Mediterranean area have been affected by a significant decrease in tourist flows. The recent trend shows that tourism is in continuous decline in the EEC countries, whereas it is increasing in the non-EEC countries and, presently, in eastern European countries as well.

As far as the evolution of supply and demand is concerned among the factors responsible for this decline, the following can be singled out:

- the increasing pollution due to unplanned and uncontrolled development;
- the concentration of tourists in certain regions and during certain periods of the year, affecting the needs of both local population and tourists themselves;
- uncontrolled urbanisation;
- the destruction of sites;
- the worsening of quality-price ratio, especially if compared to the non-EEC countries;
- the inadequate transport;

- the lack of co-ordination among the smallest hotels, for example the lack of a common booking network;
- the persistent flow of crowds on the beaches and the incapacity to offer an adequate response to an increased demand for outdoor tourism (nautical activities, rural tourism, etc)
- the supremacy of uncontrolled marketing criteria on the new needs for a higher standard of living;
- insufficient opening to foreign markets.

The present project represents a first attempt to give an answer to some of these problems. It is built upon a basic principle: the passage from a form of undifferentiated, mass tourism to a tourism of quality, respectful of the environment, based on the enormous historical, cultural and archaeological heritage of the Mediterranean area, in order to propose a more human and true use of our great sea.

Nature and general goals of the project

For the most part, tourist policies have been left in the hands of national governments, despite the fact that a policy change in one country might have a strong impact on the flow of tourists towards other countries. In addition, tourism is part of the service sector which, up to now, has not been covered by any international agreement and is riddled with non-tariff barriers.

The potential role which tourism can play in the development of the weakest regions suggests that the EEC should assume an increasingly important role in developing an overall regional economic strategy aimed at the non-industrial parts of the Community, especially in the Mediterranean area.

Left unchecked, however, tourism can destroy the natural environment and other local economic sectors, intensifying the quantity instead of favouring the quality.

Thus, the choice of an appropriate form of tourist development is an integral part of any

policy aiming at promoting long-term regional, economic and social development.

The solutions will have to respect the environmental needs and the local population's traditional values, as well as attaching great importance to inter-regional co-operation.

Specific objectives: networks

In this perspective, the CPMR Inter-Mediterranean Commission is carrying out a project based on the following three lines of action:

- small- and medium-sized touristic ports
- tourist and cultural itineraries
- rural tourism

The goal is to create inter-regional links and service networks in these three sectors, promoting also the creation of telematic networks, inter-regional consortia and agencies, joint ventures, etc.

The first sector takes into account the need for an efficient network of communication facilities and related services in an essentially maritime area. The second takes into consideration the enormous historical and cultural heritage of the Mediterranean area, to be used for tourist purposes, in the best and most coherent manner, respecting the environment, which is one of the most beautiful in the world. For the third sector we propose the development of a form of natural tourism, still marginal in southern Europe.

a) Small- and medium-sized tourist ports

As far as ports are concerned, we have already mentioned that many of them lack appropriate facilities. There is no general map of the existing ports listing the facilities available. There is no telematic network linking the ports (information, bookings, data banks, etc). The evolution of the users has not been analysed: this is important for the future of a sector which can move from an exclusive tourism to a more accessible form of tourism but, all the same, more educated and more concerned about nature.

b) Tourist and cultural itineraries

The Mediterranean cultural heritage has been badly used and often over-exploited, rather than well used for the development of a form of tourism on a human scale.

There is no need to speak further on this subject as it is very well known. Tourist traffic is controlled by international tour operators, with the obvious single motivation of profit; therefore, the Mediterranean regions have no control either of the tourist flows or of the way their territory is used for tourist purposes.

The proposal to exploit cultural and touristic itineraries for tourist purposes is not recent; it has developed despite the failures due to the lack of adequate support policies and of sound theoretical preparation.

Now, the regions should get together in order to discuss this subject, investigating thoroughly the theoretical models, refining the operational models, experimenting computer networks; all this in order to offer mankind an extraordinary cultural and natural heritage.

c) Rural tourism

This form of tourism has developed much less in the Mediterranean regions than in the other EEC regions. The reasons for this limited development should be analysed to develop a form of tourism responding to the ever more felt needs for outdoor life and for a lifestyle closer to the nature of man.

CONCLUSION

The networks should not be seen as a technical tool used to improve the structures and increase the income, but as the conclusive result of a set of methodological, quantitative and qualitative actions based on inter-regional co-operation. These actions, with the comprehension and the commitment of Mediterranean, public and private tour operators, should lead to a positive transformation of tourist "philosophy" and "procedures".

Therefore we must tackle a problem important for the tourist policies. Today's international tourist industry is led by the oligopolies of the major tour operators who manage to control the demand and to direct tourist flows only on market-based criteria.

The regions should therefore consider re-organising the supply of tourist services. In order to do this the contribution of the regions will be beneficial.

Co-operation would help small-sized enterprises to face competition, to enter new and distant markets, to organise the supply of services, to increase productivity, to extend the tourist season, to receive loans with less difficulties, to facilitate and render more efficient promotional campaigns, technical assistance and training.

In short, it is evident that co-operation consolidates the ties between the peoples and facilitates European integration.

THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA: HOW TO CURB THE UNRESTRAINED AND SOMETIMES IRRESPONSIBLE COMPETITION BETWEEN TOURIST AREAS TO ATTRACT VISITORS

REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS

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1. INTRODUCTION

Expectations of high profit and income as a result of tourist activity are inherent in the development patterns of many Mediterranean countries, and are to be found at the root of multiple interactions with other sectors or areas of economic activity, with positive but also negative results. The tourist market has created development pressures which have resulted in serious imbalances and excesses in the distribution of tourism and its wealth at two levels: the first concerns the wider geographical context of the Mediterranean, and the second the territory of a country, island or region.

2. In 1986, out of the 160 million tourists who spent their holidays in the Mediterranean basin, 135 million chose the west, 16 million the east, 4.5 million the south and 4 million the middle-east. Although these figures alone cannot be directly interrelated, they show that the largest share of the tourist flow to the Mediterranean is attracted to its western part. Yet in this part of the Mediterranean, places exist with very low figures of tourist

frequentation, such as for instance the island of Corsica.

3. Cyprus, on the other hand, lies in the eastern Mediterranean, but enjoys a very high level of tourist frequentation in relation to its population and size. In 1992, two million tourists are expected to spend their holidays in the free part of the Cyprus Republic, which has a population of approximately 720,000 and occupies an area of just over 6,000 sq. kms. These tourists will be concentrated mainly in certain urban and rural coastal areas where they will enjoy the sea, the sun and the night-life in a congested and commercial environment, while other parts of the island, just as attractive and inviting - if not more - are neglected in every respect.

4. PERIPHERAL IMBALANCES

There is no doubt that the selling tourist product is the combination of sun and sea. This explains why 90% of the island's total number of beds, estimated at 75,000, are concentrated

in the coastal areas. Furthermore, this concentration of beds and tourist activity in the coastal areas is not uniform geographically or even in relation to the distribution of population. Over one-third of this figure, equivalent to approximately 25,000 beds, is located at Ayia Napa and Paralimni, two coastal settlements which share a population of only 8,000.

5. The Ayia Napa and Paralimni phenomenon is representative of the unrestrained tourist development and the irresponsible competition between tourist areas to attract visitors. Ayia Napa was a poor and small agricultural and fishing village which, within a period of ten years, has turned into the major tourist resort of the island due to its beautiful sandy beaches, turquoise sea and picturesque setting. The potential hazard of unplanned development is most apparent here, since little remains of the traditional character of the village apart from a stone Venetian monastery which now rests uncomfortably amidst a mélange of holiday apartments and hotels, tavernas and restaurants, discothèques and souvenir shops. For the population of Ayia Napa, tourism has been a gold mine, providing them with almost unlimited business opportunities and raising their per capita income from the lowest in the island to the stunning figure of \$80,000 in 1990, compared to the national average of \$8,000.

6. The over-concentration of tourist activity in certain coastal regions cannot be attributed solely to the natural attractions of these areas, as some of them are not even half as attractive as other undeveloped coastal regions. The factors which have led to this situation are attributed to the insight, initiative, persistence and political pressure exerted by these communities to secure tourist development rights at an early stage, and their proximity to existing service centres, the airport and their easy accessibility. Once tourist development sets in and is consolidated, it acquires such a momentum which is very difficult to arrest because of the strong economic and political sensitivities towards existing commitments. Good management, effective promotion and

publicity abroad have paid dividends. Even congestion is sometimes tolerable, creating a congenial environment on the beach, social opportunities and a bustling night life; what, however, cannot be tolerated is the degradation of the natural and built environment, pollution and poor service.

7. There is no doubt that this unbalanced distribution of tourist activity and wealth creates extreme concentration of activity in some areas and stagnation in others. Peripheral imbalances and the flow of the labour force from the less active regions to the more dynamic ones signals the economic collapse of the less fortunate areas. This phenomenon of internal migration for employment in tourism mainly concerns younger people; older people stay behind and become the dominant age group of less active regions which are deprived of future possibilities for growth.

8. SECTORAL FRICTIONS

High rates of tourist growth are usually associated with labour force shortages, which are most apparent and acute in industry, building construction, agriculture and tourism itself. Cyprus is faced with this problem and the level of unemployment has fallen below 2%, with an abrupt increase of vacancies in all sectors. This situation is alarming as it is likely to cause serious frictions and problems between the various sectors of employment, resulting in higher salaries and inflation, economic instability and polarisation, degradation of the quality of products and the services provided, and demographic upheavals, internal migration and mismanagement of national resources.

9. As a result of tourist activity, three distinct social classes have emerged: a) the very rich entrepreneurs, hoteliers and tourist operators searching for new markets and development sites, b) the servants of the system, coming from agriculture, the building sector and the manufacturing industry and c) the many shopkeepers, café, restaurant and discothèque owners, whose businesses are thriving because of their involvement in the tourist market.

10. ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND SIDE EFFECTS

The scale of investment and range of economic activity of tourist development are considerably higher than what the island has been accustomed to. High annual profits from the tourist industry are reinvested in new hotel development, resulting in a vicious circle where the rich get richer. This affluence associated with the tourist industry, the shortage of labour and the low value of the Cyprus pound against other European currencies and the dollar have resulted in an increase in the cost of living and salaries. This situation has adversely affected industrial production and building efficiency, and many firms have found themselves on the verge of collapse. The low rate of unemployment and the ever-increasing demands of tourism for labour supply will create a serious economic crisis in the near future. The whole ensemble of central government machinery has to face this problem and work towards the effective implementation of corrective, long-term policies.

11. SOCIAL EFFECTS

The national average ratio of local residents to tourists on a peak day in 1987 was 10.4:1 and by 1993 is expected to be about 6:1. In regions of acute tourist activity concentration, this ratio is likely to fall below 1:1 which is unacceptable by any standards. Together with environmental tolerance, one should also consider the social tolerance of tourist infiltration. The traditional social structure and equilibrium is being threatened by the increasing proportion of tourists compared to the local population during average peak periods. Experts on this subject advocate that the approximate ratio of six local residents to one tourist is the minimum acceptable ratio for desired social integration.

12. TOURISM AND NATIONAL RESOURCES

The need to secure an adequate water supply for tourist development purposes cannot be reconciled with the need to supply cheap water for agricultural purposes, regardless of huge

investments in the construction of dams and desalination plants. Extensive government commitments in land consolidation and irrigation projects to upgrade agricultural production have not paid off, because options for tourist development and employment offered higher profits. Investments in infrastructure are badly needed to satisfy primary tourist, industrial, agricultural or service needs. These needs sometimes have conflicting requirements and decisions are difficult to reach; invariably they favour tourist needs.

13. GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

The Town and Country Planning Law and the National Tourist Policy which came into force in December 1990, have attempted to promote, regulate and control tourist development on an island-wide basis. The most significant element of the overall approach has been the rationalisation of the intensity and distribution of tourist development and the strengthening of nature conservation on a local and island-wide scale. The intensity, distribution quality and orientation of the tourist product have been re-evaluated in the light of the prevailing problems and within their economic and physical context. The strategies adopted in this respect aim at slowing down the rate of tourism growth, correcting or at least reducing peripheral imbalances and sectoral conflicts and improving and diversifying the tourist product. The means to achieve these goals are provided by the regional and urban planning provisions of the development plans and the statutory provisions and regulative orders of the National Tourist Policy. Economic planning policies and development programmes, fiscal policies, taxation and other levies adopted by the central government are also related to the implementation of the above goals, as they may act as incentives or disincentives to investment and guide development in this respect.

14. TOURIST GROWTH AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

During the last ten years the island has enjoyed internal and external political stability and the annual rate of growth of the economy has been

about 6%. The island's 1989-93 five-year development plan envisages a rate of growth of the Gross National Product in the region of 5%, calculated in constant 1985 values. Beyond 1993 and taking into account the restricted potential of the island in labour supply and its limited market, the GNP rate of growth is expected to fall to 4%. A prerequisite to achieve this goal of a balanced national economy is the curtailment of tourism's contribution to the GNP which, at 1993 levels, is estimated at 11-12%. This means that the annual increase of the value added of the tourist sector must follow the corresponding figure for the rest of the economy, which is about 4%. This rate of growth, taking into account an increase in per capita expenditure and a longer tourist period, corresponds to an increase in the expected number of tourist arrivals from 2,000,000 this year to about 2,800,000 in the year 2003. This corresponds to an increase of just over 4% per year. Similarly, the number of beds is expected to increase from 75,000 in 1992 to 105,000 in the year 2003, taking into account a typical annual occupancy rate of about 60%. If tourist activity does not slow down to the desired level, the economy, social structure and natural and cultural heritage of the island will suffer catastrophic upheavals and alienations.

15. ENVIRONMENTAL TOLERANCE AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The proposed redistribution of tourist activity and development takes into account two very important aspects when attempting to reconcile conflicts: environmental tolerance and tourist development potential and the distribution of population and employment. The intensity of tourist development and activity must be compared to the physical tolerance of the coastal and inland areas used for this purpose. Various expert advisers, who have dealt with this issue, have estimated that the desired threshold of tourist arrivals in Cyprus is about 1,700,000. This figure does not mean much in itself, since it is not related to the duration of the visitors' stay, time phasing, or locational distribution. These issues have to be considered further before attempting to make any serious estimations on this subject.

16. Bearing in mind the provisions of the adopted National Tourist Policy, which aim for the environmental upgrading of the product, its diversification and the encouragement of inland and thematic tourism, it appears that the critical issue with regard to establishing the optimum volume, intensity and distribution of tourist activity in Cyprus is not the environmental tolerance, but the employment potential. In the foreseeable future, the problems arising will be related to the availability of labour rather than environmental tolerance and capacity. Certain overdeveloped and overexploited areas may have exceeded their environmental tolerance level, but this cannot be said for the rest of the island. The environmental tolerance of the beaches still remains an important issue, and a national survey and study have been conducted in order to define the number of tourist beds a beach can sustain without any environmental deterioration. Allowance has been made for the use of the beach by local residents.

17. UPGRADING EXISTING DEVELOPMENT

The areas which have until now enjoyed exceptionally high levels of tourist activity on the south and south-east coast are reaching saturation, which if not harnessed and corrected will lead to degradation and decline. The halting of additional tourism activity in these already congested areas is one of the primary targets of the tourist policy. A series of disincentives have been adopted, concerning the minimum size and shape of prospective tourist development sites, low plot ratio provisions, increased open spaces and amenity requirements and severe restrictions on finance and taxation. Tourist development in these areas, even if complying with the above restrictions, will be of a standard that is likely to enhance the overall tourist product. If the desired rate of growth of 4% is to be maintained, these already developed areas must have a much lower rate of growth in order to allow for higher rates in the less developed areas and achieve a balanced distribution. The tourist policy adopted also emphasises the need to upgrade the environment, infrastructure, services and level of amenities in the overdeveloped areas, and calls for action to be

undertaken by local authorities, the competent government departments and services and the private sector. This action, however, lacks effective co-ordination, financial means and statutory powers, and has been undertaken by the parties involved in a casual way without specific terms of reference.

18. PLANNING FOR NEW TOURIST DEVELOPMENT

The semi-developed west coast and especially the undeveloped free north coast of the island, have better possibilities for tourist development, because it is hoped that the last decade of mistakes and lessons learned will contribute to better planning, better utilisation of the natural resources and to an integrated tourist product of a higher quality. It is hoped that the development plans, action area schemes and detailed studies which have been prepared for these areas and the comprehensive and compatible provisions of the planning, tourist and economic policies adopted, will contribute to achieving the desired goals of balanced and integrated tourist development. It is hoped that, for the first time, development activity will follow planning, which in this case has the possibility of being active and creative rather than reactive.

19. THE DIVERSIFICATION OF THE TOURIST PRODUCT

The new orientation of tourist policies is likely to provoke the visitor into discovering the island's culture, history and natural beauty and to turn him away from the congested coastal areas, so that he will not feel like a stranger but participate in the life of Cyprus. A positive contribution in this direction is provided by the promotion of suitable forms of tourist development in traditional inland villages and sites of interesting historic, cultural and natural importance. The scope of this tourist product is not orientated towards the sun, sea and sand but towards the historic, cultural and natural richness of the island, so that a unique identity can be offered to counter that of a faceless cosmopolitan seaside resort.

20. The diversification of the tourist product must be accomplished in relation to its

location, type and market. The planning distribution of tourism according to the potential of human and natural resources, environmental tolerance and the utilisation of the inland attractions of the mountain resorts will reduce, if not resolve, regional frictions and peripheral imbalances of tourist activity distribution and minimise congestion. The desired diversification of the tourist product can be further expanded by encouraging and creating tourist complexes with a thematic context (golf, horse riding, sports and athletic grounds, etc.) in attractive locations. This further diversification will, thanks to the mild winter climate, attract sports enthusiasts and professional athletes (football, track and field, etc.) to train during this period when the rest of Europe is freezing. This kind of tourist product, for exclusive and high income clients, will stretch the tourist season through the winter months and increase the occupancy rate of tourist beds; furthermore, it will increase the competitiveness of this vulnerable product.

21. Further savings in the labour force can be achieved by the upgrading and optimum expansion in the bed provision of existing hotel complexes and by the encouragement of agritourism and family tourist businesses in attractive villages. These savings will provide an adequate labour force required in luxury hotels, so that the diversification and upgrading of the tourist product can be complete.

22. The creation of facilities such as golf courses, sports grounds, marinas and anchorages, conference centres and casinos, at present completely lacking, will complete the diversification of the product and its ambience and will contribute towards a balanced distribution of income. Furthermore, it will boost the already high rate of repeat/business tourism which Cyprus enjoys and will divert clients to the capital, Nicosia, which is the only town away from the sea.

23. The target of the Cyprus Tourism Organisation towards upper class tourism and luxurious hotels has merit, as it combines higher incomes with lower environmental loading. However, this should not be an excuse to neglect the middle and lower income groups in order to gain a wider share of the market

and use the complete range of tourist products and services, not all of which are impeccable. Finally, a safeguard against the danger of over-diversification and over-provision should be the long-term relationship between capital investment and return.

24. TOURISM AND ITS INFRA-STRUCTURE

The upgrading of the tourist product will not only depend on the improvement of existing tourist accommodation, but also on the immediate built and natural environment, infrastructure (national and local), service provision and level of amenities in the area. This upgrading is best achieved through the implementation of comprehensive projects which will embody the above. The financial implications of these necessary interventions will have to be shared between local authorities, central government and the owners of tourist businesses who benefit from them, and according to formulas which can be worked out. Sharing the costs of these improvements and the environmental upkeep of the area could become a statutory prerequisite for the renewal of tourist operation licences.

25. Coastal improvement schemes are also required to increase the capacity of the beaches and improve the environment, especially in congested areas. These schemes involve the expansion of existing sandy and pebble beaches, the creation of new sandy beaches, the construction of acceptable breakwaters, the use of rocky beaches, etc. The creation of landscaped open spaces, sports facilities, water parks and ancillary amenities adjacent to the coastal strip will not only enhance the environment and the variety of provisions for entertainment and recreation, but also decongest the beach.

26. CONCLUSIONS

The island's natural environment, natural resources and ecological wealth must be

adequately protected so that the physical identity of the island is preserved. Its cultural identity and history must also be conserved, and projected not only in textbooks but also in living and flourishing traditional village settlements, village squares, revived urban historic cores and other buildings of historic importance. The country's fascinating legends, customs, traditions and artistic heritage must be preserved and projected so as to complete the identity of the island. Cypriots, although hospitable, good-mannered and highly educated in general, lack experience and specialised knowledge with regard to the requirements of tourism, mainly because of the absence of such a historical background. The number, quality of service and specialisation of tourist personnel must be improved if the targets for higher income tourism and diversification of the tourist product are to be met.

27. Tourism will inevitably continue to be the leading sector in the island's economy, regardless of attempts to harness its rate of growth at lower than 4%. This target figure can very easily be exceeded in view of the high development pressures and the prevailing economic and political attitudes favouring free enterprise. On the other hand, the recent Gulf crisis has shown that the low figure of arrivals in 1991 (less than 1,000,000) has not only put hoteliers and tourist operators into economic difficulty, but has also created a scare in future investment. The simplest answer, but perhaps the most difficult to achieve, is that of diversified economy based on balanced investments. It is also certain that new tourist accommodation has to be competitive in quality, diversified in provision and less labour intensive, and that amenities, culture and the natural environment are now valued more than ever, probably because they are on the verge of disappearance.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAIR ON THEME 2:

"The sustainable development of tourism in the Mediterranean area: how to curb the unrestrained and sometimes irresponsible competition between tourist areas to attract visitors

1. Tourism is an important source of wealth for a number of countries; it enables them to enhance their natural and cultural resources; it contributes to the development of certain regions where other profitable activities are hardly possible; it opens up prospects for future economic development; it offers urban populations, obliged to live and work in a tiring and frequently inhuman environment, the opportunities they need to escape from their surroundings.

2. International competition directly affects tourism in Europe and gives rise to a problem of competitiveness owing to the cost of labour, older hotel buildings, and certain stricter and increasingly onerous standards.

Tourism in Europe is declining, whereas tourism to other continents is on the increase. This trend is perhaps encouraged by the attempt to escape from one's surroundings; it can also be explained by the pursuit of quality tourism which has ceased to exist in a large number of tourist areas in Europe (environment, hospitality, tranquillity, differentiation, etc).

A revival of competitiveness in European tourism will depend on improved quality, differentiation in the services offered to cater for tourists' tastes, the enhancement of local tourist attractions, and a better adaptation of supply to developments in demand.

3. In the interest of all citizens, tourist operators should not be given an entirely free

hand in developing tourism. Experience shows that without a general framework, the type of tourism which tends to evolve is organised, mass tourism, concentrated in a limited number of places so as to reduce costs, and offering services of a standardised and uniform quality.

Uncontrolled development of tourism inevitably leads to short-term maximisation of profits, unrestrained competition between countries, regions and municipalities in order to increase tourist numbers at all costs, and the progressive destruction of the fundamental factors on which tourism is based.

4. Tourism must not be regarded solely as a continually expanding economic activity. It also has to be considered as a form of consumption which has given rise to substantial investment - often subsidised and badly used - and which has also over-exploited non-renewable "natural capital".

In future, a better balance between the positive aspects of tourism and the need to safeguard the sources of that tourism warrants the introduction of the widest possible planning powers, so as to ensure harmonious, self-financing and sustainable development of tourism.

5. The preservation of the natural, historical and architectural environment, which constitutes the very source of tourism, calls for control by public authorities of regional planning and construction permits, as well as the completion of studies into their general

impact (not only on the environment) prior to the development of any new large-scale tourist projects.

National or European assistance for any tourist development ought to be accompanied by the requirement to install appropriate facilities to safeguard the environment; such facilities ought as far as possible to be jointly set up between tourist centres.

6. Although tourist policy frequently comes within the purview of local or regional authorities, co-operation and a co-ordination of European, national and regional tourist policies is essential if unrestrained competition is to be avoided between municipalities, regions and states.

It is vital for states to adopt national legislation defining those tourist activities which are damaging to the environment, particularly in vulnerable areas, minimal standards to be complied with in the construction of major tourist projects, maximum capacities in sensitive tourist areas, and standards making it possible to ensure that they are complied with.

It is probably at the regional level that specific suggestions should be made for joint co-

operation and action, which could then be presented to the central and European authorities.

7. Particularly in the Mediterranean region, where extremely intensive seasonal tourism causes substantial and sometimes irreversible damage to the environment, the ecological balance of the Mediterranean, an enclosed sea, is especially vulnerable; it is therefore a matter of urgency for the tourist states in the Mediterranean basin to co-ordinate their tourist policies. They have to define a joint, long-term development strategy which prevents excessive exploitation of natural resources, establishes regulations conducive to guaranteeing medium/long-term harmonious development of tourism compatible with the protection of the environment, and precludes any form of unrestrained competition between tourist areas at the expense of the environment.

Quality tourism is expensive, more expensive than many types of mass tourism which are currently very widespread.

Tourist development policies must not be carried out at the expense of future generations' rights to tourism in an intact environment.

THEME 3

RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

CHAIRMAN: Mr PARISI
Chairman of the Commission of Environment, Regional
Planning and Local Authorities of the Parliamentary
Assembly of the Council of Europe

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RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

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I. INTRODUCTION

From the challenges facing European society of the year 2000 to a strategy for ecological, social tourism

The three traditional factors of production are land, labour and capital. And in the case of tourism, the new term for "land", is "the environment". Current trends echo Genesis: heaven, earth and man, and the importance of all three co-existing in harmony.

One of the main challenges facing modern industrial society is the need to find a **new balance between development and conservation**. The era of wastage must give way to an era of thrift, and the spontaneity of the past must be replaced by planning. Quality and sustainability are linked in an equation - with several unknown factors.

Rural areas represent a promising area of future development but also one which is

mortgaged to the hilt. What we need to do is convert these mortgages into assets by expressing clear political determination and making appropriate resources available.

Rural tourism appears to represent a potential stabilising factor for both rural areas and community-based leisure. Accordingly, strategies must be devised to promote the development of ecological, social tourism. This is one of the main challenges facing Europe today.

II. THE LEISURE CIVILISATION AND THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL REALITY OF EUROPE

As a result of technological progress, higher productivity, rising wages and the gradual reduction of the working week, together with the general introduction, and subsequent gradual extension, of paid holidays from 1936

onwards, tourism ranks among the significant social developments of the modern world. It accounts for the greatest mass migration of all times. However, although it is a widespread phenomenon with a momentum of its own, it remains sensitive to cyclical trends in the economy and is concentrated to a large extent in certain areas and seasons in an increasingly open and competitive market.

Europe is currently undergoing fundamental change at a time when the pace of history is accelerating. Western Europe is in the process of both expanding and intensifying its integration. The EC and EFTA are carrying out a merger through the European Economic Area, and the four freedoms are being implemented on a vast market. Co-operation between the peoples of Europe and their technological, economic, social, even political interdependence reflect a determination to open up and liberalise trade in the interests of prosperity. Greater Europe is irrevocably coming into being, albeit at a twin speed and with a great deal of trial and error.

In central and eastern Europe the transition from a planned economy to a market economy is running parallel to the shift from communism to democracy. The tearing-down of walls and opening of borders have fostered a peaceful climate and released new population movements and additional tourist flows. In addition to the demographic problems and problems of integration which these changes have generated, the legacy of totalitarian régimes in this part of Europe, rural areas included, has given rise to serious ecological concerns.

On the economic front, growth rates of between 2 and 2.5% are forecast for western Europe. Accordingly, demand for tourist services can be expected to grow, although at a lower rate than previously. Customers are going to be increasingly demanding, and qualitative improvements to tourist services will have to be made.

However, for some time to come the new political face of Europe will conceal economic

realities which are very different. It is these realities which will determine tourist development in general, its geographical distribution, the forms it takes and the size of the respective segments.

The economic situation of countries and individuals, the state of the environment, condition of the urban fabric, value of infrastructure and means of communication, symbolised by Eurotunnel, and the education and culture of human beings - all will be decisive factors for tourist mobility and development.

The policy implemented by the authorities on the one hand and European and international solidarity on the other will also have a significant effect on both the volume/rate and quality of tourist exchanges.

III. LINKS BETWEEN POPULATION STRUCTURE AND PLANNING POLICY

A country's population structure reflects its economic situation, prosperity or decline. Economic policy and planning policy form the two sides of development policy. The role of the authorities is crucial from this point of view.

1. A political aim: from rural decline to ruralisation

The devaluing of agriculture and rural decline are realities, but not inevitable. The emergence of the industrial society led to a fundamental, gradual restructuring of the economy and to a shift from the primary to the secondary, tertiary and quaternary sectors. Economic concentration and urban centralisation effectively bled rural areas of their population. The same indications and problems are to be found everywhere: declining numbers engaged in agriculture, an ageing population, demographic imbalance and an exodus of productive forces, reflected in dissymmetrical age pyramids which are broad at the bottom and the top and narrow in the middle.

Professional and geographical mobility are essential rules of the economy. At macro-economic level they cannot be allowed to function unchecked because of the social and political consequences to which they give rise: concentration and prosperity, depopulation and decline; the enormous social costs of excessive concentration and population drains for public authorities and countries in particular. This encapsulates the general North-South problem and the more regional problem of conflict between urban and rural areas.

Growing awareness of this political and social crisis has already led to countries adopting economic policy and regional planning measures. These adjustments have produced results but they are still not enough. We need to implement a more assertive, vigorous and effective regional planning policy. Only in this way can the current trend be reversed and rural areas given a new lease of life.

A recent official report to the French Senate¹ provides significant international comparisons as well as a great deal of insight and some extremely interesting political proposals, which it is worth examining at length. The inventory drawn up as part of the analysis shows that rural municipalities on the fringes of urban areas are doing well, but that many rural areas are still fragile. The analysis draws a rather contrasting picture, both in Community countries and in other western European countries such as Austria and Switzerland.

The French report points to a return to the countryside in the United States, where it is considered to be the lifestyle of the future. It should be noted that new technologies lend themselves to an appropriate combination of economic centralisation and rural development. There is talk of a "cultural revolution" which consists in regarding the countryside as a key asset for the country's future as opposed to a deprived area. What we need to do is ensure that this political conversion takes place by playing our trump cards before it is too late. Time is indeed running out!

This comparative analysis notes that Germany, the United Kingdom, Austria and Switzerland, which all have long-standing, systematic support policies for rural areas involving substantial aid packages, have already obtained relatively positive results.

Austria, for example, is one of the few countries in this part of the world which has managed to stabilise its rural population. Whereas in France a massive exodus from the countryside has taken place, with the rural population declining by 10% between 1961 and 1971, in Austria it only declined by 2% over the same period.

2. *An economic aim: diversified employment in the countryside*

There can be no rural life without agriculture, and no sustainable tourism in desolate landscapes. With the possible exception of explorers, no-one wants to visit a dead region - nature needs man and man needs nature. The earth must be cultivated and our natural heritage embellished. Farming is irreplaceable and, apart from its essential role of feeding the population, provides vital support for rural tourism.

Complementary activities are vital if we are to combat agricultural under-employment. The seasonal nature of farming means that additional activities are needed to boost farmers' incomes. Areas with only one economic activity are synonymous with insecurity and require diversification of employment opportunities. The natural versatility of rural dwellers should be brought into play.

But a homeopathic approach will not be enough. We need economic ambition, which consists in helping rural dwellers to take their future into their own hands and in promoting a suitably adapted, long-term policy of economic diversification by creating new employment opportunities. This provides the best remedy to both structural weaknesses and cyclical uncertainties. We need to ensure

mutual complementarity between tourism and nature on the one hand, and tourism and other economic activities on the other.

The comparison of municipalities dependent on farming and tourism respectively illustrates the causal relationship between tourist flows (number of overnight stays) and the resident population. In particular, it has been shown that tourism in mountain areas helps to stabilise the local population by creating jobs and contributing to economic development. It discourages emigration and acts as a motor for economic development.

It can be regarded as an effective motor for development and as an economic mainstay by virtue of its significant knock-on effect and its regional impact. Tourism complements local cottage industries, non-polluting industrial development and service activities. Together these activities make for healthy economic diversification which is adapted to the situation of individual communities and their chosen aims. The difference will lie in the qualitative criteria.

3. *A human aim: getting to know each other better (rural and urban dwellers)*

Tourism is the new vocation of the rural world. Rural areas are a new meeting place for urban and rural dwellers and a means of bridging the gap between towns and the countryside.

In order to achieve this we need to progress from words to action, to **give a new direction to regional planning policy** and create a brand image for the countryside. To counter the anonymity and solitude of large urban conurbations and the congestion that results from mass tourism we need **tourism with a new dimension and holiday resorts on a human scale.**

Local colour, a taste of the region, identities, authenticity, the country's soul are all characteristics which provide holiday-makers with **community-based leisure activities in an**

environment that is congenial rather than one of pure consumerism.

This brings **the cultural dimension of tourism** very much to the fore: it represents a meeting of human beings, two worlds, different lifestyles, a degree of cosmopolitanism. It also means sharing experiences, even complicity and friendship, or, in a word, mutual enrichment. Of course, this does not happen spontaneously: it is necessary to inform, educate and convince the two sides in order to eliminate prejudices, avoid disputes or rejection phenomena and promote mutual understanding, acceptance and participation. "Invasions" must be replaced by integration and bridge-building. This requires a kind of tourist conscience which the pastoral of tourism helps to develop.

Culture and the animation on which exchanges are based play a leading role in rural tourism with the result that cultural revitalisation takes on a crucial dimension. Young rural dwellers will be all the more attached to areas which offer an interesting, varied and creative cultural life; professionals will be less tempted to leave and visitors will appreciate leisure activities which are enriching as well as fun. The theme is communication between human beings for mutual understanding.

Hospitality, the quality of services provided, communication by tourism professionals but also the welcome accorded to visitors by the rural population as a whole are keys to the **success of high-quality, sustainable, social tourism.** Young people, families, the elderly, seminars or congresses; in a word, all sectors of tourism in a beautiful, welcoming rural setting will be permeated by a new humanism.

IV. THE RURAL TOURISM MARKET

Tourism is the rural world's last chance. But green tourism cannot be synonymous with cut-price tourism. On the contrary, it embodies **a new alternative based on the quality of life.**

1. Customer requirements

The economy and ecology are the two poles of modern development. Ecology today forms the basis of our future economy. The co-existence and osmosis of these two poles represent a real challenge for post-industrial societies. Consumers of tourist services - and it has been said that the tourist is king - are voicing new leisure aspirations and demonstrating heightened ecological awareness.

The record growth in tourism during the eighties is gradually giving way to a downturn in demand, due mainly to a declining population but also to tougher competition within the industry. Operators need to create appropriate conditions with a view to meeting tourists' new requirements as reflected in market surveys in order to carve out a market share for themselves.

A recent survey in the Valais (Switzerland) on the relative importance accorded to the various component parts of supply produced the following results²:

1. Environment and sites	93%
2. Paths/itineraries	87%
3. Tranquillity of location	86%
4. Setting, panorama	73%
5. Sports activities	51%
6. Entertainment/leisure facilities	42%

Another survey carried out at the same time in Switzerland on a sample of 1,000 persons (including 240 in French-speaking Switzerland) revealed that tourists had the following priorities in both everyday life and, more specifically, in their leisure activities:

- doing what they enjoyed
- getting on well with other people
- being themselves

These tourist requirements are universal and can meet with a particularly positive response in rural areas. The objective criteria find a common reference in nature itself or in ecological tourism.

The subjective criteria are linked to human relations, freedom, self-fulfilment and conviviality; in a word, **social tourism**. This twin qualitative perspective of demand (ecological/social) should encourage people in the tourist industry, in both the public and private sectors, to draw up a co-ordinated assessment, a kind of **stock-taking with a view to retargeting their policy**.

Imbalances between supply and demand lead to rethinking, a new attitude and lines of action reflecting tourists' new requirements. It is important to forecast future trends and take appropriate action in due time. The future of rural tourism depends essentially on how ecological stability will be ensured by quality tourism which helps to promote human values. It is a guarantee of sustainability.

2. Original services

Tourism, by its very nature, tends to be concentrated in time and space. There are, for example, places favoured by Mother Nature for winter sports or seaside holidays, etc. In similar vein, the seasons are an unavoidable reality, although unpredictable factors, such as a lack of snow, may come into play. Repeated over several years, problems of this kind can have serious, even fatal, consequences. But **the most obvious danger for major tourist centres is that they will suffer from their own success**.

While **minimum population density thresholds** exist - for example, a population drain is seen as inevitable under a threshold of around 30 inhabitants per square kilometre, there are also **concentration thresholds** at which tourism kills tourism. These areas suffer from the same problems as urban centres, and adjustments have to be made to planning policy as a result. **The socio-economic environment, and in particular the tourist environment, is dependent on the natural environment. Accordingly, the very system by which tourist resorts are created needs to be rethought. Instead of building in an ill-conceived and sometimes unplanned**

way, without taking account of communication routes, the transport system, ski areas, technical and sports facilities and public finances, we need to reverse the equation. All data must be taken into account in order to determine the resort's optimal size in accordance with the chosen objectives.

"Green tourism" appears today as a new hope for rural areas, as a relevant alternative to new customer requirements. It will not replace traditional tourism but will complement, and perhaps even regenerate it by providing a breath of fresh air.

Nature and landscape form the keystone of rural tourism. Indeed, they are also the main reason for travelling: discovery, a taste of something different, fresh air and adventure. People go to get themselves into shape, to experience the wonders of nature at first hand, to rediscover natural equilibria and strengthen ties with their loved ones: it is pure bliss!

Preserving natural values and enhancing them in an intelligent, measured way through a carefully conceived, responsible regional planning policy is of capital importance for rural tourism. Consequently, it is the first condition for promoting quality tourism. The social and leisure function of tourism will be provided for all the more effectively if the authorities have a clear, comprehensive planning policy. **A living landscape is incompatible with standardised development and a loss of identity.** Developments and general tourist facilities must be carefully chosen and of high quality. This is true both as regards the quality and integration of modern communication routes and respect for local heritage in opting for architectural styles that avoid gigantic proportions.

It is in the mountains and rural areas in general that people realise that **nature has a price.** Its growth in qualitative terms can be seen today as a free choice but, first and foremost, as a vital necessity. In the long term it is a question of the whole future of our rural areas. For this reason it is essential to change the behaviour of individuals and governments. We

need an environmental policy. It must not be dogmatic and totalitarian, but realistic, serious, decisive and credible. Environmental fundamentalism leads us nowhere. Conflicts are resolved by dialogue and co-operation, not in a free-for-all but by respecting the responsibilities of private groups and the authorities. Each individual is responsible for resolving his own internal conflicts; society is responsible for finding its own way forward. Collective responsibility does not replace individual responsibility; it goes beyond it. Accordingly, charters of the environment and rural areas are instruments which complement legislation by encouraging ecological awareness and providing blueprints for daily action.

The second basic condition for rural tourism is **man himself.** Nature must be inhabited and maintained so that the beauty of landscapes is preserved and visitors are provided with the necessary security, the pleasure of travel and human contact. In this sense the environment is a powerful factor for development.

But fresh air is not enough. Original tourist services are needed. Leisure activities and entertainment facilities must meet customer requirements. The range of services provided will vary according to the type of rural area concerned, from one season to the next and according to the type of leisure facilities on offer (pleasure, health, educational, culture, sport). A range of situations calls for a range of responses. The creation of tourist centres complements day trips from cities and longer stays in the countryside.

Nevertheless, **local arts and crafts** are particularly interesting for visitors, especially since they are specific to the locality. There is no universal, homogeneous product, but a very wide variety of products and quality of services where creativity is given free rein³. According to the stage of development, we can observe the external economies of a tourist centre through changes in its structures. This is the rule of "hierarchical organisation of the tertiary sector". **Participation by locals** and the

development of local initiatives deserve to be encouraged and supported by the authorities.

V. THE ROLE OF THE AUTHORITIES IN THE VALAIS MOUNTAIN REGION

In a market economy, where private enterprise is the main driving force, the role of the authorities is, inevitably, secondary. Nevertheless, their role is very important, even crucial, in terms of basic conditions, aid provided and their role as an arbiter of common property and solidarity.

Attempts to revitalise rural areas in the 1970s and 80s showed that development should be based on an overall policy complemented by a policy of regional decentralisation. It is a national plan, the outlines of which depend on specific political structures where the redistribution of cards to the various political levels will play a decisive role. We should try to preserve identities while at the same time increasing efficiency.

Switzerland, for its part, has implemented a regional policy in mountain areas together with a complementary structural policy, particularly in the agricultural field. The law governing investment aid in mountain regions (LIM 1974) and the federal decree introducing financial assistance for regions whose economy is under threat, form the two main pillars of this new policy. The implementation of this common task is carried out through close, co-ordinated and effective co-operation between the Confederation and the cantons, the latter being chiefly responsible for its jointly financed application.

1. The Valais framework plan and the promotion of extensive tourism

The Republic and Canton of Valais is one of Switzerland's largest tourist regions, boasting many resorts which are highly competitive at international level. Its government has drawn up a framework plan for the canton, the main aim of which is the convergence of economic policy and regional planning policy. This plan, which is implemented and managed by the

Department of the Environment and Regional Planning, is based on dialogue and active participation by the authorities concerned and is designed to promote economic diversification and, in particular, quality tourism. A decree of the Valais parliament (1991 and 1992) lays down the concrete aims of regional planning policy and ways of co-ordinating the implementation of these aims and updating their management.

In the area of tourism and leisure the framework plan identifies the following objectives. These policy themes provide examples of possible action which could be followed by a number of countries:

- establish a balanced relationship between areas with an intensive concentration of facilities and natural areas used on an extensive basis;
- foster the qualitative development of tourism and consolidate summer tourism;
- consolidate extensive tourism: preservation and enhancement of sites, historical monuments, natural features, natural and cultural landscapes;
- harmonise tourist infrastructure with natural resources, urbanisation and facilities on the one hand, and the required development on the other;
- focus tourist development first and foremost on the qualitative improvement of existing ski areas and on communications between complementary areas; extend existing areas where appropriate and only create new ski areas in exceptional circumstances;
- examine new tourist facilities, taking the following factors into account:
 - a) agriculture, nature and landscape;
 - b) socio-cultural structure of the local population;

- c) optimal relaxation for visitors;
- d) appropriate economic development.

This tourist policy forms part of an overall policy. One of the main aims of the framework plan is to reduce regional disparities through a policy of decentralisation. To this end, clear objectives have been set and co-ordinated in the following areas: urbanisation, structures and facilities of public interest; transport and communications; tourism and leisure; agriculture; nature, landscapes and forests; supplies; the environment and, finally, the potential dangers.

Regional planning policy is based on the principle of "concentrated decentralisation", consisting of "regional centres" and the creation of new activities in regional centres and sub-centres. The accessibility of regions is vitally important. Regional policy is geared to accessibility by means of a diversified, complementary, co-ordinated, environment-friendly transport policy.

The framework plan, as a co-ordination instrument of the canton, attaches considerable importance to the compatibility of economic activities (industry - military installations/aerodromes, shooting ranges/environment) with an attractive, healthy rural environment. Negative effects should be offset by creating employment opportunities for the local population, by granting state contracts and through financial compensation.

Extensive tourism, which is well suited to a rural environment, will benefit particularly from coherent networks of cycle paths, itineraries for walkers and sports facilities such as golf courses in the mountains. Protection from natural dangers (avalanches, falling rocks) is also an essential pre-condition. Nature, forests and landscapes occupy a leading place. This is a characteristic of rural areas: the environment is rich in promise but fragile. In this connection the Valais framework plan identifies the following priorities:

- to safeguard natural areas (wetlands, dry meadows, rivers, streams, forests, etc), taking farming interests into account. To restore natural areas which have been altered to their original condition where possible;
- to guarantee the complementarity of biotopes, animals and plants; to conserve them as part of the planning of built-up areas;
- to offset losses of major ecological areas by creating substitute areas;
- to respect the diversity and structural elements of the natural and cultural landscape, especially when determining land use, by ensuring that buildings and installations are integrated with due care;
- to improve the condition of forests to ensure that they fulfil their protective, productive and social functions;
- to prevent the expansion of forests in order to preserve a varied rural landscape.

Mountain glaciers, water, rivers and lakes in general, the sun and other sources of energy are fundamental resources of rural areas. We should devote due attention to them and develop a policy of enhancement and intelligent, sustainable, environment-friendly management. Overall water management or the use of renewable energy sources and their means of distribution form the main lines of this policy.

On a more general level, environmental policy as a whole will be crucial for a quality rural environment and tourist centre. For this reason, the Valais framework plan identifies the following general objectives:

- preserve natural life forces by providing for water, air and soil conservation;
- minimise discharge into rivers and streams in order to protect nature and landscapes;

- reduce damage to the environment by fining polluters;
- enhance the quality of life, notably by reducing damage caused by human communities;
- reduce the volume of waste by encouraging sorting, recovery and recycling and by making provision for waste storage and incineration and environment-friendly processing. Set up regional dumps for materials and clean up existing dumps.

The Valais region places considerable emphasis on integrated tourism in its development policy. The basic capital, ie the landscape, must not be used solely in an intensive way. It is essential to harmonise, as part of regional planning policy, areas of intensive tourism (resorts) and huge recreational areas that have remained intact (extensive tourism).

Years of heavy intensive tourism have endangered this equilibrium. Accordingly, in future it will be necessary to set aside areas for extensive tourism. Within these areas special attention will have to be given to the natural and cultural environment: summer tourism can have a beneficial effect.

The new concept of integrated tourism is based on the following lines:

- define homogeneous areas for extensive, environment-friendly leisure activities;
- abandon plans to fully develop all potential ski areas;
- move away from winter sports;
- promote extensive forms of tourism;
- promote a more equitable annual spread of tourism (distribution of overnight stays);
- integration of tourism, agriculture, nature and landscapes.

Future investments for qualitative growth must meet the following objectives: keep landscapes intact; foster a healthy social structure of the local population; promote optimal relaxation for visitors; increase the potential of added value in the tourist industry.

With regard to the size of tourist centres, it is important to set quantifiable objectives, such as the ratio of local inhabitants to the number of tourist beds; growth in the supply of tourist beds; the ratio of hotel beds to beds in other forms of tourist accommodation; the occupancy ratio of hotel beds; the ratio between the number of overnight stays in summer and winter respectively; the utilisation rate of chair lifts.

This new philosophy of tourist development will be furthered in practice by informing and increasing the awareness of local communities and tourist officials and by promoting pilot studies in the municipalities concerned. The work carried out to promote the enhancement of environmental resources and the quality of life provides a guarantee of sustainable tourism.

2. Tests for the Alpine environment: the Mont-Blanc area and the Alpine Convention

In 1988 the idea of a Mont-Blanc "international park" was launched in France. It has since been examined by the Ministers of the Environment of France, Switzerland and Italy. In view of the political systems concerned, the only realistic approach was a **participatory approach**. For this reason, first in Switzerland and then in France and Italy, politicians from the Valais, Savoy and Val d'Aoste were associated with ministerial work in their respective countries, thus giving a European dimension to the existing structural measures of **transfrontier co-operation**.

First of all it was necessary to draw up an **"inventory"**. A survey was carried out on the main political/institutional representatives and on socio-economic, tourist and nature conservation circles with a view to identifying

local and regional trans-frontier concerns. Once this initial overview of the situation had been established, it was possible to undertake prospective work and define development scenarios.

Preliminary studies, initially focusing on each individual country and subsequently co-ordinated, highlighted the issues at stake and the various interests, difficulties and aspirations involved with the aim of finding realistic solutions as a basis for constructive, creative dialogue.

The three preliminary studies call for the **"active enhancement of mountain areas"**, reconciling conservation of the natural environment and landscape with the promotion of socio-economic activities through integrated landscape management, coupled with the realisation of concrete projects.

The second phase consists of the **feasibility study** currently being drawn up. Its main characteristics are as follows: common to the three regions concerned; integrating the main parties concerned; based on current trends in nature and landscape conservation and promotion of the economy and tourism; enabling the realisation of concrete projects to prove that the enhancement policy is effective; staggered over a sufficient length of time for the various partners to identify with the project.

The transfrontier co-operation approach selected is **self-perpetuating and participatory**. It has been given the status of an action study to allow **"pilot ideas"** to be implemented rapidly and their practical relevance checked.

Since the interministerial meeting at Champéry (Valais) in 1991, the idea of a **Mont-Blanc "park"** has been replaced by that of an **"area"**, which will be promoted through a common, integrated, regional planning policy.

It has been decided to carry out a joint feasibility study, the expected results of

which are as follows: hiring of local personalities to promote the Mont-Blanc area; joint definition of objectives, tasks and responsibilities; definitive limits of the Mont-Blanc area, taking local wishes into account; integrated management concept (regional planning + economy + ecology, practical projects, nature development, socio-cultural events); a common transfrontier management structure, financed at local and regional level; introduction of a mechanism for financing actions; marketing concept for Mont-Blanc.

A **transfrontier Mont-Blanc Conference** has been set up, consisting of representatives of local, regional and national institutions. Representatives of the groups/associations concerned may be invited to attend as observers. This conference forms the main structure of the feasibility study and the other tasks which the ministerial conference could entrust it with. The interministerial meeting of 1992 should examine the international comparison of legal frameworks and the way in which institutions function, define a list of conditions for the feasibility study and outline a perimeter, a general timetable, a draft budget and proposals for an implementing structure.

In this way a **sizeable rural area, "the roof of Europe"**, has become a matter of transfrontier interest, with the Europe of regions and identities meeting the greater Europe. Both are still developing at different speeds. **Rural tourism has become an important test, the main architects of which are mountain dwellers.**

The **European Convention on the Protection of the Alps (Alpine Convention)** was signed in Salzburg on 6 and 7 November 1991 by the Ministers of the Environment of the Alpine countries, namely Germany, France, Italy, Liechtenstein, Yugoslavia (Slovenia), Austria, Switzerland and the Commission of the European Communities.

This Convention considers that **the Alps form one of the largest unbroken natural areas in Europe, a living environment, an economic, cultural and leisure area in the heart of Europe**

in which many peoples and countries participate. In other words, an idyllic rural mountain area.

Under this Convention the contracting parties enter into a general undertaking to implement a comprehensive conservation and protection policy for the Alps. The Convention also sets general objectives in a variety of fields.

Appropriate measures are proposed in the following areas: population and culture (promotion of cultural and social identity and relations between the Alpine population and other regions); regional planning designed to avoid overconcentration and a population drain; air quality; soil conservation through the use of farming and forestry techniques which protect the soil and reduce erosion; water management; nature conservation and management; mountain agriculture which ensures the management and promotion of traditional rural landscapes and the environment; mountain forests in all their functions; tourism and leisure activities which are compatible with ecological and social requirements; a transport policy which consolidates the role of the railways in freight traffic, both at interalpine and transalpine level; energy from the viewpoint of saving measures and energy production/distribution which is nature and environment-friendly, and finally, the reduction, collection and processing of waste.

These are the general principles of the Convention. The detailed implementation will be governed by **specific protocols.**

So this Convention serves a real purpose. However, it raises the **major political problem of regulations implying international co-operation** which not only protect nature and the landscape but also promote an economic system geared to fixed objectives.

As the Convention and protocols fall far short of achieving this equilibrium, Switzerland has signed the agreement but - at the request of the Valais and the Alpine cantons - has

specifically linked ratification of the Convention and protocols to guarantees that the necessary economic compensation will be provided. And this is the heart of the matter. Even with the best of intentions, the objective cannot be achieved without the active, responsible participation of those most directly concerned - mountain dwellers themselves! They hold the key to the political success of an exciting project. As was the case for the Mont-Blanc area, the measures adopted and tests selected will determine the success or failure of the Alpine Convention.

For this reason Switzerland, by virtue of its political federalism, will not ratify the Convention unless the additional protocols provide the requisite guarantees. The agreement of the Swiss Alpine cantons is specifically reserved by virtue of their autonomy and right to self-determination. Only the additional protocols will enable the true scope of the Convention to be measured; for the moment it is still a mere declaration of intent. Accordingly, the cantonal and regional authorities of the countries concerned will co-operate with the working groups, which have been instructed to submit concrete proposals for each area concerned. Generally speaking, final agreement will only be given if conservation arrangements are backed by an equitable assessment of mountain areas' economic development potential and if provision is made for appropriate financial and economic compensation. In this connection ecological subsidies form the cornerstone of a policy for the future of rural areas as a whole.

3. Helping rural tourism to function

3.1 Training

The authorities' general rural development policy, and tourist policy in particular, is designed to create a framework within which regions can determine their own development. Ending the marginalisation of rural areas depends on infrastructure, economic and financial factors as well as on psychological and educational remedies.

Diversification of economic activities and the rebirth of the countryside through tourism imply a **targeted public strategy of information and vocational training**. Sustainable tourism can be promoted by providing quality services, but this requires professionalism. Apart from the marketing of certain products, rural tourism implies the provision of personal services. A lack of appropriate training or knowledge of foreign languages are disadvantages which it is vital to overcome without delay. **All employment policies invariably entail a training policy.**

With regard to rural dwellers themselves, we first need to **overcome the obstacle posed by attitudes in order to transform the human factor into a major asset**. A reconversion policy is needed to help farmers adapt to the requirements of tourism. Permanent or seasonal jobs require appropriate vocational skills. The rural world as a whole needs to develop a kind of "tourist conscience". **Reception and organisation form two mainstays of success**. Professional skills and humanist attitudes enhance contact between visitors and hosts. **Quality and originality are the key to beating the competition.**

3.2 Incentive-based aid: ecological subsidies

The most recent and certainly the most original incentive for rural tourism is the method which consists in **paying farmers for their social service as "guardians of nature"**. The countryside is becoming a meeting point for rural and urban dwellers, with the expectations of one side meeting the needs of the other. **Farming, tourism and environmental policies converge for rural development**. This is an area of public intervention through the recognition of a new facet of common property. Here the authorities' action takes on a redistributive dimension which harmonises the economy and ecology.

Agricultural policy heralds a significant watershed in the needs of modern man and in **the new vocation of rural areas: tourism.**

The Swiss model is based on federal and cantonal policy. **The 7th report of the Federal Council on agriculture of 1992** adapts the tasks of agriculture to future requirements. In addition to taking the environment and its constraints into account both as regards farming equipment and land use, **a new fundamental official function has emerged**, namely that of landscape maintenance. Henceforth the viability of rural areas and the decentralised occupation of land go hand in hand with compensating agriculture for its contribution to the economic, social and cultural life of rural areas. **A system of ecological subsidies is emerging**. The main beneficiaries will be extensively farmed areas, which will be the chief sites of "soft", ie **environment-friendly, tourism.**

Dissuasive taxes have been announced in the revised law on protection of the environment, particularly with regard to the use of fertilisers. As the need to earn a living may harm the environment, financial assistance which is not linked to production will enable farmers to take more risks in favour of environment-friendly production. Moreover, land where crop rotation is practised may be used for leisure and recreational purposes, but it must be recultivated if necessary in view of the limited space available.

In mountain areas the Confederation report plans to transform subsidies for cultivated land into subsidies for uncultivated land from 1992 onwards. This new policy results from both ecological requirements and the necessity of tourism in mountain areas.

In short, the ecological tendency of agricultural policy will be consolidated by target measures such as "extensification" of farming or environment-friendly forms of farming, such as integrated production or biological farming.

For its part, in 1992 the Valais will establish a decree on the granting of subsidies for the ecological use of land. This doctrine will subsequently be enshrined in a draft law on agriculture.

The main scope of the decree concerns legislation on nature and landscape conservation, agriculture and regional planning. These provisions complement existing provisions on farming land and cattle breeding, which have already had the effect of slowing down the fallow process. Under a federal order the cantons are responsible for determining which areas are entitled to subsidies by effecting an inventory.

Ecological subsidies mainly concern drylands and wetlands. The Swiss system provides for federal contributions, with participation determined by ability to pay. Their rate varies according to their national, regional or local importance. The ceiling for Confederation contributions is set at CHF 1,500 per hectare.

In the case of cantons in mountain areas, such as the Valais, the federal contribution amounts to 90% of compensation for farming dry meadows classified as of national importance. In this way farmers will be compensated for the long-term conservation of landscapes which are varied and attractive in terms of flora and fauna linked to traditional agriculture. Subsidies will consist of a basic tax for grazing land (CHF 4 per are) and mown land (CHF 7 per are).

Additional subsidies are payable for the ecological value of the land and for the extra work involved. The system is regulated by standard contracts between farmers and the administration.

3.3 The 700th anniversary fund

Finally, let us examine another measure adopted in Switzerland in 1991. To mark the 700th anniversary of the foundation of the Swiss Confederation, the Federal Assembly set up a fund of CHF 50 million to promote the conservation and management of traditional rural landscapes. The cantons have also been invited to participate.

The aid will mainly be used to:

- protect, conserve, maintain and recreate traditional rural landscapes;
- preserve and encourage traditional farming practices which are adapted to local conditions;
- protect, conserve, maintain, renovate or recreate historical buildings, communication routes or other elements of the traditional rural landscape;
- inform the public on the need to preserve and maintain these landscapes.

This aid will go to cantons, municipalities, other administrative units and independent state institutions, but also to private individuals or companies. Aid varies between 50 and 80% of the costs, depending on the scale of the project, and in exceptional cases it may cover 100%.

This fund provides a tangible example of political determination to support the natural, human and cultural values of a rural area of national importance.

Together with the basic public provisions, the aforementioned aid measures form a package which fosters regenerated, attractive and sustainable tourism in rural areas.

VI. CONCLUSION

The long and painful bleeding of the countryside and mountain areas is not inevitable. Rural areas are not a burden for individual countries or for Europe; they represent a risk, but above all, an opportunity and hope. They form a new haven of freedom for modern man, which should be promoted in a climate of peace between nations and the construction of greater Europe.

The collective tendency to abandon rural areas should be reversed. Natural disasters have painful and costly, sometimes irreversible human, economic and ecological consequences.

The abandonment and degradation of rural areas represent a serious cultural and economic loss for society. The more meagre the living that individuals derive from the land, the greater the burden will be on society as a whole. At the same time, the authorities - and, by definition, taxpayers - are shouldering enormous social costs resulting from urban concentration. This represents wastage on two fronts, and it is vital to find appropriate solutions. Large-scale public investment will be needed, but its effects will be lasting. Unfortunately, some people get rich by destroying nature; it will cost each of us far more to recreate a living landscape, if indeed it is still possible to do so...

The valorisation of rural areas entails substantial, but productive, investment. Green tourism provides an opportunity for a qualitative, lasting economic revival.

We need clear political determination which is co-ordinated and effective at all levels in order to rise to the major challenge posed by the future of the rural world. Political, economic and human aims must be combined to promote a redeployment policy for rural areas.

The role played by the authorities is decisive. There is no ready-made model of development. But general guidelines provide a basis for the adapted strategies which will be implemented and for the pilot studies which will be carried out for green tourism. Here regional planning has a crucial role to play.

Harmonising relationships between man, society and the environment to enhance the quality of life calls for an inner reconversion to responsible behaviour and environmental policies which are closely integrated with tourism policies and with interministerial economic policies as a whole.

Human beings are at the heart of the new opportunities offered by rural areas. Rural dwellers are the main architects of their future. Preparing them to work in the tourist industry is taking on a crucial dimension. The public services which have been set up, the resulting products, their seal of quality, their link to the market, the multifunctional role of agriculture - in particular its ecological function - are all elements which will determine the success of rural tourism.

It is important to anticipate the future to avoid being overtaken by it. The environment and rural areas in general have become sustainable growth and development factors, and they will be increasingly so in future. Green tourism is not going to take the place of winter sports or seaside holidays; it complements them and provides something different, which gradually, in the long-term, will be the key to its success. People will increasingly have to choose between wealth and quality of life, between "having" and "being". This represents a major challenge for the future of the global village and for the happiness of human beings themselves. We hold the future in our hands and we owe it to our children to make it work.

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1. Report by the French Senate's information bureau, entrusted with studying the problems that French rural areas will have to face in future and with proposing the elements of a development policy for 1990-91.
 2. Touristische Marktanalyse Schweiz (Untersuchung Thomas) 1989.
 3. See in this connection:
 - Assises européennes du tourisme en espace rural - Dijon 8-9.12.1986
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RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

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FARM HOLIDAYS - DIRECT MARKETING BY FARMERS

DEALING WITH THE CAUSES OR TREATING THE SYMPTOMS OF A CULTURAL ATROPHY

1. GENERAL

1.1 Cultural landscape

Farm holidays and direct marketing by farmers are features of our cultural landscape. In its original state the cultural landscape of the Alps only provided man with very small eco-niches. For long-term survival man had to intervene fundamentally in the Alpine ecosystem, clearing forests and replacing them with fields and meadows, damming rivers and removing stones from pastures. The landscape that thus developed and remained ecologically stable in the long term - permanence principle - was and is termed a cultural landscape. As far as its survival is concerned, this ecologically most varied cultural landscape is highly sensitive and must be protected by intensive care. The traditional cultural landscape in which some 40% of the plant species are tied to certain methods of agriculture is being consumed in a sort of battle zone with the natural landscape. The very confinement of this area has given

rise to the contrasts and variety of forests, meadows, hedges, stone walls and rocks, ie that very landscape so beloved by tourism. This varied landscape and the many niches were manifested in man's cultural expression, eg forms of settlement, styles of building, dialects, costumes, etc. These differences led in turn to highly local identification and to a specific awareness of home. This sociocultural tie explains why more farmers did not leave their farmsteads despite being economically underprivileged. Nevertheless, extinction due to a change in generations is the threat that looms over one-third of all Tyrolean farmsteads, guardians of a landscape that has at any rate been decisively impoverished over the past 100 years due to the loss of 500 animal and plant species.

1.2 The macroeconomy cycle

The so to speak natural cycle of agriculture is dominated by macroeconomic principles: those who are not bigger, faster and tougher are left

behind. The market economy mechanisms of OMV, Raiffeisen, etc. will soon control so-called alternative agricultural products like soya, sunflowers, etc., too. And why not? The psychological "surveyability" of the essential farming existence has long been veiled: pesticides, fertilisers, harvest advisers, supply quotas, state purchasing guarantees, export compensation and support, green giants, etc. All interact in mystic fashion. The harvest of Mistelbach and Krems, two communes in Lower Austria, is sufficient to cover all of Austria's bread requirements. Agrarian progress means that the yield rises by 100,000 tons annually in Austria - Austria already has 2 million eaters too few. Verbally proclaimed alternatives contrast with legal background requirements and political acts. The laborious and modest success of alternatives is enacted, as it were, off-stage and away from the foodstuffs and agrarian scene - in opposition to the overall system.

1.3 The farmer within the spider's web of touristic expectations controlled from outside

1.3.1 The psychological trap

By this I mean the "hospitality trap", a stubborn misinterpretation of price-performance ratios in the tourist economic exchange. Any other branch of the economy includes "friendliness", "willingness to oblige", "personal attention", "special atmosphere", etc. as major cost factors in its calculation and then presents the customer - smilingly - with the total price. Not so tourism.

Here the holidaymaker still expects "added value", a "makeweight", a "financial bonus" for having honoured this developing area with a cash visit. The patronising treatment of tips symbolises in exemplary fashion the dilettantism and lack of self-confidence of a branch which is encouraged in hypocritical homilies to display touching hospitality - a free emotional cure, so to speak, in the face of thousands of "day trippers" and in the face of a calculation that does not honestly take account of the physical costs.

As well as being menaced by the notorious "hospitality lie" mentioned above, the host-guest relationship is encumbered with an "assessment error" that runs very deep. In his traditional attitude to practical economy and due to his long history of poverty, the host does not value the nature and culture of our land very highly, his confidence in those assets he has hitherto taken for granted is thus correspondingly low. What is more, out of a customary collective ethos, he is glad to provide these poor, relaxation-seeking guests with this nature and culture. Seen objectively and by international standards, however, our nature and our culture - in the broadest sense - are rated higher by far. The time has come to give greater consideration to this innate "advance inferiority complex" which is reflected in prices.

1.3.2 The cultural trap

Putting a different construction on cultural terms like involvement, sympathy, dialogue, effort, consternation, topicality, the trend of the times, etc. and weeding through the numerous discussions and endless writings on the "new", "soft" tourists, one acquires painful awareness amidst the everyday contrast between recorded dreams and living reality: where is this mature tourist, this new type of holidaymaker, "who does not regard the Alps as a background for sporting activities and as a technically armed leisure region, but who develops a central interest in detecting this area's affinity with man - and that includes his present unease and his destructive tendencies - and thus stimulating and inspiring his own relationship with nature" (Werner Bätzing, *Die Alpen* 1991)? I simply cannot find him, this new holidaymaker, but I do note a naked egoism in the cultural requirements of holidaymakers from near and far: culture as a sleek, safe, easy to operate fig leaf to conceal Maslow's basic human needs. "The holidaymaker doesn't care about culture: when it's destroyed, he goes somewhere else", in a free adaptation of Harald Grill, the Bavarian humorist. What an illusion it would be to presume that the person escaping from that "house of having" with all its boundless technology and its unlimited

needs satisfaction then enters during his holiday an authentic "house of being" with all its restrictions. In the Tyrol, the most intensive tourist area in the world, this realisation hits us with particular vehemence. Daily, I am becoming more aware of this cultural ghetto when I talk to cabinet makers who are sick of their products which pander to fossilised tastes and demands, or to farmers already resigned to their role of state-paid landscape gardeners, or to the many artists who merely draw, write or set to music the doings of the touristic zoo.

1.3.3 The aesthetic trap

At some point in the 19th century Tyrolese tradesmen and craftsmen in Europe discovered the selling power of their "Tyrolean-ness". This became an independent trade mark, urban yearning associating it with the traditional folkloric life, rustic charm and natural Alpine vitality. More and more, expectations came to be fossilised in unimaginative constructions of stone, wood and flowers. These expectations were fully catered for by us out of business acumen and cultural confusion. This province thus largely managed to suffocate aesthetically. Attempts to escape from this situation are seen as attacks on business practices in tourism or even as a danger to the aesthetic identity of the province. Controlled from outside, aesthetic terror burdens our image and our cultural state like a heavy mortgage.

1.3.4 The bureaucratic trap

In the last century town dwellers were already projecting their romantic yearnings on our mountains and valleys (see 5); our affluence grew from their wishes and their undertakings in the interests of "alleviating travel". Today, with feelings of guilt due to the uninhabitableness of their own environment, the town dwellers are again projecting these feelings on to the Alps, wishing bureaucratically to create museum enclaves or intact world idylls as moral indulgences for their own sins of affluence. The essentially hypocritical national park debates illustrate this attitude. Innumerable organisations write, regiment, theorise on and determine from

outside the economy and the way of life in our valleys. In reality, however, all sensible norms and all charitable programmes will remain a nuisance until the urban environment is stabilised and until a real balance between the affluence of town and country begins to take shape.

1.3.5 The moral trap

Of course we Tyroleans are prisoners of moral values in our perceptions of the tourism phenomenon. From a counter reformational, Catholic viewpoint, tourism in many respects seems immoral: it makes money - outwardly acceptable perhaps, but essentially immoral; what is more, money is made from leisure, a dubious and potentially immoral or lascivious state of affairs. The picture is rounded off by a multitude of prejudices, hidden wishes and envy complexes disguised as morality: the cultic transience of encounters, the physical element of sportive leisure adventures, the impact of xenophobia and multicultural exoticism, the misinterpreted boundaries between work and pleasure, etc. - all that relegates tourism in our province to the rear pews in church as far as moral and hence social recognition is concerned. Well-meant tourism pilgrimages and an extremely liberal bishop are to no avail in altering these obdurate "nomoi" - the ethical conception of a province - whether one sees the situation in a positive or negative light.

This list could be extended at will to include economic, philosophical and social traps, etc.

2. THE BASIC SITUATION - RURAL ENVIRONMENT AS THE TOURISTIC BASIS FOR THE ENTIRE LEISURE INDUSTRY (SEE TOURISTIC MARKET RESEARCH).

The farmer as maintainer of the natural and cultural landscape, the decisive background to tourism. This basis of Alpine tourism is endangered: no remuneration for unofficial services, these services' lack of profitability. Evidence: the succession is not secured in one-third of all Tyrolean farms. The problem of

reimbursement by tourism for the natural landscape - public property not at present charged for - arises here (no internalisation of external costs). Specific attempts are being made to get a grasp on the overall problem via agricultural policies in the Alpine countries, i.e. mainly by way of subsidies, compensation and allowances. Operationally, such a system does, however, have psychological and cultural deficits (see above). That is why the Tyrolean Tourist Board has been making intensive efforts over the past 10 years to create an endogenous, autarkic and psychologically gratifying economic basis for rural concerns, the stress being on farm holidays and the inclusion of direct rural marketing.

3. AIM OF THE MEASURES

3.1 To create a well-encompassed and well-positioned product : "rural tourism". Making a theme of this sector in order to upgrade the safety of the product. Elevating this sector from the indiscriminate touristic medley and detaching it from its "cheap and rough" image. This to be coupled with a qualification of the accomodation selection as such.

3.2 The above results in the creation of an up-market Farm Holiday trade mark. ("Farm Holiday" Federal Association).

3.3 Creation of an entire product by including the idea of direct rural marketing. Comprehensive range of products with particular reference to ecological and natural methods of production and the manner of approach. (Examples: Wildschönau farm breakfast, Kössen cheese dairy, Tannheim cheese dairy project).

3.4 Giving rural suppliers a new sense of self-esteem. Heightening the awareness of products and services.

3.5 Creating a new relationship and new opportunities for local rural producers and other local tourism partners. Supporting decentralisation of agricultural production. Creating special product and marketing cycles. Reducing the division of labour, this being

ecologically detrimental. (Reducing anonymity of products and quality, cutting down on lengthy transports).

4. MEANS

4.1 Continual organisation of rural decentralised letting associations on a district basis. Setting up an agricultural letting association on a provincial basis as a partner of the Tyrolean Tourist Board. (On the model of rural co-operation: machinery associations; 1984: foundation of provincial association, 8 district associations - 388 members).

4.2 Co-operation between the provincial agricultural authority, sponsors (see Raika Tyrol) and the Tyrolean Tourist Board.

4.3 Issuing special catalogues in which the selection is displayed together with a skilful image and product philisophy. (See case examples).

4.4 Creating a direct marketing office to co-ordinate the most diverse decentralised direct marketing initiatives. (Rural markets, farm telephone service). At present "bio-goods" to the value of AS 3 thousand million are being imported annually!

4.5 Supplementing this pragmatic work by work groups (see Tourism and Agriculture) and by numerous local discussions (see results of a work group in the Stubai Valley). Alliance between lifts and agriculture: employment effect; compensation for bypass rights - ski runs, cross-country trails).

5. RECOMMENDATIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

5.1 The standard of the selection and of communication is decisive. Position as an authentic high-interest product.

5.2 Attempts by the Tyrolean Tourist Board to achieve support throughout Austria for the Farm Holidays product. Foundation of a work group at federal level, composed of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Austrian

Tourist Office. Several provincial variations of Farm Holiday catalogues already exist; employment of a specialist at federal level (Mag. Embacher).

5.3 From the very beginning the aim has been to internationalise the product with versions in French, and now in Spanish and Italian, in order to make provision for the unique concept of Farm Holidays.

5.4 The thematic range is continually being extended: sport specialisation within the Farm Holidays product - see mountain farmers in the Alpine area, riding holidays etc.

5.5 Restriction to members willing to co-operate and to contribute. The pilot attempt by the Tyrolean Tourist Board, the Provincial Chamber of Agriculture and the Rural Letting Association only comprise a fraction of the overall selection, less than 10%. It is aimed to mobilise the other 90% in this autocatalytic strategy.

5.6 Three tourist associations are attempting to educate guests to understand the overall picture that comprises the rural culture landscape, natural nutrition and the valence of these ecological and biological products.

5.7 Amendment to the Act pertaining to the letting of private accommodation, the aim being to enable those letting rural accommodation to cater for guests as a domestic sideline (selling and providing agricultural products).

5.8 Decentralisation/regionalisation of cheese dairies: cheese from unprocessed milk:

- natural fertilizer
- dispensing with chemicals
- forbidding the use of sewage
- reuse of whey
- better quality cheese
- better prices for manufacturers
- higher appreciation (Alpine pastures, too), less purchasing power pressure
- contribution to keeping the ground and ground water healthy (nitrates!); no mineral fertilizers

- direct sale of cheese to local people and guests
- general utility.

6. A FEW FIGURES

- Providers of rural private rooms in the Tyrol: 3,990 (summer 1990)
- Rural private rooms in the Tyrol: 28,500 (summer 1990)
- $\frac{1}{3}$ of all agricultural concerns in the Tyrol provide accommodation for visitors
- 25% of those employed throughout the year by lift companies are farmers, 40% of those employed in winter by lift companies are farmers.

The trend in overnight stops on farm holidays in the Tyrol:

	1980	1990	%
Private farmhouse accommodation	2,097,173	1,821,751	-13
Non-farmhouse private accommodation	8,821,729	6,059,047	-31
Total overnight stays	37,319,151	42,462,375	+13.8

7. MEASURES IN THE "LANDSCAPE CULTIVATION" SECTOR

- Altering/intensifying the allocation key in respect of aid for mountain farmers
- Direct payments for the conservation of areas of particular beauty (by communal authorities, tourist associations, tourism promotion fund).
- Creation of a landscape cultivation fund to finance landscape conservation measures (see Nature Conservation Act, National Park Act). Indemnity payments to the fund in cases of massive intervention in the landscape (e.g. gravel quarrying...);
- Support for the conservation of biotopes

- Laying out forest paths to fit in with nature.

8. OUTLOOK

In view of the cultural background described initially, this initiative by the Tyrol really only offers a slim chance for the farmers, when seen realistically. Compared to the effort involved, the rewards are very modest for those letting rural accommodation. Direct marketing by farms is threatened by the green giants and by the failure of background conditions to keep up. In contrast to Switzerland, where efficient

decentralised marketing institutions exist and where the farmers receive far greater public aid, the creation of strong, decentralised rural trade marks and identification is extremely difficult in Austria in view of the central and bureaucratic orientation of the agrarian economy.

The technological boundlessness, the boundlessness of human needs and the boundless and cheap mobility of goods and people in this land ought to be examined more fundamentally in order to slow down the cultural atrophy of the agricultural area.

RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

Mr Simone VELLUTI-ZATI
Chairman of Agriturist
Rome

Tourist interest in rural areas has a long-standing tradition in Italy. Firstly there are families who, after moving into town, return to the countryside which was originally their home; then there is a genuine flow of visitors, particularly towards areas with specific natural attractions (such as the high mountain regions in Trentino Alto Adige) and cultural charms (mediaeval market towns in Tuscany and Umbria).

Since the 1960s, however, efforts to establish and organise this type of hospitality as a clearly defined form of tourist provision have intensified, focusing primarily on the rehabilitation of various rural buildings left unoccupied as a result of the steep decline in employment in agriculture.

Agriturist, the association of which I am Chairman - in fact set up in 1965 - has supported this project, geared to offering new economic opportunities and tangible prospects to farms, which at the same time continue to pursue their primary activity (agriculture), although on an entirely new basis.

Today, in view of the complex new trends in community agricultural policy, this project is of particular importance as it provides the less productive agricultural regions with an opportunity to persuade the rural population to remain in their locality by concentrating agricultural production on typical products likely to satisfy the tourist's food requirements.

This is therefore a rural form of tourism directly linked with agriculture: we have called it "agritourism" and feel that, even from the legislative standpoint, it warrants a special approach owing to its specific socio-economic and environmental characteristics.

Hence, since December 1985 there has been a law in Italy governing agritourism, and at the beginning of 1992, a special tax law was introduced relating to activities in this sector.

According to the statutory definition of agritourism, agritouristic activity has to take place in an agricultural enterprise; it also has to be closely linked with the resources of that enterprise (buildings, products, manpower) or complementary to its agricultural activity, which must remain its chief activity. No new buildings may be erected, and accommodation for guests must be exclusively located in existing dwellings.

But the law also stipulates that this accommodation has to be designed in close harmony with the original architectural features of the building, using appropriate construction methods and materials.

This last-mentioned condition is extremely important, as it implies strict conservation of the landscape as the fundamental basis of any rural tourism development.

Furthermore, the fact that only existing buildings may be used constitutes a guarantee

that the tourist population in the area will be restricted. This helps to preserve an environment (the rural environment) which was created over centuries by man's patient labour and which is extremely vulnerable in view of the fact that it is unsuited to new urban developments.

Rural tourism (and agritourism in particular) must primarily offer high-quality tourism; yet it is not sufficient to provide fresh air and green open spaces: visitors expect attractive landscapes, typical agricultural products and handicrafts, traditional culture and events, places to visit on excursions and places of ecological interest.

In order to achieve this objective, it is important for local communities to shoulder their responsibilities and to have concrete economic possibilities in order to ensure that their activity is as varied and stable as possible.

Agritourism seeks above all to highlight the role of farmers, as it is on them that the stability of the socio-economic fabric largely depends.

In accordance with these principles, the other forms of rural tourism (accommodation in villages, small hotels, camping sites, etc) ought primarily to contribute to safeguarding rural tourist resources by seeking to maintain a special quality which stems not only from the efficiency of the services provided, but also from the specific nature of rural tourist provision.

We are therefore worried by certain plans to set up large-scale rural tourist villages, offering a quantitative alternative to mass tourism in coastal and mountain regions, but without being able to provide the distinctive cultural and environmental features of the countryside.

In connection with the environment, I should like to stress that Agriturist has been recognised by the Ministry of the Environment as an association dealing with environmental problems and issues, since it engages in activities conducive to safeguarding the natural heritage.

In the present economic climate in which an attempt is being made to reduce the amount of land under cultivation and to restrict the negative impact of agriculture on the environment, our objective is to guide farmers towards management of land and natural resources (maintenance of hedgerows, scattered trees, scrub, etc.) and towards the adoption of methods of cultivation involving limited use of chemical products.

All this is in line with present-day trends in Community policy; however, the farmer's role must be more clearly defined when he contributes to safeguarding the environment, and specific forms of remuneration must be provided. Assistance to agritourism may thus represent an indirect means of supporting the development of services on behalf of the environment. It is not possible to make a success of agritourism if the countryside and the environment have failed to retain their traditional clean and unspoilt character.

The rural environment can constitute an appropriate alternative to the pressure felt in overcrowded tourist areas, provided that it generates a flow of visitors harmoniously spread over the area, thereby restricting the negative impact of tourism on the environment and the social fabric.

Otherwise there is a danger of triggering off short-term speculative trends (particularly in the property sector) without simultaneously creating sustainable, high-quality tourism development.

The negative experience of several areas along the Italian coast underscores the need to focus on these problems because - and there is no harm in saying this yet again - the rural environment is certainly more sensitive than any other: the sea - even if it is polluted - will not disappear; mountains - even if they do undergo considerable man-made modifications - will remain where they are; whereas the countryside may, within a short space of time, lose all its attractions without leaving any trace of its age-old landscapes, its traditions and the protagonists of a culture which is in the process of losing its roots.

RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

Mr Jean-Pierre DICHTER
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A. RECENT EUROPEAN INITIATIVES TO PROMOTE RURAL TOURISM

European institutions and bodies have all in recent years expressed views on the development of tourism in general and on the opportunities and challenges of tourism in rural areas in particular. As a result of the free movement of people, longer paid holidays and more free time, tourism has become an option for many Europeans and is thus gaining in importance as an economic factor in development, achieving growth rates comparable to or even higher than other economic sectors.

1. Institutional initiatives

1. The Council of Europe

The European Campaign for the Countryside, launched by the Council of Europe, undoubtedly had an impact on the development of tourism in rural areas. The report on rural tourism and its integration in comprehensive policy by C. Dimmer (Parliamentary Assembly) called on member states to promote a benign form of rural tourism able, by respecting the environment and local cultural identity, to help achieve the social contract which, in an integrated European policy, will

guarantee the maintenance of an eco-cultural and social balance between town and country.

As its contribution to European Tourism Year the Council of Europe drew up guidelines for the promotion of an "intelligent tourism".

At its 9th session in November 1991, the European Conference of Ministers responsible for Regional Planning recommended the promotion of tourism, mindful of the environment, as an additional source of income for the rural population and therefore an important contributory factor in halting the drift from the land.

2. The European Parliament

The report by the European Parliament on the creation of parks, the protection of land and the development of farm holidays also shows the strong interest of parliamentarians in this issue.

3. The Commission of the European Communities

"The future of the countryside" (COM (88) 501 final), together with the reform of the Community structural funds and their impact on the development of rural tourism,

particularly under objectives 1 and 5b, illustrates the importance the Commission attaches to this economic sector. Work programmes in almost all the areas that come under these objectives, as well as the majority of business plans drawn up by local development groups within the framework of the LEADER initiative, include innovative projects and illustrate that local initiators are working towards the harmonious development of high quality rural tourism.

Following the experiences gained during European Tourism Year, Community activities on rural tourism (Com (90) 438 final) have tended to support the definition, creation and marketing of "Rural Tourism" products forming a European network and identifiable by means of quality "labels" and specifications designed to encourage better harmonisation of products.

4. National initiatives

Encouragement at a European level has quickly led to national initiatives in many member states of the Council of Europe and the European Communities. Below are some examples of the implementation of European policy in the different countries:

- In France, with the support of the Ministries of Tourism and Agriculture, the Fédération Nationale d'Habitat Rural et de l'Aménagement du Territoire Rural (National Federation for rural settlement and rural planning) has, through its charter, created a new tourist venture called "RENDEZ-VOUS EN FRANCE, LA DECOUVERTE", which offers quality accommodation, services and entertainment in typical rural locations.
- The governments of Germany, Belgium and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg have encouraged the setting up of associations for the promotion of rural tourism which would extend the sector beyond farm holidays by also offering catering, entertainment and cultural activities.

- The responsible ministers in other member countries are supporting similar initiatives within the framework of rural development plans which often benefit from the Community structural funds under the objectives mentioned above.

II. Initiatives by voluntary bodies

ECOVAST, the European Council for the Village and Small Town whose current Chairman I have the honour of being, is a pan-European and non-governmental organisation which was set up in 1986, in fact just one year before the European Campaign for the Countryside was launched. There are, in addition to our organisation, a large number of other bodies working in the rural development sector. All these associations and their partners in the various countries recognise the need for an overall and integrated policy and support the promotion of tourism in rural areas.

Of the three examples I would like to mention, the first two are exclusively devoted to "rural tourism" whereas the third has so far shown a particular interest in this area and has supported the views of the specialist organisations.

1. EUROTER

Both the role of this association as a network and its initiatives such as the European competition on the theme of "the Village I love" are bound to become widely known in Europe. It has proven its professionalism in its recent study on tourist accommodation in the countryside for the Commission of the European Community and by organising a large number of conferences.

2. European Federation for tourist accommodation in rural communities, farms and villages (EUROGITES)

This association, established in September 1990 on the initiative of EUROTER, brings together 14 national organisations from 10 European countries with a total of around

90,000 lodgings provided by people living in rural areas. While the current work of the Federation concentrates on advertising, its main objective is to contribute to sustaining rural life, offer an alternative to mass tourism and promote a spirit of peace through contacts between town and country dwellers from different European countries.

3. ECOVAST

Our association has outlined its views on the development of rural tourism in its "Strategy for Rural Europe". This stresses the importance of tourism for the development of local and national economic sectors, but also warns of the potential dangers inherent in such a process.

B. THE PLACE OF TOURISM IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT POLICIES

In Europe, governments, local authorities and other interested parties should see tourism as a sector with local and national economic potential. People living in large cities and urban centres have always spent part of their holidays in the countryside. This often meant "rediscovering their roots" and as such played an important part in social and cultural relations by re-establishing family links while also leading to a better understanding between city and country dwellers.

Tourism in the countryside today continues to have a social and cultural function but in the profit-making world in which we live these aspects are no longer sufficient. Many decision-makers and initiators see rural tourism as a way of injecting new economic life into these areas.

With the majority of people in Europe living in towns and urban areas which have lost the rural character they had less than 50 years ago, and with tourist seaside resorts being overcrowded (adjacent to waters with a critically high level of pollution), a new wave of people seeking restful holidays in the countryside to restore their energy and

rediscover traditions and culture with which they have lost regular contact, can be expected.

What we need to examine is: Under what conditions can rural tourism be considered to make a socio-economic contribution towards halting the drift from the land and stabilising the population in these areas?

As population surveys in quite a number of European countries show, the rural exodus of the last century has impoverished the countryside to the benefit of towns and urban and peri-urban areas. Some countries already have completely deserted villages, while in others they are approaching a critical point where their survival is at stake. Once a rural community or a village has passed the point of no return, it becomes very difficult or even impossible to promote tourism as a way of strengthening the regional economy. It would not be a solution for a tourist promoter to restore such a village by turning it into a holiday village, because such a venture would definitely not fulfil tourist expectations since they would be deprived of any contact with the local rural population.

Tourists are not at all interested in visiting a rural area which has already become so depopulated that the local population can no longer be provided for.

Tourists today want to visit rural areas with a good standard of living and adequate amenities and services. In such circumstances, tourism can provide new revenue for the countryside, create employment and stimulate activities which increase income. The economic contribution of tourism can also give an impetus to projects aimed at protecting and developing the natural, historic and cultural heritage.

For tourism to have a positive economic impact on the development of rural areas, a number of other requirements can be cited, which by no means constitute an exhaustive list. Rural tourism must be:

- a form of tourism which is integrated into the existing social structures, agriculture and local culture; such integration makes for easy and spontaneous contact between visitors and their hosts;
- a quality tourism, rather than mass tourism based on high consumption;
- a tourism at a human level, commensurate with small networks providing lodgings, services and entertainment;
- a tourism which above all involves rural inhabitants themselves, who should have access to the necessary preparation and training to tackle their new roles in providing accommodation, entertainment and advertising;
- a tourism which focuses on a target population specifically interested in the natural, cultural and historic heritage of the countryside.

C. THE PLACE OF RURAL TOURISM IN AN OVERALL POLICY OF REGIONAL PLANNING AND CONSERVATION

The tourist sector must be taken into account in regional planning, which plays an important role in national policies concerned with spatial planning, land use and reorganisation. A liberal policy, which leaves the choice of areas for the development of tourism solely to tourists and promoters is no longer adequate. Conditions in the coastal regions clearly show that it is high time for public, national, regional and local authorities to respond and to adopt rules and efficient means for combating the "easy come, easy go" attitude of recent decades.

We need to be concerned above all with two questions about the development of tourism in the countryside:

What are the dangers of an over-developed rural tourism?

To what extent and under what conditions can rural tourism offer an appropriate alternative to over-developed tourist areas?

Politicians should recognise that developing tourism in the hinterland of the coastal regions and further inland can also potentially be very dangerous.

An analysis of the negative impact of "mass tourism" on the rural areas which traditionally attract tourists shows that a liberal approach can lead to the same problems that exist on the beaches and in towns which attract tourists.

Villages and the countryside may become swamped if there are too many tourists and tourist facilities. The host regions may be offended and alienated by their behaviour. The local population would not accept this type of tourism nor benefit from it. Local culture may be undermined and adulterated as a result of the types of leisure activities and products demanded by tourists.

There may be serious damage to the landscape and the ecosystems as a result of the scale and style of new tourist developments.

Avoiding such dangers while retaining the benefits of rural tourism as an alternative to overcrowded tourist regions requires a clear idea of the aims and direction such tourist development programmes should take.

There needs to be a broad partnership between all the interested parties at the European, national, regional and local level. Voluntary associations must have a significant role, alongside public authorities, in this partnership.

Rural tourist facilities, such as accommodation, entertainment and others, must be directly related to local resources. It means targeting markets which are adapted to and compatible with the cultural traditions of the host region.

Local initiators, working together within networks, must be given ample information and training to prepare them for their new tasks.

Local politicians and community officials must be able to control the scale of tourist activity and to eschew projects which could ruin the quality of life of rural inhabitants and their guests by spoiling the area and creating too much traffic.

D. CONCLUSION

Rural tourism can under certain circumstances contribute to stabilising the rural population. Above all, an appropriate demographic, social and economic base must still be assured to allow for optimum tourism development in the respective regions.

Rural tourism can also provide an alternative to pressures experienced by existing tourist areas provided that the planning authorities ensure that the necessary infrastructures for such new developments do not create new pressures.

Finally, and most importantly, the local population needs to be integrated into the entire process, from planning to implementation, via the initial phases of the conception, creation and marketing of rural tourist "products". It is this rural population above all whose interest in tourism has to be stimulated, because it has the most important part in this scheme and if it plays its part well it will be the first to reap the benefits from such a new venture.

RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR STABILISING THE RURAL POPULATION AND AN APPROPRIATE ALTERNATIVE PLAN TO THE PRESSURE FELT IN OVERCROWDED RESORTS

Mr Joseph TOMATIS
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Paris

1. Rural tourism: what is it? Who are its clients?

What is rural tourism? Different kinds of tourism and practices could be called to mind.

To analyse the social and economic effects of these different kinds of tourism, one must give a precise definition of rural tourism. However, definitions change according to the typology of customers questioned.

It seems that tourism in a rural setting is defined as tourism in a geographical area, which is not the sea, the mountains or the cities; it is "inland" tourism, in the countryside and in small towns.

The countryside has an image of a no man's land between the sea and the mountains: it is "what is left". There is no common denominator - this is why one must avoid talking about the countryside or any type of rural setting, but speak of a region or a theme.

Rural tourism, "inland tourism", "green" tourism, "agri-tourism" is also the authentic way to discover a country and its population; for the majority of visitors the purpose of a countryside holiday is to try and capture the essence of the real culture and way of life of the region. "Real tourism" in the countryside is the opposite of "artificial tourism" by the seaside.

Holidaymakers who choose the countryside could be divided into 4 categories, grouped in two main sections:

- *Two types of travellers: the itinerant tourist and the sedentary tourist*

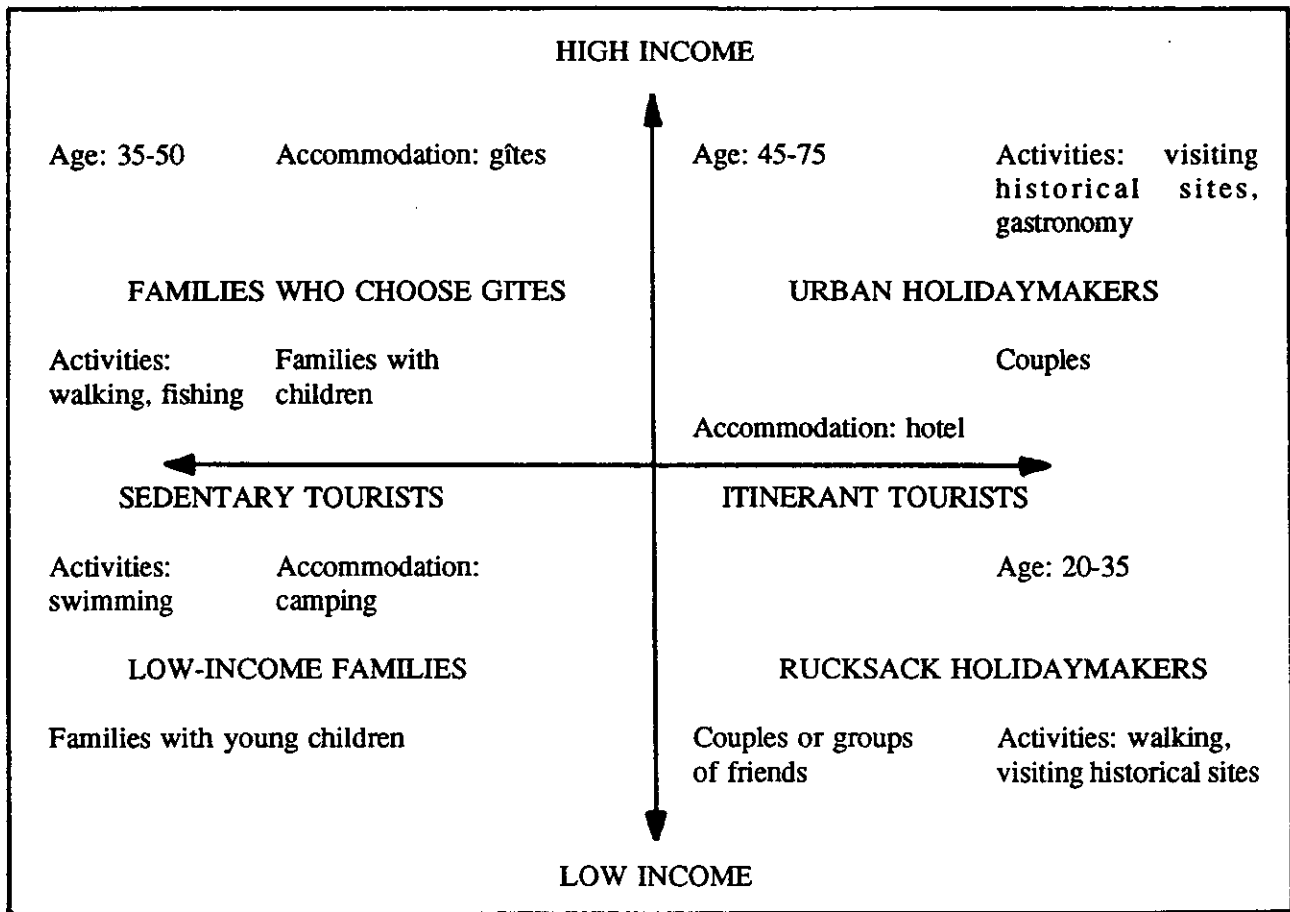
Itinerant tourists are numerous in the countryside, because it is the only area with a historical heritage. It is more than an ordinary resort with no past such as the seaside or a ski resort, the countryside is steeped in history and takes one back in time.

Rural holidays offer "cultural" or "natural" discoveries.

Sedentary visitors choose the countryside for the flexible activities it offers: swimming, visiting ancient monuments, walking, etc. Seaside resorts have the sea and the beach and nothing more.

- *Two "classes" of tourist: high and low quality*

Two different types of visitors choose countryside holidays: clients with a high income and high standard of living expect very good quality accommodation and living conditions. The other family of tourists have a low disposable income and are prepared to accept more basic accommodation: the countryside is cheaper than the seaside.



Rural tourism can therefore be divided into four categories:

- *Urban holidaymakers*

These are often itinerant holidaymakers, with a high standard of living. Aged 45-75 and married or in couples, they prefer short breaks and hotel holidays. They choose "typical" accommodation such as small hotels, bed and breakfast, or "gîtes", but look for a reasonably high standard of quality.

- *Rucksack holidaymakers*

These are young, itinerant tourists, visiting in couples or groups of friends. They like walking and visiting historical sites. They also choose hotel accommodation.

- *Families who choose gîtes*

"Giting families" choose countryside holidays for the variety of its activities: swimming - the presence of water is an essential condition - outdoor activities and visiting historical sites.

They like staying in "gîtes", because it is an "authentic" way of discovering a country and its inhabitants. The accommodation should provide all the amenities that they would expect at home.

Ideal location: near a lake or river in a region rich in cultural heritage. In a village or near a town with facilities.

The actual policies attributing government grants for "gîtes" are based on the level of

comfort. They do not take into consideration location, the host's ability to receive visitors, speak other languages, or the obligation to register the "gîte" with a booking office for a certain period (10 years).

The actual marketing strategy should include the concentration of all the sites into a single reservation centre, and the establishment of a price structure in accordance with the quality of amenities.

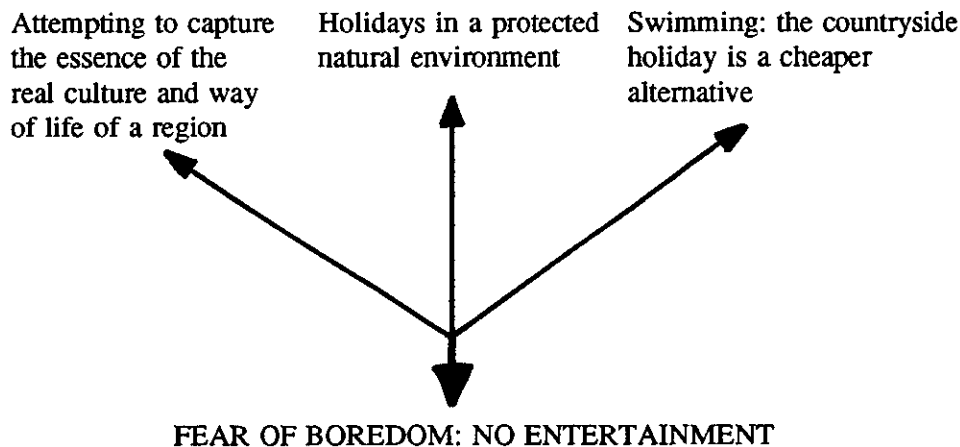
The price level is often too low. Self-catering accommodation with a good level of amenities has to be paid for: quality has a price.

- *Low income families*

These are often families with young children who cannot afford the seaside; they go camping and swimming.

The reasons why the countryside is chosen are varied, depending on the different types of holidaymakers:

REASONS FOR CHOOSING THE
FRENCH COUNTRYSIDE



2. How can rural tourism become an appropriate alternative to reduce pressure on overcrowded resorts?

Families who choose "gîtes" and "low income" families represent two categories of tourists who could reduce pressure on overcrowded resorts, i.e. seaside resorts.

In fact, these two categories are not actually seaside holidaymakers, or perhaps at other times and for different reasons: in the countryside they are looking for something which can not be found elsewhere.

On the other hand, there is amongst existing seaside holidaymakers a potential market for the countryside, provided that:

i. Water is present

Water is the number one condition to attract seaside holidaymakers to the countryside: water is an attraction in itself: "no water, no leisure!"

Rural holidaymakers cannot imagine the countryside without water. More than 80% of the holidaymakers who visited the French countryside during the five last years chose an area with water - lake, river or swimming pool.

The river is most frequently located in proximity to holiday sites. It represents the classic image of the countryside and creates a scenery, but one cannot swim in it. Holidaymakers need water to swim and play in; the river does not meet these needs because:

- of its cool temperature
- the poor quality of the water
- the mud and stones make it unpleasant.

Potential rural holidaymakers are looking for water which means leisure and comfort:

- warm, pleasant and secure
- in which one can swim, play, dive, etc.

Swimming-pools or lakes represent "leisure water", whereas rivers represent "scenery water".

The development of lakes or swimming-pools is to be encouraged in order to attract holidaymakers.

ii. Entertainment

One thing which curbs the holidaymaker's desire to visit the countryside is the fear of boredom: "to have nothing to do".

The countryside has to propose more attractions which can be visited in a short time (about one hour).

Rural holidaymakers are fond of farms, zoos with domestic animals, parks and gardens, occupied castles and small typical villages.

Outdoor activities include sports or culture:

- . sporting activities
- . more popular and easier "health" activities: swimming, biking, walking which should be proposed by every countryside resort
- . observation: discovery of animals, plants and flowers, the regional architecture. This is in general coupled with hiking activities around the accommodation

- . activities linked to the historical background of the area (become acquainted with cooking, pottery, weaving techniques).

Holidays in the countryside are a mixture of these activities. However, this does not mean that one can sell them as a package. The countryside holidaymaker is no more active than any other: he is looking for guaranteed activities to prevent him from boredom. He likes to see his choice confirmed by a golf course, for example.

"Packages" to sell the countryside should be attractive products for promotion. But countryside holidaymakers, more than any other tourist, are looking for freedom. People expect to discover for themselves the landscape and culture. They need information about the activities, but do not want them to be imposed.

iii. Quality of accommodation and living conditions

Rural tourism still has an image of:

- tourism for "lower classes", for those cannot afford seaside holidays;
- assisted tourism: because it was an instrument for regional planning, its objective was to stabilise the population and supply further income. It still appears as a poor and basic tourism, especially for tourist operators.

Clients must be reassured in particular about the quality of accommodation and living conditions.

"Holidaymakers sometimes have a very false picture of what a French farmhouse actually is"

Bathroom facilities are criticised:

"They don't even provide towels in most places".

Hotels, whilst cheap, are still viewed as quite basic. Few holidaymakers think of booking hotel accommodation directly, because few

reception staff have an adequate knowledge of English.

iv. Accessibility

The accessibility of products means good commercialisation and marketing. Rural tourism in France is spread throughout the country, as well as the "gîtes" and farms. Therefore it is not easy to put them together and offer a product to the market.

A market study carried out by DETENTE in 1986 emphasised the importance of the different elements in the choice of a holiday destination.

The positive elements are:

- . beautiful landscape
- . fine weather
- . tourism is developing rapidly.

The negative elements are:

- . We don't know how to book accommodation
- . The access is difficult.

The reduced dimension of operators and booking offices is a major problem for rural tourism in France.

Moreover, the marginal approach of the principal tourist operators leads to low commercialisation and profit margins: it is difficult to pay for a booking network.

Rural tourism may be an alternative to reduce pressure on overcrowded resorts provided that:

- there is water
- there is entertainment
- the quality of accommodation and living conditions is good
- it is easy to buy products or book accommodation.

3. How can rural tourism become a socio-economic factor to stabilise the rural population?

3.1 Conditions of profitability

To stabilise the rural population, tourism has to provide an important turnover as well as a sufficient net income.

Let us take a rural "gîte" as an example:

Investment of 200 KF:

160KF - real estate - redeemable in 20 years
40KF - personal estate - redeemable in 5 years

Financing: Capital:100KF
Loan:100KF (15 years - 10%)

Working account in a normal running year (without the operator's salary)

Working expenses (5% of investment)	10 000F
Financial charges	5 000F
Redemption*	<u>16 000F</u>
Total	31 000F

Minimum turnover necessary to cover expenses: 2000 F x 15.5 weeks

To reach a level of turnover to cover expenses, a "gîte" must achieve an occupancy rate of 15.5 weeks per year and must charge a weekly rent of 2,000F.

Two problems emerge: the prices in the countryside and the occupancy level of rural accommodation.

* Redemption is seldom taken into account. But it is necessary to reinvest after renting for several years.

The prices

For everyone, countryside holidaymaker or not, the price difference between seaside resorts and rural resorts is about 30%, to the detriment of the countryside.

However, to avoid a vicious circle and meet the demands of countryside holidaymakers, rural operators have to learn how to sell quality at a quality price.

The problem of occupancy

One cannot develop rural tourism everywhere and with the same occupancy level: there are different types of area, more or less attractive, where accommodation could be occupied for 60, 70, 90 or 120 days per year.

In France as shown on the map below, three different types of area could reach an occupancy level of 120 days:

- regions with a strong image
- middle-range mountain areas
- peri-urban areas

One exception to the rule: an operator could be successful with a one-off operation in a "less gifted" area, but it will not be possible to duplicate this operation.

In fact, to fill up accommodation an area must be attractive, and its attractiveness is determined by its notoriety and image. That is why the "less gifted" areas have to promote their products.

A necessity to reach a level of turnover to cover expenses: associating the private sector and the public sector

Whatever the area, the investment cost for a "gîte", for example, and its running costs are the same.

If the goal is to stabilise the rural population and adopt an active policy of regional planning, the less gifted zones must be

encouraged to develop tourism, provided that several criteria of attractiveness are respected. This can be achieved with subsidies and government grants, in order to lower the level of the operator's turnover to cover expenses.

3.2 A policy of "rural poles" to avoid sprinkling investments

Nevertheless, in order to have a return on investment and avoid sprinkling investments, the policy has to help not so much accommodation itself as the "rural pole", which presents a global and coherent development plan, including accommodation, attractions, protection of the environment and training.

These rural poles could be developed in regions "with a strong personality", which associates:

- a "protected" natural environment,
- a rich historical heritage.

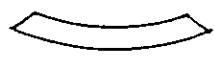
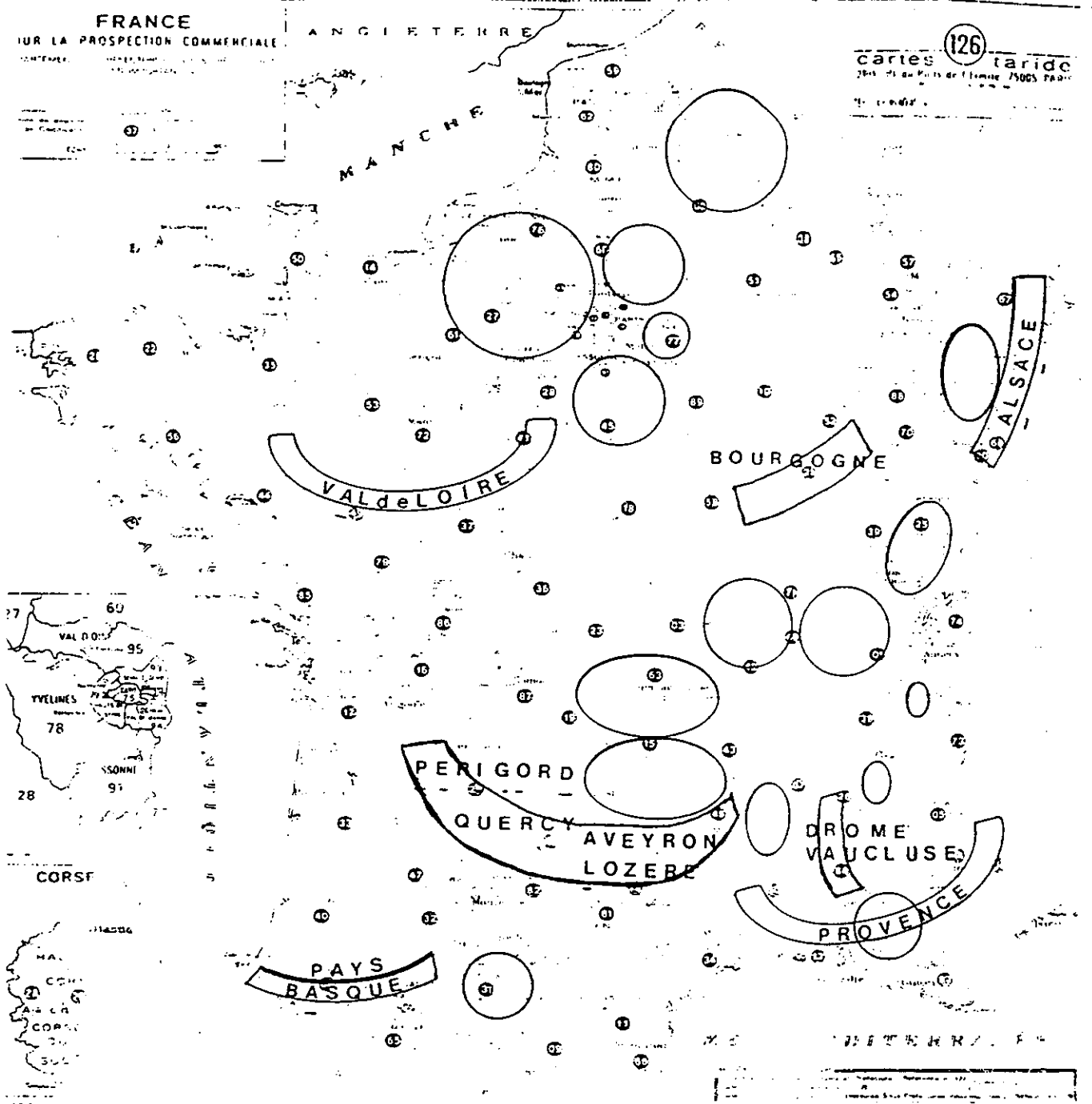
The label "Parc Naturel" represents a guaranteed site for countryside holidaymakers and a good instrument of promotion. There are privileged areas where tourism can be developed, on the condition that they provide high-quality services: signposted footpaths, typical villages, farm-museums, typical restaurants, etc.

Rural poles should be developed as follows:

Around the centre of the pole and within a 40 km radius, one must find the following:

- a lake for swimming
- leisure equipment: tennis, bike renting, horse riding, fishing facilities
- footpaths and bike paths
- varied accommodation: camping, "gîtes", traditional family hotels
- local restaurants

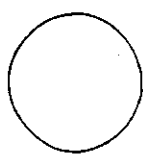
together with a renovation of the buildings and general environment. Countryside holidaymakers blame the French countryside for its neglected aspect: deserted villages, lack of



regions with a strong image



middle-range mountain areas



peri-urban areas

flowers, corrugated iron roofs, wrecked cars, rubbish dumps.

One of the conditions to develop rural tourism is the organisation of an environmental protection policy. This also presupposes an entertainment policy: exhibitions, markets, concerts, etc, and the development of information.

Rural tourism and, in particular, tourism in the French countryside, is a tourism of "individual people", as shown by the studies carried out by DETENTE. Europeans, who represent the majority of rural holidaymakers in France, visit France with their own cars and make few reservations, except for accommodation. On the other hand, they look for local information, which can be found in tourist offices located in all touristic villages.

Within a larger radius of 60 to 80 km, the rural pole should be rich in natural or cultural sites which could be visited by the holidaymakers (ancient monuments, churches, caves) and should develop a system of road signs and tourist routes, to enable discovery.

Planning must include a training programme: countryside holidaymakers are demanding tourists.

A recent study on the Dutch market points out the Dutch do not like the bad reception in the French countryside.

- limited contact with the inhabitants
- little equipment: road signs, sanitation facilities in the camping areas, activities and animation, information, shops.

In general, what is unpleasant about the French countryside?

Bad road signs

Sanitation facilities on the camping sites

People are unfriendly, they don't want to speak English

French people are presumptuous

Few places to go out in the evening

Few facilities for children, in particular in the restaurants: no children's menu, no games

Everything is closed at noon

Few shops

High prices in the shops

Reduced and badly organised public transport

Little information about historical sites

In these rural poles, the first target is to reach a quality tourism which leads to high prices and a return on investments.

RURAL TOURISM AS A SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTOR IN THE STABILISATION OF THE RURAL POPULATION AND A RELEVANT ALTERNATIVE TO PRESSURES ON EXISTING OVERCROWDED TOURIST AREAS

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Tourism officer, Co-ordination Commission
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For many people, tourism represents a brief and superficial series of contacts. Yet it also offers numerous exchanges and discoveries and a wealth of information calculated to open up new horizons, extend fields of choice, modify certain perceptions, beliefs and values (and confirm others) and reveal hitherto unknown beauties - as well as poverty and injustice. If one of the prerequisites of development is that it provides a critical perspective on different worlds, tourism can genuinely satisfy this condition.

Tourism is increasingly seen as a strategic element in current regional development. It interacts with many areas of economic, social and cultural life via:

- . the existence of effective communication networks;
- . the investment capacity and dynamism of entrepreneurs, essential components of development;
- . the quality of the natural environment and regional development, which may be one of its "products".

Although it can pose major problems, tourism can also claim in its defence that:

- . in many cases, it would not be possible to protect the cultural heritage without the contribution and justification of tourism;
- . a range of visitors can serve to increase awareness of different cultural identities;
- . tourism is a major factor in interregional contacts.

It therefore has to be given close attention and considered in terms of its implications for land-use and regional development.

In its April 1991 Community Action Plan for Tourism, the Commission of the European Community stressed the fundamental role played by tourism in bringing people together. The transnational nature of certain areas of tourist activity means that the completion of the single market will have a greater impact on tourism than on some other types of economic activity.

The tourist industry seems likely to be one of the major beneficiaries of the single market. The cultural heritage is one of the main reasons for the attraction of tourism: historic sites and monuments are identified in tourist information.

Tourism plays a role in promoting and financing the conservation and rehabilitation of the built heritage.

Its economic and political weight may make tourism the leading ally of the built cultural heritage since it fosters active conservation and finds new uses for old areas.

Cultural identity arises from the synergy created by the crossing of tradition with contemporary culture. We need to be sufficiently sensitive to allow the heritage, traditional cultures and contemporary cultural events to become part of the tourism strategy. The notion of *tourism as cultural exchange* has to be re-established.

If it does not establish its credentials and social, economic and cultural desertification is allowed to accelerate, the countryside will be transformed into an enormous leisure service area.

Without supporters, local cultures will be manipulated as if they were tourist products simply designed for consumption. The risk is that a form of cultural folklore - synonymous with inequality of opportunity and underdevelopment - will be deliberately created.

The environment tries to resist uncontrolled land use, river and air pollution and the visual pollution caused by poor buildings.

Tourism can exacerbate such threats when it fails to take account of the delicate balances involved, or else it can play the leading part in controlled regional development and environmental and cultural protection because its own "product" and its own business are at stake.

No-one can "sell" a region which is characterless and polluted. This is why tourism must, by definition, be the first and principal defender of regional development and the environment, making proposals for a balanced use of resources and setting out clearly the maximum level of exploitation and

the types of activity which will contribute to the harmonious development of the area and its people.

Traditional tourism is currently undergoing a structural transformation. The current demand for activity holidays, the discovery of nature, the desire for adventure and the search for cultural roots and traditions are leading to changes in the types of tourism required and its long-term development.

The demand for holidays in the countryside - with very clearly defined requirements - emanates from groups with above average incomes and educational qualifications. We are not therefore talking about second class holidays but rather of a clientele with a high level of expectations.

Among other problems arising in rural areas are the construction of buildings on essentially agricultural land, an ageing or inadequate labour force and the abandonment of holdings by farmers who no longer see any prospects for the future.

Without agricultural land there will be no countryside. In our country, emigrants are often accused of building poor quality houses, ignoring traditional forms of construction and threatening the beauty of the countryside. Yet it is also true that some emigrants who have returned to their country of birth are helping to maintain this countryside.

It is impossible to build on this when the weakening of rural economies is leading to the depopulation of villages. The countryside cannot be revived purely on the basis of tourism. The problem is that without those who work the land, the landscape will lack its human face and there will be no manifestations of popular culture.

Thus, whatever rural tourist development strategy is adopted, it must be linked to economic policies which promote agricultural activities and help to improve social conditions for those who work on the land.

Nevertheless, tourism is often the final approach to development in regions where other development models have failed. Sometimes, it is the last hope for development in depressed rural areas. This places enormous responsibilities on tourism.

What are required are improvements to local infrastructure and support services, an assessment of the impact of prospective changes on existing social and family structures, efforts to make the general public more aware of the problems of rural areas and, underlying all these activities, a major diversification programme aimed at creating new jobs in non-agricultural sectors.

This is the context in which rural tourism must operate, involving a recognition of the requirement to protect the cultural heritage of the environment.

When it is properly conducted, rural tourism satisfies a number of objectives: the diversification of economic activity, the promotion of dialogue between town and country and the protection of the environment and natural resources.

Tourism may be seen above all as an activity which integrates all aspects of economic, social and cultural development. However, tourism often determines both supply and demand and this places tourist agencies in a dilemma - whether to adapt the supply or sacrifice the demand. Initially this matching of supply to demand implies that everything that makes up that supply must be subordinated to the wishes and the approval of the customers.

Are the latter always equipped to make the decision? There may be a certain scepticism about, and even rejection of, what is placed before them.

The creation of a doorway onto illusion - what we term the "de-characterisation" of the appearance of a town, the harmony of a

landscape, the quality and validity of an art form or the authenticity of a cuisine - is not what is required.

Rather, it is a process which involves the social relationships and social coherence of the individuals and groups concerned and brings tourism face to face with cultural identity.

This identity is not a taboo - an unavoidable reality. A people's cultural heritage - through which it distinguishes and expresses itself - is not simply the sum total of its virtues, convictions and marks of genius; everything - even negative characteristics - should be known and taken into account. It is thus that a people can best be understood; this is the material from which tourism and its associated products are made.

What is required, therefore, is *the adaptation of supply to demand* (clearly important, since tourism often demands quality and authenticity, and not just the provision of services) and, at the same time, *the adjustment of demand to supply*, to ensure that it is compatible with the quantity and quality of what is available.

I would like to think that the best product - that which is most profitable in the long-term, which is authentic and which is the most in demand - is the one which mirrors reality and is concerned with discovering the true nature of phenomena, individuals and peoples.

Fortunately, as far as tourism policy and activities are concerned, this is certainly not a new idea. However, if effective economic and cultural practices are to become more generally applied, special attention must be paid to training and to the need for organisation and organisers, emphasis must be placed on differences rather than similarities, what is distinctive rather than the typical and the exotic, and there must be an awareness not only of tourist demands but also of what the locality or the region have to offer.

CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAIR ON THEME 3:

"Rural tourism as a socio-economic factor stabilising the rural population and an appropriate alternative to the pressure felt in overcrowded tourist areas"

1. The vast majority of human beings have always moved to areas likely to provide them with what they consider to be the best living conditions, gradually abandoning areas where life is hardest. The illusion of an easy, comfortable life in urban centres is at the root of rural depopulation. It is, and always will be, difficult to stop these migration trends.

Over-concentration of the population in towns makes it impossible, however, to provide living conditions considered satisfactory in the long term by the population as a whole. The urban tourists who flock to rural areas and the mountains are often simply escaping from the towns to a more natural, "human" environment.

Yet people do not like going to an area which is dead or more or less deserted. A search must therefore be made for solutions that allow country dwellers to stay in the country under satisfactory living conditions so that they can keep rural areas alive for their own benefit and for that of town dwellers.

2. Rural depopulation and widespread deterioration of the landscape, soil, water, forests, and so on impair the quality of life of the population as a whole, town and country dwellers alike, and can in the long term even endanger the health of the most vulnerable people. It is essential that the countryside be safeguarded for the future. Who better to safeguard it than the rural population? Public measures must be taken to help the rural population, who should be considered not only

as suppliers of agricultural produce but also responsible for managing our natural heritage, which is used by every one of us, knowingly or otherwise.

3. Limited, subsidiary support, whether direct or indirect, from the (local or national) authorities for the rural population must not be seen as a subsidy: it is simply fair remuneration for the service the local population provides by managing the area and the natural resources for the population as a whole. Aid for small rural farms which have limited the damage caused by intensive farming methods should be considered as a medium-term investment in the well-being of the population. It is necessary to preserve a rural society which is in a position, in the future, to accommodate not only tourists but possibly the section of the population that is tired of living in an urban environment which is becoming, and will continue to become, increasingly hostile.

It is apparently possible to save money in the short term by destroying, or allowing to fall into disuse, basic facilities essential to life in rural areas. Unfortunately, it will cost future generations much more to restore a natural environment - an unavoidable alternative to an artificial lifestyle which is being increasingly challenged.

4. The rural population must learn to integrate its income by taking advantage of new possibilities resulting from current

lifestyles, thus contributing to improving its standard of living and narrowing the discrepancy between its own living standards and those of town dwellers. Rural tourism can be a worthwhile source of steady income for the rural population, if country dwellers are able and willing to provide natural, authentic tourist amenities (accommodation, attractive landscapes, a healthy environment, food, personal contacts between the inhabitants and tourists, local culture, and so forth).

This type of tourism, combined with improving the present level of comfort of accommodation, cannot survive if it is cheap and rudimentary.

5. Tourism is not something that can be introduced without preparation. Any rural tourism development venture must be matched by measures to:

- prevent pollution and widespread deterioration of sites and landscapes;
- encourage alternative forms of tourism with a human face, which fit in with traditional rural activities and make use of local human and natural resources;
- facilitate understanding of, respect for and coexistence with the local population, despite the tourists' different activities and interests;

- maintain, in rural areas, basic public services which are essential to the everyday lives of tourists and the rural population.

6. In practice, quality rural tourism can:

- provide an appropriate solution to tourist demand in the coming years, which is bound to increase, particularly as people will have more leisure;
- provide additional income for country dwellers, enabling them to continue to live in their places of origin, and thus limit both depopulation and urban concentration;
- provide an ideal alternative to mass tourism in overcrowded tourist areas;
- make for the preservation and management of the natural heritage, whose vital importance to the population as a whole is still not properly appreciated.

A natural rural environment on a human scale will provide future generations with the breath of fresh air they need for healthier, more restful holidays that meet the growing aspirations of town dwellers to a better quality of life.