

CHAPTER 2

Definition, Dimensions, and Determinants of Tourism Impacts

INTRODUCTION

To develop tourism in a sustainable manner requires an understanding of the possible impacts of tourism. These impacts occur at the economic, environmental, and social dimensions, and are influenced by several factors.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this chapter, you should be able to:

1. define tourism impact;
2. enumerate and discuss the various dimensions of tourism impacts; and
3. enumerate and discuss the various determinants of tourism impacts.

DEFINITION OF TOURISM IMPACT

Hall and Lew (2009, 54) defined impact as "a change in a given state over time as the result of an external stimulus." For our purposes, external stimulus is referred to as tourism. *Tourism impact* may be defined as an effect brought about directly or indirectly by tourism policies, tourism-related establishments and infrastructure, and tourist behavior. Dictionaries define impact as (1) influence, (2) effect, (3) outcome, (4), result, (5) consequence, (6) aftermath, (7) upshot, or (8) product.

DIMENSIONS OF TOURISM IMPACTS

Tourism impacts may be categorized in terms of their scope, the direction of change and type of impact, and the scale, distribution, and duration of the effects.

The scope of tourism impact may be economic, environmental, social, cultural, or political. An example of an economic impact of tourism is inflation. The supply of products and services usually lags behind the increase in demand which results in shortage. The outcome is usually a price increase of airplane fares, hotel rates, and even real estate. Each dimension of tourism impacts will be covered in greater detail in the latter chapters. Improved connectivity among transportation nodes is an example of an environmental impact. Increased crime and prostitution are some potential social effects of tourism. Tourism can also

cause cultural diffusion, examples of which are the broadening of food choices in major tourist areas and the spread of such sports as surfing. Places that are able to contribute substantially to government coffers from their tourism income are able to get higher priority in terms of government allocations for tourism-related projects. This is an example of political impact.

Impacts are seldom uni-dimensional. For instance, a focus on tourism may make governments overzealous in protecting nature at the expense of indigenous people, creating a conflict between environmental and cultural concerns. For instance, an expansion of protected areas might be good for nature conservation and ecotourism but has a negative effect on ethnic people who rely on swidden agriculture for their livelihood (Dressler 2006). Swidden farming, more popularly known as *kaingin*, requires shifting the area of cultivation periodically after several years to allow each patch of land to fallow. Because of the protected area restrictions, farmers tend to return to a patch much earlier than the optimal time. This results in the land losing its fertility, soon leading to insufficient and low-quality produce. The resulting poverty then, leads some of the indigenous people to resort to environmentally damaging practices, such as poaching. They are encouraged to assume mainstream tourism jobs. The skills, rituals, belief systems, and nomadic way of life banish with time.

In terms of the direction of change, tourism may cause positive or negative changes on the economy, environment, or society. Tourism may either contribute to the improvement or the deterioration of a place. The creation of employment by tourism is a positive impact. However, the leakage caused when the tourism industry imports food stuff, wine, and managerial expertise is a negative impact. An impact may be seen differently depending on what side of the fence you are sitting on. For example, to people looking for jobs, gaming tourism is a positive development, but some long-time residents will see gaming tourism as gambling tourism with the associated casino hotels as places of decadence.

The type of impact may be categorized in many ways—actual (objective) or perceived (subjective), quantitative or qualitative, direct or indirect.

Actual or objective impacts of tourism are backed up by hard data. Most economic impacts, such as the increased population, number of jobs, amount of investment, and amount of tourist receipts generated by tourism are objective in nature and are quantitatively measured. **Perceived or subjective impacts** refer to the opinions of somebody concerning the effects of tourism. How people perceive tourism impacts will be influenced by their social status, world view, educational attainment, culture, whether they work directly or indirectly in tourism, and some other variables. For example, several studies show that people who work directly

in tourism tend to view tourism in a more positive light while the rest of the community might focus on the negative effects of tourism on their environment or culture. An increase in tourist arrivals is an objective effect of tourism. However, people will have subjective views on that increase. Tourism-related business owners, anticipating higher profits from the increased arrivals, will view tourism as a boon. On the other hand, ordinary residents, expecting crowding and traffic congestion may see tourism as a bane.

A number of variables affect people's perceptions of tourism impacts. Butler and Doxey linked residents' perception of tourism to the stage of tourism development. Butler (1980), in his Tourism Area Life Cycle theory, predicted that the community will experience and perceive more and more negative impacts as a tourism destination goes through the various stages of growth: discovery or exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, and stagnation. Tensions between the tourists and the hosts increase in the consolidation phase. As tourist facilities deteriorate, tourist numbers also decline in the stagnation stage. Doxey (1975), in his Irritation Index Model, suggested that the residents' reaction to tourism changes from euphoria, apathy, annoyance, and antagonism in the introduction, growth, maturity, and decline stages, consecutively. Stagnation could lead to decline and eventual death, or a revitalized destination through rejuvenation. However, Ap (1992), using social exchange theory, found that perception of tourism is more of a function of the perceived net benefits people derive from tourism. Those who get perceived net benefits tend to have positive attitude while those who perceive higher net costs will have negative attitude toward it.

Long-time residents or those who are native born tend to be more aware of the social impacts of tourism and regard increased influx as a threat to their community. People who have college degrees are also more aware of the negative consequences of tourism and this affects their evaluation of tourism impacts (Andereck et al. 2005). Other variables with positive relationships to attitude to tourism development are quality of life, the effect of tourism on community development, and emotional solidarity (Andereck et al. n.d.).

Quantitative impacts are impacts which can be measured and expressed in numerical form. Examples of quantitative impacts are the amount of taxes collected from tourism businesses, the number of people employed by tourism, and the length of roads constructed as part of a program to make a place accessible to tourists. **Qualitative impacts** are impacts that can only be observed and described. Examples of this would be the effects of tourism on social relationships and the effect of tourism experiences on an individual's self-esteem.

An impact may be described in both quantitative and qualitative terms. For example, employment from tourism can be described in quantitative terms, such as the number of jobs generated and its share of total employment. Jobs can also be described qualitatively, such as whether they are permanent, contractual or seasonal, and whether these are decent jobs as defined by the International Labor Organization in terms of wages, safety, ability to organize, access to training, and other indicators.

A **direct tourism impact** is one that is immediate and flows from tourism to the receiver of impact (e.g., residents) without intervening persons, agencies, or industries. In contrast, an **indirect impact** flows from tourism to the receiver of the impact through intervening persons, agencies, or industries. For example, salaries paid by a hotel to its employees represent a direct economic impact while the income earned by taxi drivers servicing the hotel employees is an indirect impact. The demise of fishing in some tourist destinations is often directly attributed to tourism as fishermen reconfigure their boats to ferry tourists. As they shift livelihood, practices associated with the occupation are also abandoned. People no longer have to sleep early and go out to sea in the wee hours. An indirect effect of this would be an increase in night-time entertainment establishments and sales of television.

Tourism impacts may also be seen in terms of its temporal dimension. A **cumulative impact** is one that is caused by tourism development over time. An example is the urbanization of hitherto idyllic island resorts. Water pollution on the coastal areas as evidenced by algal blooms is another cumulative effect of increasing amounts of untreated effluents dislodged by tourism establishments into the sea. An **immediate impact** is an impact that is caused by a single event, and could happen within a short period of time. An example is the increased occupancy of hotels brought about by the hosting of an Olympics. Popular TV dramas or movies can turn a sleepy community into a popular tourist destination by avid fans. Related to the above are the concepts of long-term and short-term impacts. **Long-term impacts** are those that will be borne or experienced by the affected sectors or stakeholders for years or even generations to come. An example is the marginalization of indigenous people and even extinction of their cultures in places which have undergone commercial tourism development. These are the aftermath of land-grabbing, migration, employment in mainstream tourism as food servers or tour guides, and intermarriages. Short-term effects are those that do not endanger the welfare of the affected people or places way into the distant future. School reunions which happen very seldom can only create short-term impact on a community.

Another way to look at tourism impacts is in terms of their distribution among stakeholders or geographical coverage. For instance, most of the tourism income is said to accrue mostly to only the local elites, such as wealthy entrepreneurs and powerful politicians. In contrast, poor people are not able to take advantage of the opportunities presented by tourism because of lack of skills, financial capacity, or social capital (lack of connections). Places that are endowed with outstanding tourism assets, in close proximity to the transportation terminals or gateways, and have a high concentration of skilled human resources are more likely to benefit from tourism than less-endowed areas. Tourism impacts will also be felt at varying levels in the different areas where tourism activity could take place. Leiper (1990), in his Tourism Attraction System model, identified these as the (1) tourist generating region, (2) the transit route region, and the (3) tourist destination region.

The **tourism-induced impacts** may be reversible or irreversible. A **reversible impact** is one which can be corrected immediately or over a short period of time. For example, trash left by festival attendees can be collected and disposed of in a matter of hours or days. An **irreversible impact** is one that requires a long period of time to recover. A very good example is the effect of divers on coral reefs. Corals grow very slowly. It takes generations to replace coral reefs stepped on by divers or hit by boat propellers and anchors. Another example of an irreversible impact is when a mountain is flattened to provide space for an airport or a theme park, or for its soil to fill in a land reclamation project for a tourism complex.

The impact from tourism may have a chain reaction or just an isolated effect. Tourism, particularly when carried out on a mass scale, has the potential to affect the environmental, economic, and social systems in an intertwined fashion. For example, the unexpected deluge of tourists to the Puerto Princesa Underground River caused by the successful bid to become a new wonder of nature has generated tremendous employment and investment opportunities. Unfortunately, the sudden increase in tourist arrivals has caused airport congestion, created shortfalls in water and electricity supply, and migration to the City, making people feel less secure. For some types of tourists markets and activities, the effect may be isolated or even inconsequential. A tourist, whose idea of a vacation is to spend the whole day in bed will hardly create a ripple as far as social impact is concerned. In line with this, we can also say that an impact may be intended/expected or unintended/unexpected.

Tourism impacts may also be classified according to the source. According to Hall and Lew (2009, 64), a tourism impact may come from a (1) point source or

(2) non-point source. A **point source** is a specific tourism-related facility, project, or object. This could be an airport, hotel, attraction, or event. Point sources of impact are site-specific, tangible, and have clear finite lifespans. A **non-point source** is mobile, intangible, and has an indefinite lifespan.

An example of a point source of impact is an airport. Building a major international airport can have significant impacts on the environment, economy, and culture, among others. It may sometimes involve land reclamation from the sea. This alters the ecology and topography of the site. Marine ecosystems may be destroyed as islets are connected to form a bigger space for the airport. Filling materials are sourced from the mountains or hills. As a result, the terrain is changed forever as the mountains are flattened to obtain the filling materials to connect the islets. In the process, trees and animals are destroyed. Furthermore, the new airport on the man-made island will require transportation infrastructure consisting of a highway, bridge, or railroad. The destruction of marine and forest ecosystems has repercussions on traditional livelihoods, such as fishing or forestry. Local economy and local culture (e.g., occupational skills and festivals) could be transformed forever.

Tourists, themselves, as well as cruise ships, airplanes, and other forms of transportation may be considered as non-point sources. Tourists as a non-point source may negatively affect the destination through irresponsible behavior. There have been horror stories of some tourists vandalizing sacred sites and even defecating in public areas. In fact, by their mere presence, tourists impact on destinations. For example, a throng of tourists through their body heat can raise the ambient temperature and humidity in confined spaces like museums, thereby contributing to the degradation of sensitive paintings. Lint from people's clothes can accumulate on pristine cave walls. Noise produced by tourists can disturb the biological cycles of animals.

DETERMINANTS OF TOURISM IMPACTS

Several factors that determine the direction, scale, duration, and distribution of tourism impacts could be deduced. Some of these are the level of economic development of the destination; the strength of linkages between the tourism industry and other economic sectors; capacity of the stakeholders, tourism policy, tourism laws, tourism development criteria, and weights; proximity to the tourism core; location of development; technology and design; physical and social carrying capacities; volume of tourism and residents-tourists ratio; and tourist markets served.

Level of Development of the Tourism Industry

The more developed the tourism industry, the more the destination stands to gain economically from tourism. The Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI) of the World Economic Forum is a measure of the level of tourism development in a country. The TTCI (2015) is based on four broad sub-indices, with a total of 14 pillar components. Under the enabling environment sub-index are (a) business environment (with 12 individual indicators), (b) safety and security (5 indicators), (c) health and hygiene (6 indicators), (d) human resources and labor market (9 indicators), and (e) ICT readiness (8 indicators). The travel and tourism policy and enabling conditions sub-index is composed of (a) prioritization of travel and tourism (6 indicators), (b) international openness (3 indicators), (c) price competitiveness (4 indicators), and (d) environmental sustainability (10 indicators). The infrastructure sub-index consists of (a) air transport infrastructure (6 indicators), (b) ground and port infrastructure (7 indicators), and (c) tourist service infrastructure (4 indicators). Finally, under the natural and cultural resources sub-index are (a) natural resources (5 indicators) and (b) cultural resources and business travel (5 indicators). One assumption is that countries which score highly on the TTCI are also likely to attract more tourists and thus, gain economic benefits. However, the TTCI is just a rough guide on a country's tourism attractiveness as just five out of the top ten countries in terms of TTCI in 2013 were also in the list of top ten tourist destinations in the same year.

A similar framework for assessing a place's potential for tourism is the A's framework suggested by Cruz (2009). The framework consists of (1) access, (2) accommodation, (3) activities, (4) attractions, (5) amenities, (6) atmosphere, (7) attitude, (8) administration, (9) assistance, and (10) awareness.

You must be familiar with the four A's (access, accommodation, attractions, and amenities). I would like to explain the rest of the A's further. **Access**, for instance, also covers political access, such as visa policies. Two countries like the two Koreas may be geographical neighbors but travel between the two countries is highly restricted because they are still technically at war since the signing of armistice (not a peace treaty) in 1956. The United States has only recently lifted its economic embargo on Cuba paving the way for travel to the only communist country in the Western hemisphere. Thus, access is also dictated by geopolitical situations.

Atmosphere refers to the general impression of being welcome and safe in a destination. **Attitude** is about the friendliness and readiness of residents in a destination to have tourists in their midst. Atmosphere and attitude are similar to

international openness, safety and security, and health and hygiene criteria in the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index. **Administration** is the management of tourism in the destination and covers how effective the national and local tourism agencies are in doing their jobs. **Assistance** is the level of support provided by government to tourists and to the tourism industry. Finally, awareness-building refers to the tourism promotional effort of the government.

Strength of the Economy and Linkages

The net economic impact of tourism depends on the proportion of income that is retained in the local economy. This retained income is basically the difference between the tourism revenues and the amount of leakages. **Leakage** happens when we import products or pay for expatriate managerial expertise. To minimize leakage, therefore, requires buying local products and managerial services. To make this happen, there must be sufficient supply of such inputs at acceptable quality levels. This is only possible when the local economy is diversified, and there are strong linkages in the tourism value chain. For example, to encourage five-star hotels to buy local beef, local farmers must have the capacity to supply world-class quality beef at the right quantity at the desired times, consistently and reliably. However, establishing close linkages between tourism and the agricultural sector faces several constraints. These may be a combination of the lack of skilled human resources, capital, access to credits, and other assistance and the dominance of urban players (Kausar and Nishikawa 2010).

Stakeholder Power and Capacity

One of the key issues in tourism development is the extent by which the benefits and opportunities are shared by the stakeholders. Ideally, there must be equity in tourism outcomes. In reality, the more powerful stakeholders are able to rake in the benefits while the weaker ones get to bear the costs of such development. In light of this, people who hold more power tend to have positive attitudes toward tourism (Kayat 2002). Local elites such as politicians and businessmen are able to make the rules of the game through policies and resource allocations that are favorable to their interests. On the other hand, groups such as farmers, fishers, the urban poor, and indigenous peoples could not take advantage of the opportunities presented by tourism development because of lack of human skills, financial, and social capital (connections).

One explanation for this inequity is offered by Moscardo (2011) through social representations theory. **Social representation** refers to the way people construct knowledge about tourism and its impacts. **Social representations theory**

holds that “where there is limited knowledge of tourism, a destination community must either develop its own social representation of tourism or adopt an existing one.” Unfortunately, the poor lack the adequate knowledge of tourism (e.g., marketing knowledge) which is the basis of the power to “make decisions that affect their lives.” The planning process then is often relegated to external tour companies, or consultants who impose their own social representation of tourism on the local community. In many cases, the consultants’ social representations reflect the sentiments of the local elites. This results in a distribution where the elites receive the bulk of the positive impacts and the poor, most of the negative impacts. An example of a negative impact borne by the poor is the environmental discrimination or racism. Environmental discrimination is “the result of, and process by which, environmental policies create intended or unintended consequences, especially those which have disproportionate impacts on individuals, populations, communities, minority populations or races, women and lower-income groups” (Lee and Jamal 2008). Environmental racism refers to “any policy, practice, or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color” (Bullard 1996, 497 in Lee and Jamal 2008). A concrete example of environmental discrimination or racism in tourism is when the area populated by the poor or racial minorities is used to dump garbage or to build noisy power generators.

Tourism Policy

Another determinant of tourism impact is tourism policy as embodied in republic acts, presidential decrees, or local ordinances. Tourism policy serves as the tourism development framework. It defines a country’s prioritization of tourism in relation to overall development strategy and spells out the objectives of tourism development and the key strategies for attaining them. Thus, it is the starting point for the national tourism development plans which define the location of priority tourism clusters, kinds of tourism products to be developed, target markets, and specific roles of stakeholders, all of which have implications on the kind, scale, and distribution of tourism impact. Tourism policy provides focus and direction to tourism development. As such, tourism policy could be considered as having the biggest influence on tourism development.

Investment Incentive Criteria and Weights

The kind of tourism impacts is shaped by the chosen tourism development strategy. One of the major strategies for tourism development that was formulated in the National Tourism Development Plan for 2011–2016 is the establishment of

Tourism Enterprise Zones or TEZ. The Tourism Infrastructure and Enterprise Zone Authority (TIEZA) distinguishes between ordinary TEZ and flagship TEZ primarily on the basis of the size. The required area for ordinary TEZ is five hectares (50 000 square meters) and for flagship TEZ 50 hectares (<http://www.tieza.gov.ph/>). There are other criteria, such as proximity to a gateway and availability of public utilities. But on the basis of land area alone, it is obvious that this investment opportunity is limited to rich corporations, local government units, or individuals.

According to the "Guidelines To Evaluate Tourism Enterprise Zones And Tourism Enterprises," the major evaluation criteria for TEZ and their corresponding weights are (1) ecological and physical design consideration (25%), (2) economic consideration (20%), (3) competitiveness and long-term financial sustainability (20%), cultural consideration (20%), and community and stakeholder acceptability (15%). The major categories of TEZ are (1) cultural heritage tourism zone, (2) health and wellness tourism zone, (3) ecotourism zone, (4) general leisure tourism zone, and (5) mixed-use tourism zone. The evaluation criteria and their assigned weights, and the classification of TEZ will influence the kind of projects that are proposed and approved. On the aspect of the evaluation criteria, the guidelines is silent on poverty reduction. For example, in evaluating the economic impact of the TEZ projects, the words "employment and livelihood opportunities, [and] income generation" were used but there was no direct reference to poverty reduction. Without an explicit pro-poor stance, the poor may not necessarily benefit from the employment and livelihood opportunities.

Tourism Volume, Density, or Ratio

Tourism density refers to the number of tourists at a given time in relation to the area of the destination. **Tourism ratio** refers to the volume of tourists in relation to the local population. In general, the impact of tourism rises in proportion to the increase in tourism density or ratio. For example, the influx of tourists during the summer months to places like Tagaytay, Baguio, or Calamba causes heavy traffic congestion which increases travel time. This results in the deterioration in the quality of experience for the tourists and in the quality of life of the residents in these places.

The concentration of a large number of tourists from a certain country can alter the character of a tourist area. Places frequented by Koreans, for example, assume the character of a Korean town with rows of restaurants, karaoke bars dishing out Korean food, and K-pop music. Convenience stores selling Korean products tend to also mushroom in such places. Tourist districts in most cities tend to assume a cosmopolitan ambience. Such places tend to have many English-

speaking service staff in hotels and tour guides, restaurants specializing in foods from every corner of the world, and shops stocked with international brands.

Concentration or Dispersal of Tourist Zones

In North Korea, tourist movement is tightly controlled in order to minimize tourist-host contact which may lead to unwanted foreign influence. Individuals or groups must always be accompanied by foreign language-speaking tour guides. The tourists are only brought to designated hotels, restaurants, and entertainment centers.

The government can also contain the negative side effects of tourism by concentrating tourism activity in a confined section of a city. Such areas are "sacrificed" (Hall and Lew 2009) in order to protect the rest of the population from the negative consequences of tourism. Red-light districts are examples of such sacrificial areas.

However, when the intent is to spread the benefits of tourism, the strategy would be one of dispersal. The government in this case would choose to designate tourism development clusters across the country. In the National Tourism Development Strategy for 2011–2016, a total of ten tourism clusters were identified in Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. To generate enough tourism volume that could cover as many local destinations as possible, the preferred strategy would be mass tourism. However, apart from the sheer number, spending habits and length of stay must also be factored in. Backpackers may not spend much but could actually produce greater pro-poor impact because they are the ones who stay longer, and patronize budget establishments such as homestays, *turu-turu* restaurants, and *sari-sari* stores. In contrast, other tourists choose international chain hotels, franchise restaurants, and popular convenience stores.

Tourist Markets Served

The tourist markets served determine the kind of impacts that are exerted on the host destination as well as those experienced by the tourists themselves. Cohen (1972) differentiated "institutionalized" from "non-institutionalized" tourists. The first type is composed of organized mass tourists and individual mass tourists, and their tours are closely linked to the travel industry made up of travel agencies, tour operators, hotels, and so on. This type of tourism encourages the standardization of tourism facilities and services and therefore, reduces the qualities of novelty and uniqueness of the destination. In terms of tourism's impact on the individual, mass tourists tend to be shielded from local experiences because they remain largely within their "environmental bubble", although the individual

mass tourist may experience some level of impact because his/her itinerary is not as fixed as the organized mass tourists. The second type is composed of explorers and drifters. Explorers avoid the popular tourist attractions but still prefer the comfortable accommodation and reliable modes of transportation. The drifters seek the excitement of complete strangeness and direct contact with new and different people. Thus, the drifters tend to experience the most profound personal impacts.

We can surmise that institutionalized tourists exert some cultural influence on the residents of a destination mainly through demonstration effect. **Demonstration effect** is how the behavior of people is influenced by observing, and imitating the actions of tourists. However, they themselves experience minimal transformation because of the virtual absence of interaction with the locals. The local economic impact of institutionalized tourism is limited as package tours are bought in the tourists' country of origin. Little money trickles down to local establishments because some foreign tour operators prefer to bring their clients to establishments owned by fellow nationals, and by employing tour guides that speak their own language.

Technology

Tourism impacts, especially on the environment, may be modified by technology. For example, noise and greenhouse gas emissions from aircraft, which is the primary mode of long-haul travel, have been significantly reduced with the deployment of the newest generation of aircraft. Water pollution may be abated by installing wastewater treatment facility. Tourist resorts may install solar panels to reduce their reliance on commercial electricity. In that way, they also do not have to compete with local residents for the limited power supply.

Capacity

The impact of tourism in a given environment will depend on the volume of tourism compared with the carrying capacity of the site. **Tourism carrying capacity** is defined as "...the level of human activity an area can accommodate without the area deteriorating, the resident community being adversely affected, or the quality of visitors experience declining" (Middleton and Hawkins Chamberlain, 1997 in <http://www.biodiversity.ru/>). The World Tourism Organization defines carrying capacity as the "the maximum number of people that may visit a tourist destination at the same time, without causing destruction of the physical, economic, socio-cultural environment, and an unacceptable decrease in the quality of visitors' satisfaction."

In 2012, Park authorities have set the carrying capacity of the Puerto Princesa Underground River to 780 daily visitors individuals (Salaveria 2012). This is to preserve the attraction's ecological balance and prevent further disturbance of the wildlife in the cave, such as the bats which apparently moved to other locations of the underground river cave because of the disturbance created by tourists. The new carrying capacity is more than 50% higher than the previous limit of 500 (DENR n.d.) but there have been reports that even the new limit has been breached because of the phenomenal deluge of tourists following the Underground River's inclusion in the New 7 Wonders of Nature.

To support the carrying capacity limits, the Park has enforced a "No Permit, No Entry" policy. All persons should first secure an entry permit from the Underground River Booking Office before going to the Puerto Princesa Subterranean River National Park. Bookings may be made in person in Puerto Princesa City or online. To control the number of tourists inside the Cave at any given time, passenger numbers are regulated in boats ferrying visitors from the Sabang Pier to the mouth of the Subterranean River, and then in the smaller boats which bring the visitors to the Cave itself (Villalon 2012). To further ease the pressure on the site, the City Government has been developing other tourism circuits as alternative destinations.

Other Factors

Besides the factors mentioned, Ryan (2003) added the emergence of bureaucrats, the rise of unlivable industrial cities which drove people to escape the physical crowding of the cities, and women's liberation, a driving force for tourism development.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Define tourism impacts.
2. Cite at least five factors that influence the kind, scale, and duration of tourism impacts. Choose one of them and thoroughly discuss its implications on tourism impact.

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