A Qualitative Examination of Perceptions of the Impact of Tourism upon Family Life in Cyprus

by:

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SUMMARY

The social and cultural impacts of tourism on a host country have been a subject of increasing concern to social scientists and planners all over the world. Research in the field of “Resident’s perceptions and attitudes on the social impact of tourism” conducted over the last three decades, consider tourism as a disruptor of traditional social structures and behavioural patterns. Furthermore, tourism seems to be blamed for all the ill fates of modern societies. However, the research of resident perceptions of the impact of tourism has been largely descriptive with the base knowledge about resident attitudes coming from the analysis of quantitative surveys, which ask respondents to indicate a level of agreement with positive, or negative statements about the impact of tourism, as if people think in ‘tick-boxes’ and ‘Likert-type’ scales. To a large extent, all studies come to broadly similar conclusions, which actually leave the impact of tourism unclear.

The originality of this study lies in its aim to build a different approach altogether, by making a different assumption, that ‘no assumption of impact is made’, and that the topic is approached without that initial assumption of the impact. Furthermore, this study pioneers by using Focus Group discussions as the research instrument. The groups which participated in the study, were not informed that the actual scope of the study was related to the subject of tourism and its effects on their family life. Instead, the study was furnished upon the subjects, as a “survey on social change in family life in Cyprus over a 25-year period”, in an attempt to indirectly identify the degree to which such changes are attributed to tourism. Furthermore, the study attempts to shed some light in the dynamic and complex nature of the basis on which residents draw conclusions about tourism.

The broad issues introduced during the group discussions revolved around the themed areas of: family and marriage; morals and sexual ethics; community, culture, quality of life in the community and lifestyle, and, education and profession. In addition, the study endeavours to differentiate between the strength with which these impacts are felt among people who are directly involved in the field of tourism, as opposed to those who are not directly involved in the industry.

Every effort was encompassed in an attempt to minimise the subjectivity associated, and often, negatively criticised, in qualitative research. Content analysis was employed for analysing the set of six transcripts, which resulted from the focus group discussions. A set of precisely defined categories was
created which illuminate the issues under study and then the content was classified according to those
pre-determined categories.

The results of the study identify that the population of Cyprus has a generally positive attitude towards
tourism. Perhaps however, there is some level of consensus among the indigenous population with
regards to the positive economic impacts of tourism to their area. Despite their favourable disposition
towards tourism, the existence of some adverse social impacts, such as morality, sexual freedom and
permissiveness, dressing styles, illegal immigrants, alcohol, and drugs, were also recognised. On the
other hand, residents feel that tourism has no direct impact on issues such as organised crime, loss of
identity, marriages, and divorces.

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this exploratory research is that the changes in family
life in the period under study are attributed to the changes in modern life in general, not specific to
Cyprus. It seems that Cyprus is just another example of the general cases of social change and their
effects on family life. At the overall level, tourism was not singled out as a cause of anything. In the
broader sense, the main conclusion is that the changes in family life in Cyprus are brought about by
modern changes in modern life.

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and has not been presented or accepted in any
previous application for a degree. The work, of which this is a record, has been carried out by myself unless
otherwise stated and where the work is mine, it reflects personal views and values. All quotations have been
distinguished by quotation marks and all sources of information have been acknowledged by means of references
including those of the Internet.

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List of Abbreviations
CTO Cyprus Tourism Organisation

Notes:
It will be noticed throughout the Chapters as well as in the Appendices that the place-names of Towns and Villages in Cyprus are spelled out in a variety of different ways.

The reason for this, probably confusing situation, is the recent standardisation that has been brought about by the ‘Cyprus Permanent Committee on Topographical Names’ in order to safeguard the Ethnic Status of Cyprus, a standardisation that has not yet been fully implemented. The issue is not a matter of transliteration, but political. The names, which appear on the right hand side of the list below, were accepted by everybody, and officially used for centuries, until the unjustifiable attempt by the so-called ‘authorities’ of the Northern part of the Island to change the demographic character of that area. The new standardisation, i.e., the conversion into ‘Modern Greek’ of the Cypriot toponyms, was done in conjunction with the UN Organisation and now all maps, books, articles, and signs, which use different names from those officially approved under the UN Directive on this subject, are by international law, null and void.

It has to be accepted that it will take some time for the new place-names to be fully adopted, hence the probable confusion caused during this transitional period.

Following is a list of the major towns (areas) and the way these should now be spelled out:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Town</th>
<th>Instead Of</th>
<th>New Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lefkosia</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Nicosia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemesos</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Limassol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pafos</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Paphos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Larnaca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agia Napa</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Ayia Napa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammochostos</td>
<td>instead of</td>
<td>Famagusta or Varoshia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is worth noting at this point, that when someone refers to the Ammochostos, or Varoshia, or Famagusta region, this includes the areas of Paralimni, Protaras, and, Agia Napa.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a fact that no book is completely the work of the author or authors whose name(s) are listed on the cover page. Consequently, I dedicate this dissertation to the individuals who provided me with encouragement, support and assistance for its realisation. It also has to be acknowledged that the knowledge derived from the authors of the articles and books listed in the appendices, provided me with the stimulus for the accomplishment of this project.

A very special 'thank you', goes to Dr. Michael Riley, who has been an inspiration and a mentor for me throughout my doctoral pursuit. I am sincerely grateful for the support he provided me with. Particularly valued, are, his ability to instill confidence; the depth and breadth of his knowledge; the rectifying of unclear issues and inconsistencies; and, his ability to provide the right kind of support through the rough times. Furthermore, his positive nature, expansive knowledge and academic diligence are highly valued.

Special thanks and appreciation are extended to my adorable parents, whose love, encouragement and unfailing support, made it possible for me to accomplish my studies. My most sincere gratitude goes to my dearest wife Natasa, who believed in me, and carried me through the rough times with love, patience and moral support. This project is warmheartedly dedicated to them.
CHAPTER 1 – Objectives, Aims and Relevance of the Research

1.0 OBJECTIVES

The support of the indigenous population is essential for the successful operation, further development and sustainability of tourism. When tourists are made to feel welcome by the host community, they are more likely to return as well as recommend the destination to their friends and relatives. On the other hand, however, a destination becomes less attractive if tourists are treated with indifference or disdain. Furthermore, the quality of life of the residents who are impacted by tourism in their community should be a major concern for community leaders. If the development of tourism results in a lesser quality of life, residents may feel that the economic benefits are not worth the costs.

The elements that affect resident reaction to tourists and tourism development are dynamic and complex in nature. This research seeks a different way from the norm to add to the knowledge concerning rudiments that shape attitudes towards tourism held within the host community. The study explores the various elements that affect host community resident attitudes towards tourism. Specifically, the question this research seeks to answer is: 'How do resident perceptions of the social and cultural impacts affect their support for tourism?'

Previous researchers have described the impact of tourism on the host community and have delineated economic, environmental and socio-cultural costs and benefits. The majority of travel and tourism textbooks address the issue of the impacts of tourism as an important component which needs to be taken into consideration by decision makers involved in tourism planning (Gee, Mackens and Choy, 1989; Gunn, 1988; McIntosh and Goldener, 1990; Murphy, 1985). In his classic book 'Passport to Development', deKadt (1979) points out the general failure of tourism destination planners to establish 'a clear framework to determine which questions need to be considered, and what factors should enter into their decision making' (p.41). Similarly, Matheison and Wall (1982) present a synthesis of the research on the impacts of tourism in their book which focuses on interrelationships of a combination of phenomena associated with tourism development.

Studies of the economic impacts of tourism have been commonly viewed as a positive force (perhaps because of the ease of factual data collection involved) which increases total income for the local economy, foreign currency earnings for the host country, direct and indirect employment, and tax revenues as well as stimulating secondary economic growth (Uysal, Pomeroy, and Potts, 1992; Peppelenbosh and Templeman, 1989; Bryant and Morrison, 1980; deKadt, 1979; McNicoll, 1979).
A large number of social and cultural impact studies consider tourism as a cultural exploiter or polluter (Young, 1977; Greenwood, 1989; Fanon, 1966). Additionally, tourism has frequently been criticized for the disruption of traditional social structures and behavioural patterns (Kousis, 1989; Butler, 1974). However, tourism has also been viewed as a means of revitalising cultures when dying customs are rejuvenated for tourists (Witt, 1991; McKeen, 1977; Boissevain, 1977).

Studies of the environmental impact of tourism focus on tourism development, stress and preservation (Farrell and Runyan, 1991). Alpine areas, coastlines, islands, lakes and habitat areas are generally sensitive to intense usage resulting from tourism development (Murphy, 1985). Krippendor (1982) urges planners to protect the resource on which tourism is dependent.

Investigations have explored the potential link between the impact of tourism and resident attitudes towards tourism by comparing residents across level participation in recreation (Perdue, Long and Allen, 1987; Keogh, 1990), attachment to the community or length of residence (Um and Crompton, 1987), knowledge about tourism (Davis et al., 1988), proximity to the tourist zone or contact with tourists (Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Sheldon and Var, 1984), socio-demographic characteristics (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Ritchie, 1988), political and economic position in society (Thomason, Crompton, and Dan Kamp, 1979; Mansfield, 1992), type and form of tourism (Murphy, 1985; Ritchie, 1988), and economic benefits derived from tourism (Pizam, 1978; Liu and Var, 1986; Ap, 1992a; Prentice, 1993). The research of resident perceptions of the impact of tourism has been descriptive and largely atheoretical. Most of our knowledge about resident attitudes towards tourism has come from the analysis of surveys which ask respondents to indicate a level of agreement with positive or negative statements about the impact of tourism (Pizam, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Davis, Allen and Cosenza, 1988; Allen, Hafer, Long, and Purdue, 1993), as if people think in ‘tick-boxes’ and Likert-type scales. A few researchers found a linear relationship between support for tourism and certain perceptions and personal characteristics (Milman and Pizam, 1987; Perdue, Long, and Allen, 1987). Other studies infer that there are varying support levels for tourism within a community (Doxey, 1976; Dogan, 1989), and that the relationship may be nonlinear (Allen, Long, Perdue and Keiselbach, 1988). Yet, the dynamic and complex nature of the basis on which residents draw conclusions about tourism remains unclear.

In view of the fact that there are certain limitations to the existing research (other researchers have gone about looking at resident attitudes in particular ways; all made the assumption that there is some impact; they all used standard quantitative methods for collecting data; and to a large extent, they all came to broadly similar conclusions) which actually leave the impact of tourism unclear.
What this study attempts to accomplish is to make a different assumption that 'no assumption of impact is made' and that the topic will be approached without that initial assumption of the existence of an impact. Perhaps this approach is what makes this piece of research quite original.

The initial objectives of the study which are pursued through the literature, aim to build a different approach altogether on previous research which has demonstrated the link between tourism activity and socio-cultural effects on the host community.

The objectives of the research are as follows:

a) Determine the extent to which social and cultural impacts of tourism contribute to changes in value systems; individual behaviour, interpersonal contact; family relationships; collective lifestyles; moral conduct; traditional ceremonies, and community organization.

b) Identify whether the impacts of tourism are felt stronger among people who are directly involved in the field of tourism and/or are in proximity to tourism development.

c) Identify whether the variables of gender, age, level of education, occupation, language, and previous travel experience(s) affect the attitudes and perceptions of the local population towards tourism.

These objectives will be reviewed and reformulated in the light of the literature review and will be presented in Chapter 6 (Methodology).

2.0 THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

Chapter 2 aims at providing the reader with a sociological understanding of contemporary tourism through the literature review. The chapter begins by introducing the broad area of sociology and tourism and the effects that attitudes, perceptions and behaviour have in relation to tourism behaviour. The chapter also deals with the socio-cultural effects of tourism as these emerge in the literature. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the benefits and costs of tourism to the local population.

Chapter 3 attempts to provide a portrait of Resident's perceptions and attitudes research on the social impacts of tourism conducted over the last three decades. The Chapter comprises of twenty-seven research case studies, which have been conducted worldwide from 1978 to-date. The aim of these studies was to research the residents' perceptions and attitudes on the social impacts of tourism. The
Chapter summarises the main findings and methodological approach employed in each case study and provides a comprehensive research database summary of the residents’ perceptions of the impacts of tourism (both positive and negative) as these emerge from the research case studies reviewed.

In this research there is specific context, and Chapter 4 outlines that context. The context is both geographical and historical. The Chapter provides the reader with a short but detailed historical review of the volume, characteristics and importance of the tourism industry in Cyprus from the early years of independence and the formation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, to-date. Tourism emerges as an influential variable in the mosaic of social change.

In addition, Chapter 5 outlines the main social developments in Cyprus over the study period (1976-2000), hence provides the reader with an insight of social change on the island over the years under investigation. Among the issues discussed are: population growth, composition and geographic distribution; fertility, mortality, marriages/divorces and migration; women in society; education; life expectancy; health; and, employment. Together with Chapter 4, Chapter 5 also attempts to form the contextual background of the qualitative methodology, which is presented in Chapter 6.

In the light of the previous Chapters, the original objectives are refined in Chapter 6. Furthermore, Chapter 6, deals with the research instrument used and justifies the choice of Focus groups as the tool adopted to capture the findings. Furthermore, the chapter deals with the breakdown of the research and data collection technique adopted. In addition, a detailed presentation of the themes covered during the discussion groups is presented. Special effort is made throughout the chapter in stressing the originality of this study, which lies in the methodological approach to the subject under investigation. Finally, the chapter outlines the forms of analysis to be adopted in Chapter 7 and depicts limitations and assumptions to the research.

Chapter 7 sets off by providing a brief account of the purpose of the study as well as the composition and profile of the groups involved. The analysis of the Focus group interviews is then presented, starting off in an overall impressionistic style before entering into a more analytical discussion of the themed areas where each theme is treated in turn with a description of the findings, bringing in quotations extracted from the set of transcripts, in an attempt to connect the reader and the original participants through ‘well chosen’ quotations from the Focus group discussion. As a final point, general conclusions to the analysis are drawn. Finally, the methodology is criticised, limitations to the approach adopted and findings presented in Chapter 7 are discussed, and conclusions are drawn on the subject and are presented in Chapter 8.
References Cited


McNicoll, I.H. (1976), "The Shetland Economy – An Empirical Study in Regional Input-Output Analysis (Research Monograph No.2)", The Frazer of Alliance Institute, University of Strathclyde.


CHAPTER 2 - Literature review - A Sociological Understanding of Contemporary Tourism.

1.0 TOURISM AND SOCIETY

Over the past fifteen years, the literature on the impact of tourism on particular local communities has grown significantly. Jafari (1989) gives a good overview of the literature up to the late 1980's. Studies have examined locations in the Americas, Europe, Africa and the Far East. In a pioneering study, Belisle & Hoy (1980) (for a detailed review of this study, see section 2.5, under Chapter 3) found that in Colombia, attitudes varied with the distance between the tourist resort and the respondents' home. Rothman (1978) (a detailed review of the study can be found under section 2.1, Chapter 3) found that the impact of tourism in Delaware was not disruptive. Var et al (for a detailed review of this study, see section 2.8, under Chapter 3) examined attitudes in Marmaris, Turkey, and found them to be generally favourable, but with marked differences between attitudes to different ethnic groups. Other papers on American experience have explicitly addressed the problem of the relationship between the quantity of tourism and residents' perceptions of tourism impacts. For example, Allen et al (1988) in a study on the impact of tourism in the community life of 20 rural communities, found, based on correlations between community satisfaction ratings and the level of tourism, that there is a 'carrying capacity' (reviewed in detail under section 3.2.1) threshold for tourism. Once development passed a certain point, residents' perceptions of tourism became less positive. A further study by Long et al (1990) attempted to quantify the level of tourism at which negative effects outweighed the initial positive effects recorded in the earlier survey. The threshold they found, was that when more than 30% of retail sales were derived from tourism, perceptions of the benefits of tourism tended to become negative. In another study, Allen et al (1993) examined the attitudes of the residents of selected Colorado towns to tourism development. The project followed a comparative approach by comparing perceptions in areas of low and high tourism development, coupled with low or high economic activity rates, giving four different cases. The authors concluded that low economic activity and low tourism development tended to cause positive perceptions of tourism: the residents of such areas exhibited high hopes and expectations of the benefits of tourism. Those areas with high levels of economic activity tended to be less keen on tourism: given the strength of the local economy, the need for tourism was questioned. Conversely, high tourism development combined with low economic activity tended to lead to discouragement as anticipated benefits are not achieved.
The brief introduction above, provides evidence that much of the recent literature on the development of world tourism has been concerned with the impact of tourism on the host community. As countries and regions within countries, have turned to tourism as the means to raising national income, employment and living standards, so the pressures associated with the diversity, fragmentation, and multidisciplinary nature of the tourism industry and its associated development have begun to affect the local population. The land use of the areas designed for use by visitors changes; traditional culture may be altered; and the whole character of a town or village may be spoiled or even destroyed.

In 1980, R.W. Butler, in an influential article, postulated a link between tourism development and attitudes of residents to tourists. As the number of visitors to a region increases, residents who at first were overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes to their guests, develop increasing reservations concerning the long-term benefits of the visitors. This may be because the original expectations of the benefits derived from tourism, were unrealistic, therefore, incapable of being fulfilled, or, because the benefits are perceived to accrue only to a small number of people. Alternatively, although expectations of the benefits are realised, the environmental or social costs were initially overlooked, or excessively discounted, so that the local residents come to doubt whether their visitors are an unqualifying blessing.

Models such as Doxey’s Irridex Model (1975) (also see 1.1.2), claim that residents’ attitudes will go through a number of stages: from ‘euphoria’ to ‘antagonism’. (see also Murphy’s article, 1983). While models of this kind can be criticised as being based on too simplistic an understanding of residents’ reactions, (Lankford et al, 1994) they do at least give some indication of residents’ feelings.

The danger of a top-down approach to development projects are now well known (Adams, 1992). Central or regional Governments, perhaps persuaded by foreign entrepreneurs’ assurance of streets paved with gold, took little trouble to consult with local residents. For the development of tourism, this means that, in some cases, the visitors were kept largely isolated from the local people, either in holiday camps (such as the type pioneered by Club Med and Club 18-30), or in planned resorts from which escape was difficult, for example Benidorm in Spain. Such forms of development have been described as providing ‘ghetto tourism’ (Krippendorf, 1987). Today, as the growth in tourism is more within the 45-60 age group, rather than the young singles / young families segment of the market, growth is more likely to be in specialist or alternative tourism, rather than the sun, sea and sand paradigm of 20 years ago. Although it would seem that old attitudes die hard with at least some tour operators, more emphasis is now placed on niche marketing or destinations offering more than just a sandy beach, warm seas and cloudless skies.
Such alternative tourism necessitates more interaction between visitors and local residents, as those who are not directly involved in the tourism industry come into contact with the tourists. Therefore tourism of this type has the potential to have a greater impact on the lives of the people of the tourist region. Visitors will tend to meet and interact with local shopkeepers and restaurateurs, and increasingly with farmers and shepherds, and are inclined to try to talk to anyone involved in an interesting-looking or perhaps, photogenic activity.

Perhaps, then, it is to be welcomed that the growth of alternative tourism has been accompanied by a growth in the recognition of the need for tourism planners to take more account of the desires and aspirations of the local residents. Top-down control may be necessary to prevent too dense a concentration of development, or the grosser forms of environmental degradation, but consultations with the community are essential if the welcome and development stages are to be extended, and early frictions avoided, or viewed positively as a learning experience.

The aim of this chapter is threefold. Firstly to examine the relationship between sociology and tourism, and differentiate between attitudes and perceptions relative to tourism behaviour. In addition, it examines the external influences of neo-colonialism and postmodernism on tourism. Secondly, to investigate the social and cultural benefits and costs of tourism on society, and finally, to investigate the nature and extent of the social and cultural implications of tourism to the indigenous population of destination areas which results from the relationship with tourists and other agents of tourist development. All three areas are examined in the context of the existing literature on the subject under study.

Although this chapter is oriented towards an examination of tourism’s sociocultural consequences in a community context, the two sub-sections that follow (1.1 and 1.2) are devoted to a concise presentation of typologies relative to tourism and tourism development, in an attempt for an assessment of the relationship between the different types of tourists; the various stages in tourism development; and, the host community’s changing attitude towards tourism (nature and degree of impact). This inclusion was deemed necessary to provide the reader with relevant information on these vital parameters so as to create a broader and more spherical picture of the theme under study.
1.1 Tourists: Types, Categories and Roles (Typologies)

For the purpose of developing an appropriate analytical framework for the review of the social and cultural impacts of tourism, an assessment of the role and dynamics of the types of tourists as they are classified by a number of authors in the academic literature seems invaluable. Pearce (1989:216) quotes: “A prime consideration in examining the social and cultural impacts of tourism development is the nature and composition of the various groups involved and the relationship between them”.

Tourist typologies are grouped into two categories. Firstly, interactional models which emphasise the manner of interaction between the tourists and the local community. Secondly, cognitive-normative models which stress the tourists' motivations to travel. Cohen (1972, 1974), in the interactional model, divides travellers into drifters and explorers. Such tourists search for strange, exotic and unfamiliar environments and they are usually off-beat (they tend not to inflict any serious impact on the destination communities and they also tend to develop a highly personal contact with local residents). On the other hand, institutionalised travellers (those who make their travel arrangements through travel agents) are divided into mass tourists traveling individually, and organised mass tourists. These groups tend to search for familiar and popular (secure) destinations and guided tours. Cohen identifies their impact on destination areas as being the growing commercialisation and foreign investment as well as development of “artificial” facilities and reduced local control.

In 1979, Cohen, further improved on his previous interactional model and developed a cognitive-normative tourist typology based on tourists’ motivations, their subsequent demands and the resulting impacts on the destination community. The first category of Cohen’s types of tourists’ experiences is divided into existential, experimental and experiential. Tourists under this category seek to escape from everyday life routine, explore alternative lifestyles and enjoy authentic experiences. Such tourists acclimatise into destination areas and inflict little or no impact on local life. Cohen’s second category of typology consists of diversionary and recreational tourist experiences. This category underlines the travellers’ (mass tourists) search for pleasure, recreation, entertainment and relaxation. This type of travellers has a large impact on the community’s culture and local lifestyle. Their demands for modern leisure facilities lead to the creation of artificial pleasure environments and to increased commercialisation of their encounters with the host population.
Perhaps, the most widely acknowledged typology to date is the one devised by V. L. Smith (1989a), which is principally based on tourist numbers and their adaptation to local norms. Smith’s typology is illustrated and explained in the table that follows. It can be clearly seen that Cohen’s initial model and Smith’s model have many similarities regarding both the type of travellers and their impacts on host societies.

Table 2.1 - Frequency of Types of Tourists and their Adaptation to Local Norms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Tourist</th>
<th>Number of Tourists</th>
<th>Adaptation to local norms</th>
<th>Explanations - according to V. L. Smith (1989a)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Explorer</td>
<td>Very limited</td>
<td>Accepts fully</td>
<td>Explorers “quest for discovery and knowledge” (p. 11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elite</td>
<td>Rarely seen</td>
<td>Adapts fully</td>
<td>Elite tourists, “usually include individuals who have been almost everywhere” (p. 12) and who choose to tour in unusual places using pre-arranged native facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-beat</td>
<td>Uncommon but seen</td>
<td>Adapts well</td>
<td>Off-beat travellers seek to avoid the tourist crowds or “heighten the excitement of their vacation by doing something beyond the norm” (p. 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual</td>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>Adapts somewhat</td>
<td>Tourists who occasionally embark on organised trips to explore isolated areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incipient mass</td>
<td>Steady flow</td>
<td>Seeks western amenities</td>
<td>Mass tourists. As numbers increase from a steady flow of tourists to massive charter arrivals, the interaction with locals is gradually minimised and facilities are standardised to Western tastes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mass</td>
<td>Continuous influx</td>
<td>Expects western amenities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charter</td>
<td>Massive arrivals</td>
<td>Demands Western amenities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: V. L. Smith, 1989a: 12)
On the other hand, Plog's cognitive-normative model is one of the most frequently cited studies of tourist typologies. Plog (1973) suggests that tourist destinations are attractive to different types of visitors. The community enters the tourism business with the arrival of a small number of explorers and adventuresome individuals, whose impact on the host culture is very small (allocentrics). As the area becomes more established and more accessible, the number of visitors increases (mid-centrics). As the area develops further, mid-centrics will give way to psychocentrics who are, in simple terms, mass tourists, arriving at what has now become a popular resort. The latter two categories cause similar socio-cultural effects on the host population. Such as the increased commercialisation of visitor-host relationships and loss of the community's authentic attractiveness because of the large-scale developments that take place.

1.1.1 Typologies of Residents

It seems to be conventional wisdom that the type of resident most favourable to tourists is the person who has or thinks he has an economic dependence. Apparently, perceived economic dependence can generate resentment as well as (and perhaps more than) gratitude. Although this hypothesis will be tested at a later stage, one might rush to conclude that favourable attitudes towards tourism depend on a combination of perceived economic dependence and perceived personal freedom. That is, the friendliest behaviour that would be expected from people who feel they do not have something to gain economically from tourists, but who do not fear the complete loss of their livelihood by an occasional display of honest personal dislike for particular individuals.

Turning back to existing tourism literature, one could find that there have been as few attempts to typologising residents (in regards to encounters with tourists), as there has been an abundance of typologies of tourists. Instead, most writers have incorporated discussions of general resident attitude into theoretical analyses of "stages" of tourism development - the usual implication being that as tourism grows larger and more institutionalised, resident resentment increases proportionately. For example, Doxey (1976) posits that resident reaction will progress through the four stages of Euphoria, Apathy, Annoyance and Antagonism.

In his massive review of social impact literature for the World Bank, Noronha (1977) points out several studies which throw doubt on the inevitability of anti-visitor resentment automatically following from large, institutionalised tourism. He concludes that preventive factors include cultural similarities, resident involvement in planning and adroit choice of cultural "attractions" such that social roles and
locally meaningful ceremonies or traditions are preserved in their original form and maintain their original significance for residents.

Noronha also reviews literature pertaining to the question "Who does the tourist meet?". Most evidence suggests institutionalised mass tourists usually meet only service employees drawn from the lower strata of the host society, leading to a distorted and often contemptuous view of host nationals. A great many people have occasional brief encounters with tourists asking directions or other questions. But relatively few people interact with them on a regular basis.

Obviously, a key element in determining frequency of contact is occupational status. Five possible classes of residents with increasingly greater likelihood of true interaction are: (i) non-employees; (ii) employees without direct contact (e.g., accountants); (iii) resident tourism executives (owner-managers of small hotels); (iv) employees with direct contact (waiters, receptionists, tour-guides), and (v) small entrepreneurs.

The question, which arises, is about which types of residents have access to occupations, which bring them into meaningful contact with tourists. It is generally assumed that personality factors play a dominant role. The idea is that tourism employment is self-selecting in that friendly, outgoing people are most likely to want to keep jobs involving direct contact with visitors. Gregariousness in and of itself may be a key factor when there is a large labour pool and when all age, sex and ethnic groups have equal proportions of naturally friendly people. But in rural areas, the available workers may not all be inherently friendly. And if some types of people are more disposed to be comfortable and friendly with foreign tourists than are other types, the latter types are practically if not purposely excluded from contact with the tourists.

Obviously, the relationship between personal contact and friendliness is not completely linear, especially for the non-employee. Constant encounters with tourists asking the same questions are bound to be irritating. But there is some cost to be paid in resident friendliness if planners completely isolate tourists. That cost is likely to be greatly magnified if tourism executives import employees (e.g., lower paid foreign workers) and thus confine lower-income local residents to only occasional and annoying forms of contact with tourists.
1.1.2 Typologies of Tourist Development

Travis (1984:23) acknowledges that the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are not static but dynamic - “they go through several phases, or stages of change”. Accordingly, it has been argued that in order to understand the diversity of socio-cultural impacts, it is essential to relate them to specific types of tourism or levels of tourist development. However, Pearce (1989:15) noted that “impacts are often divorced from the processes which have created them”. Bryden (1973) recognised that the impacts of tourism are conditioned by the form of tourist development as well as by the context in which that development takes place.

A number of tourist development models have been cited in the literature. vanDoorn (1979: quoted in Pearce, 1989:12-13) proposed a combination of socio-economic levels of development based on welfare and propensity criteria and three stages of tourist development: discovery, local response and initiative, and institutionalisation. Each stage involved directly related impacts in the local community. It is evident that the stages of development in Van Droon’s model had many similarities with Cohen’s (1972, 1974) tourist typologies.

Miossec (1976, 1977: quoted in Pearce, 1989:16-17) developed a model of structural evolution of tourist regions through time and space. This model “remains the clearest and most explicit conceptualisation of the process of tourism development” (Pearce, 1989:16). Throughout the model, Miossec stresses how the behaviour and attitudes of tourists and the local community (decision makers and population) are affected by the increased development (provision of facilities, creation of resorts and transportation networks). In the early phases the territory is isolated, tourists have no interest or there is lack of knowledge about the place among tourists, there is very little development and locals have diverse and often contradictory views about what tourism may bring. As the process of development starts and the industry expands, a very complex system of resorts and transportation networks evolves. As a result, tourists become more aware of the place but they finally reach the point of spatial competition. These changes in residents’ attitudes, on the other hand, may lead to complete acceptance, adoption of control measures or even rejection due to the undesirable impacts of tourism at that stage (e.g., demonstration effects, segregation etc). The final stage is when the area becomes popular to mass tourists and that causes some tourists to move to other areas.

Butler (1980) developed a more complex model of a hypothetical development of a tourist area. Butler identifies six stages in this sequential evolution, which is heavily based on the concept of the product life cycle: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline or
rejuvenation. In the first stage there is no development at all, while in the involvement stage, facilities and services are provided primarily by the local population. In the development phase, however, the control of local residents rapidly declines. As Butler (1980:8) notes, "some locally provided facilities will have disappeared, being superseded by larger, more elaborate and more up-to-date facilities by external organisation, particularly for visitor accommodation". Huge international hotel chains and major franchises will dominate the consolidation stage. This stage creates adverse impacts in the host society since "...original attractions will be supplemented by man-made imported facilities" (Butler, 1980:8). Finally, local involvement will be regenerated in the decline or rejuvenation stage.

A widely accepted model of the cumulative effects of tourism development on social interrelations is Doxey's (1976) causation theory of visitor-resident irritants. Doxey, drawing upon his experience in destination areas such as, Barbados, Niagara-on-the-lake, etc) devised an irritant index. He postulated that tourist destinations pass through the stages of Euphoria, Apathy, Irritation, Antagonism and the Final level. In the first stages the hosts are enthusiastic by the development of tourism and there is a mutual feeling of satisfaction between locals and strangers. As the industry expands, however, interpersonal contacts become formal and commercialised. The level of irritation begins as the industry approaches the saturation point or when the large number of visitors cannot be controlled by the locals and further investments for the expansion of facilities are needed. When the irritations have become more straightforward, the level of antagonism begins. The tourists at this stage are seen as the ones creating all the negative impacts. The final level is when the locals realise the social, cultural and environmental changes that have taken place as a result of the extensive tourist development. The destination will probably continue to thrive if it is large enough to cope with the influx of mass tourism.

Lastly, Peck and Lepie (1989) established a typology of tourist development based on the hypothesis that "both the rate (magnitude and speed) of development and the amount of community involvement and control (power) over the change would affect the amount and distribution of payoffs and tradeoffs associated with increased tourism" (p.203). "Tradeoffs" involve the social impacts, which change the nature of the community. Such impacts include the shift from agriculture to commerce, the change in the family structure, and the effects on a wider range of community norms and morals. "Payoffs" on the other hand, are the economic benefits associated with tourism development and also "potential changes in social mobility within the existing social order" (p.204). Finally, the authors assume that development occurs in three different stages: rapid, slow and transient, and is directly associated with the type of visitors as well as with land ownership, financing and investment control.
2.0 SOCIOLOGY AND TOURISM

The sociology of tourism is an emergent specialty concerned with the study of touristic motivation, roles, relationships and institutions and of their impact in tourists and on the societies who receive them. It is as yet an ongoing enterprise for which there is no universally accepted sociological perspective, thus it follows that there can be no single "sociology of tourism". Instead, there have been several attempts to understand sociologically different aspects of tourism, departing from a number of theoretical perspectives. Although no established approach to tourism has been developed with its own unique blend of theory and method, there are a growing number of researchers who are willing to treat tourism as a recognised target domain requiring sociological understanding and explanation.

Cohen (1972) was the first researcher to study tourism as a sociological specialty rather than merely as an exotic marginal topic. Since then, the field has grown rapidly and is attested by the publication of a series of treatises, reviews and general collection articles. These publications, reviews and articles on sociological research on tourism fall into four principal issue areas: the tourist; the structure and functioning of the tourist system; relations between tourists and locals, and the consequences of tourism, the latter being by far the most intensively researched area within the sociology of tourism.

2.1 Attitudes, Perceptions and Behaviour

This sub-section focuses on coverage of attitudes and perceptions, and how they influence and are related to tourism behaviour, within the general social psychology literature.

"Attitudes" have been defined as "a state of mind of the individual towards a value" (Allport, 1935) and as "an enduring predisposition towards a particular aspect of one's environment" (McDougall et al, 1987). They are reinforced by perceptions and beliefs of reality, but are closely related to deeply held values and even to personality, and unlike opinions, they do not change quickly. Many researchers feel that attitudes are structured along three dimensions: the cognitive (perceptions and beliefs); the affective (likes and dislikes, based on evaluation); behavioural (actions or expressed intent) (McDougall et al, 1987). However, while attitudes are generally thought to be good predictors of behaviour, the link is not deministic; situational factors and the importance people attach to objects of attitudes, intervene.
Ap (1990) used the term "perception" instead of "attitude", defining perceptions as "the meaning attributed to an object". He argued that many residents might attribute meaning to the impacts of tourism without necessarily having knowledge or enduring predispositions. This difference is important, as many studies appear to use the term "attitude" when in fact, they have measured "perceptions".

According to Ap (1990), existing attitudinal research regarding tourism has been primarily exploratory and descriptive. Studies have revealed major impacts of tourism and related variables, but theory is under-developed: "Currently there is limited understanding of why residents respond to the impacts of tourism as they do, and under what conditions residents react to those impacts" (p.666). Husbands (1989) concurred, saying that "There is, so far, no theoretical justification of why some people are, or are not, favourably disposed to tourism".

Several models have been developed to help explain the impacts of tourism and their relationship with residents' attitudes. Doxey's well known Irridex (as it has already been discussed under 1.1.2), suggests that resident attitudes towards tourism evolve from initial "euphoria" through "apathy" and "annoyance" to "antagonism" as perceived costs outweigh the real or expected benefits. Research by Long et al (1990) provided support to this model by concluding that resident attitudes commenced favourably and later reached a threshold after which support for tourism would decline.

The sequential Irridex model should not be interpreted as being deterministic. Rothman (1978) believed that communities with long experience of tourism are able to develop mechanisms to accommodate inconveniences, which suggests that resident attitudes might also change as time goes by. A more complex model has been suggested by Butler (1975), featuring the potential for a community simultaneously to hold positive and negative attitudes along with active and passive support or opposition This model can help explain political reactions to tourism, including the influential role of small interest groups. As well, the direction of attitudes is shown to be flexible, in response to changing conditions and perceptions. Support for this model comes from Murphy (1983), who found distinct attitude differences among administrators, businesspersons and residents in English tourist centres.

Also supporting a non-linear model is the hypothesis of Dogan (1989) who believed that resident attitudinal and behavioural responses to tourism could include resistance, retreat, boundary maintenance, revitalisation and adoption. He argued that the initial responses to tourism development, especially in rural or Third World settings, might be uniform within the resident population. However, attitudes and behavioural responses would evolve as groups became differentiated by their relationship with, or perceptions of tourism.
Perhaps the most promising approach as explained by Ap (1990), is “social exchange theory” (discussed under section 2.2). Applying the theory to tourism, Ap suggested that residents evaluate the expected benefits and costs, which are realised in exchange for resources and services. He formulated a number of propositions which can be used as hypotheses, the essence of which is that positive resident attitudes toward tourism occur when perceived rewards, as opposed to costs, are satisfactory and balanced. Principles of “rationality” (reward seeking), “satisficing” (satisfying minimal aspirations), “reciprocity” (mutual gratification) and “justice” (fairness or equity) must be met. Support for the tenets of social exchange theory can be found throughout much of the related literature (as demonstrated in the following review), although results are somewhat mixed on specific relationships and causes.

Perdue et al (1990) concluded from a review of research that most perception and attitude studies have looked at differences in perceived impacts of tourism among resident types. They summarised the research by saying that: it revealed little difference in perceived tourism impacts by socio-demographic characteristics; perceived impacts decrease as the distance between the respondent’s home and the tourism sector of the community increases; overall favourability of tourism impact perceptions increases with the individual’s economic dependency on tourism. Following social exchange theory, they concluded that the literature supports the contention that people who benefit from tourism perceive greater economic and fewer social and environmental impacts from tourism than those who do not benefit. In their Colorado research, Perdue et al (1990) observed that “perceived positive impacts of tourism are much more closely related to personal benefits than are the perceived negative impacts” (p.593), and support for additional development was positively related to personal benefits and to perceived positive impacts.

Schroeder (1996) also found that socio-economic variables were not good predictors of perceptions in his Flagstaff, Arizona study. However, Husbands (1989) reported that age and education were important variables in his Zambian study, and that social class must be considered. Other researchers have concluded that certain socio-demographic variables are important, including age and language. Several writers (Belisle and Hoy, 1980) have mentioned proximity to tourism development or activity as a factor in explaining attitudes, but Sheldon and Var (1984) found that residents in North Wales who lived in high-density tourist areas were not more negative in their attitudes towards tourism.

The types and intensity of visitor-resident contacts have been suggested as variables important in shaping resident attitudes. Most significant of these, at least in terms of attention paid by researchers, is employment and economic dependency on tourism (Milman and Pizam, 1988). Dependency is generally felt to account for positive attitudes towards tourism, although Liu and Var (1986) reported
that residents of Hawaii were so uniformly aware of tourism and related issues that direct contact or
dependency on tourism did not explain attitudinal differences. In the Hawaii research it was found that
ethnicity and length of residence were the most important socio-demographic variables explaining
attitudinal differences. Liu and Var (1986) note that other writers have suggested length of residence to
be important, but this factor could be based on varying levels of knowledge and perceptions, as well as
motivations for moving to the area.

Several researchers have focused on specific costs and benefits of tourism in seeking to explain
attitudes. For example, Murphy and Andressen (1988) concluded that residents of different areas of
Vancouver Island saw tourism as a means to preserve cultural heritage, justify public amenities or
create jobs. Wilkinson (1990), in a study of Collingwood, Ontario, saw evidence of an insider versus
outsider attitude (i.e., permanent versus seasonal residents), with the permanent residents seemingly
welcoming tourism and recreation related jobs but resenting changing lifestyles, traffic and higher
taxes. Impacts on residents' leisure have also been explored (McKercher, 1993), revealing both
problems of resident-visitor competition for resources and appreciation of tourism related opportunities.
Many of these studies, however, have measured perceptions of costs and benefits rather than
attitudes.

Thus, the attitude of, and to, tourists is dependent on a complex pattern of not simply belief, but the
importance of norms and the values attached to potential outcomes of behaviour. Host societies may
not like some aspects of tourist behaviour, but tolerate it on the basis of expected economic benefits.
What might be said is that the attitude of hosts towards tourists is not always revealed by the behaviour
of hosts to tourists - their behaviour is simply the result of a series of compromises between conflicts of
objectives of varying importance to them.

2.2 The Theory of Social Exchange

Social exchange theory is a synthesis theory, which combines principles from utilitarian economic
theory, functional anthropology theory, conflict sociology theory and behavioural psychology theory to
formulate the principles of social exchange (Turner, 1986). Utilitarian principles propose that humans
rationally weigh costs against benefits to maximise material benefits. Exchange theorists have
reformulated the utilitarian principles by recognising that humans are not perfectly economically rational
and do not always seek to maximise benefits but instead engage in exchange from which they can reap
some benefits without incurring unacceptable costs.
Anthropologists focused on the patterning of interaction, which constrain the kinds of social structures that emerge from a society. The structures are dependent upon the relative access of groups to power, prestige and privileges and symbolic exchanges provide the functional structure to meet individual and society needs (Frazer, 1919; Malinowski, 1922 in Turner, 1986:217-221). The psychological needs addressed in the social exchange theory were merged with social needs by Mauss (1954) in Turner (1986:221-222) who suggested that exchange relations create, reinforce and serve to regulate group morality. To complete the linkage with structuralism, Levi-Strauss (1969) proposed that the costs involved are attributed to social order and that highly valued symbolic resources are not regulated by society until they become scarce. Levi-Strauss also proposed the norm to reciprocity, which requires that upon receipt of something valuable, the receiver in turn proffer a valued resource. His work differs from that of other exchange theorists in that forms of social structure are the critical variables in the exchange analysis (Turner, 1986).

Psychological behavioural principles were derived from the work of Pavlov, Skinner, and Thorndike and Watson. The behavioural principles of reward and punishment have been incorporated into modern social exchange theory as rewards and costs.

The behaviourist approach of Homans (1958) and the economic strategy developed by Blau (1964) offer a framework for examining why residents react to tourism the way they do. Homans argues that social structures are created and sustained by the behaviour of individuals. Thus, principles derived by him are focused on the direct exchange among individuals. Blau (1964) limits Homan's theory which encompasses all activity as exchange to relations with others from whom rewards are expected and received. Both authors reject the theory of the economic man of classical economics and contend that individuals pursue several goals at the same time, may be inconsistent in preferences, rarely have complete information, and are bound by social associations. Furthermore, these two exchange theorists acknowledge that the media of exchange are pluralistic, i.e., that rewards encompass a great deal more than money.

Emerson (1969), like Homans, developed social exchange principles around operant psychology, but extended these principles to include the complexity of social organisations (Turner, 1986). His theories provide an explanation of exchange based on the value of rewards along with the uncertainty and balance of exchange relations. The extension encompasses the impact of dependency and power relations in exchange. While Emerson and Blau set the focus of the exchange theory on societal norms, Homan's theory explains more individual actions. Following Homan's explanation of individual actions, Thibaut and Kelly (1959) assume that the proper theoretical standpoint from which to understand the
larger group is a dyad, a point that is only implied by Homans (Skidmore, 1975). The assumption is that if the dyad, the two person group, can be explained, the theory can encompass problems of larger and more complex social relationships. Thus, group outcomes can be predicted through individual actions.

Social exchange theory can be used as being an appropriate framework for explaining resident perception of tourism impacts. Sutton (1967) recognised exchange as a social characteristic that defines the touring encounter (that is, the social interaction of travel) between hosts and guests. He suggested the encounter is asymmetrical and unbalanced in character. The encounter "may provide either the opportunity for rewarding and satisfying exchanges, or it may stimulate and reinforce impulses to exploitation on the part of the host and, to suspicion and resentment on the part of the visitor" (Sutton 1967:221). The notion of asymmetry as the basis for explaining the host's negative perceptions of tourists is supported by Pearce (1982:85): "... That marked asymmetry of frequent transitory contact with the opportunity for exploitation and interaction difficulties due to large cultural differences are the important elements shaping a negative host reaction to tourists". In addition, Mathieson and Wall (1982:136) also described the tendency for tourist-host relationships to be unequal and unbalanced in character. However, not all asymmetric resident-tourist exchanges favour the tourist. There are occasions when tourists may be taken advantage of due to their inadequate knowledge. Farell (1982), for example, commented on the commercial "rip-off" of "mainlanders" by Hawaiian locals in real estate transaction.

The application of exchange principles in the leisure context can be found only in a handful of applications. They include attitudes to outdoor recreation development (Bryant and Napier, 1981), recreation management decision-making (Searle, 1988), museum donation behaviour (Bigley, 1989), and ceasing participation in leisure activities (Searle, 1991). The principles of social exchange theory do not appear to have been applied in the field of tourism. Shamir (1984) discussed exchange theory from a sociological perspective in an analysis of tourist tipping. He dismissed it, however, in favour of a social psychological paradigm. Despite an apparent lack of application of social exchange in the tourism field, transactional approaches have been used in tourism settings. Nash (1989) adopted a transactional approach in examining dynamics of host-guest interactions, where he described the relationship between Western industrialised markets and developing destination nations as a form of imperialism. Transactional analysis has been applied by Villere, O'Connor and Quain (1983) in an examination of guest relations and management-employee relations within the hospitality industry. Transactional analysis adopts a psychoanalytical approach in examining interpersonal relationships and focuses upon "resources" of psychological nature.
To sustain tourism in a community, certain exchanges must occur. Participation by a community (residents, civic leaders, and entrepreneurs) in developing and attracting tourism to the area is generally driven by the desire by some members of the community to improve the economic and social conditions in the area. For others in the community, tourism is thrust upon them by certain individual or group advocates. Irrespective of how tourism is introduced and developed in a community, residents are important players who can influence the success or failure of the local tourist industry. Residents may contribute to the well being of the community through their participation (at varying degrees) in the planning, development, and operation of tourist attractions, and by extending their hospitality to tourists in exchange for the benefits obtained from tourism. On the other hand, residents may discourage tourism by opposing it or exhibiting hostile behaviour towards tourism advocates and/or tourists. The need of the visitors have to be satisfied because providing quality experiences for them by the host community will increase the desire for further interaction between hosts and guests (Hudman and Hawkins, 1989). The encounter between them may also lead to negative experiences. Knox (1982:77) commented that, “The tourist may have his vacation spoiled or enhanced by the residents. The resident may have his daily life enriched or degraded by the unending flow of tourists”.

In developing and attracting tourism to a community, the goal is to achieve outcomes that obtain the best balance of benefits and costs for both residents and tourists. The theory of social exchange suggests that residents evaluate tourism in terms of social exchange, that is, evaluate it in terms of expected benefits and/or costs obtained in return for the services they supply. Hence, it is assumed that hosts seek tourism development for their community in order to satisfy their economic, social and psychological needs and improve the community’s well being. Even for those in a community where tourism is forced upon them by others against their wishes, there is still an opportunity for them to evaluate the exchange, since it can be viewed as a dynamic process. In such instances, it is likely that the exchange will be perceived negatively because there is an imbalance of benefits and costs shared between hosts and guests and any stability in the relationship in terms of motivation and loyalty, is not maintained. However, benefits derived from the exchange may be perceived by residents as outweighing costs. Thus, perceptions may change to a more positive disposition, despite initial opposition stemming from having tourism forced upon a community.
2.3 External Influences

2.3.1 International Tourism Vs Modernisation as an Agent of Socio-cultural Change

When visible and identifiable social and cultural changes occur in regions or countries, which have adopted a policy on tourism development, it is frequently tourism, as opposed to other factors, that is seen to be the cause of such change. Furthermore, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are generally perceived to be negative, in particular in the context of tourism development in developing countries which are, potentially, more susceptible to Western influences. Yet, whilst there is little doubt that tourism can bring about changes which may both benefit host communities and be viewed as a "cost", it is important to point out that, in most cases, tourism "contributes" to social and cultural change rather than being the cause of such change.

Societies and cultures are constantly changing and, as a global, homogeneous culture emerges, no society is immune from outside influence. For example, there are very few communities which do not have access to a television, and hence, images of other countries and cultures. The activities of multinational corporations internationalising Western culture (for example, McDonald's in Moscow; Kentucky Fried Chicken in Beijing), are catalysts of social change, whilst many countries are undergoing a process of modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and rapid population growth, which, potentially, have a far greater impact than tourism on social and cultural structures and values. The 'Westernisation' of many countries on the road to EU membership is another example which is bound to affect the social and cultural fabric of the countries in question. Cyprus, as one of the candidate countries, is well ahead in the accession talks, with year 2004 set as the preliminary year for entry as full member to the EU. As Smith (1989a:9) pointed out, "culture change, in the form of modernisation has made impressive inroads into the backward areas and the poverty pockets of the globe, and the process is both ongoing and accelerating". She goes on to conclude in her study of Eskimo tourism in Alaska (Smith, 1989b:75), that it is the effort of the Government to improve housing, education, medical care and infrastructure, rather than the care of tourism that has been the key element in bringing about modernisation and culture change.

Frequently, little effort is made to distinguish the effects of tourism from other cultural changes occurring globally and it would seem that owing to the highly visible nature of tourism and tourists, the development of tourism has become a scapegoat for socio-cultural change (Crick, 1989). It is important, therefore, to recognise the dynamic character of all societies and cultures and to consider the potential socio-cultural impacts of tourism against this background. It is also important to set the parameters within which impacts of tourism are assessed. In other words, impact studies often display what Wood
(1980) describes as "Western Ethnocentrism and Romanticism". The social and cultural character of life in modern society is undergoing an identifiable process of transformation. Indeed, there is much debate amongst sociologists themselves as to whether modern society has moved beyond modernity, into a new condition which contemporary advanced industrial societies are alleged to have reached, and is now identified by a set of social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that may be amalgamated and described as the condition of 'postmodernity'. What is certain is that many of the economic, political, social and cultural forms that characterise modernism have changed or are in a process of change. The momentum of change derives from internal forces and processes. The extent to which these changes are inter-related and signify an identifiable and all-embracing development in the nature of contemporary society is arguable but, nevertheless, postmodernism is a term that can be usefully applied to the organisational and cultural condition of modern society in the late twentieth century.

What Wood (1980) describes in the previous paragraph as 'Western Ethnocentrism and Romanticism', coupled with the concept of postmodernism, creates a bias and assumes that it is better to preserve cultures which are traditional and pre-modern rather than allowing them to develop and modernise. Thus, tourism developments which, from the Western point of view, "threaten" the social and cultural characteristics of many destinations, are perceived as negative impacts although it is quite possible that local communities support such changes. Within the study of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism it is necessary, therefore, "to go beyond evaluations based on Western romantic ideals of cultural preservation to analyse the precise components of cultural change (Wood, 1980) and to assess the extent to which tourism is one of these components.

2.3.2 International Tourism as a form of Neo-Colonialism

The notion that tourism is a new form of colonialism and imperialism is somewhat an extreme perception of the impacts of tourism in host societies (Matthews, 1977). However, evidence has been presented by a number of scholars, indicating that this perspective is not without a theoretical foundation. Highly valued evidence is presented in an article by Britton (1982) on the subject of the political economy of tourism in the Third World. Britton postulates that the international tourism industry is a product of metropolitan capitalist enterprise and when a Third World country uses tourism as a development strategy, it becomes enmeshed in a global system over which it has little control. Nash (1989) attempted to investigate the theoretical foundations of imperialism and relate them to the emergence of a new "tourist system" within the societies of host destinations. He pointed out that, "at
the most general level, theories of imperialism refer to the expansion of a society's interests abroad. These interests, whether economic, political, military, religious or some other, are imposed on or adopted by an alien society, and evolving inter-societal transactions marked by the ebb and flow of power are established. Such transactions will have various consequences for the societies involved" (Nash, 1989:38). Nash advocates that the Western metropolitan centres possess the necessary economic power, not only to generate tourist traffic, but also to invest in the development of tourist centres in developing nations. He argues that, "it is this power over touristic and related developments that makes a metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism' (Nash, 1989:39).

Undoubtedly, the movement of metropolitan citizens from the highly developed economies of Europe and North America to societies of the less developed world has a long history. According to many authors, this movement of citizens changes form and magnitude but its colonial quality essentially remains the same (Perez, 1973; Perez, 1974; Bugnicourt, 1977; Matthews, 1977). In other words, although some developing countries have acquired political independence, their economic dependence in the western countries is still evident. The arguments regarding the economic inferiority of many tourist destinations and thus, their apparent vulnerability to foreign capital for their tourism development, is further supported by Foster (1964:219) who postulates that "a tourist region must then possess natural advantages and a slightly lower standard of living than the region from which it draws its tourists".

It can be argued that three economic conditions may substantiate the claim that tourism is a form of neo-colonialism:

- Firstly, many developing countries have grown to solely depend on tourism as a means of achieving foreign exchange earnings and securing revenue (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Developing nations willingly developed a tourist industry heavily based on foreign capital in order to cater for specialist types of mass or elite tourists from wealthy western nations. As Farell (1979:131) notes, "Some, call aspects of this situation neo-colonialism and attribute its cause to a new breed of outsider, the developer, hotel operator, UN consultant or airline representative". He also argues that the attributes of such foreigners - are the same attitudes of oppression and paternalism found in previous colonial times. However, sometimes, local participation fosters such types of "colonial development". De Kadt (1979b:41) terms this "internal neo-colonialism" and Nash (1989:38) further argues that "the possibility of voluntary acceptance by native people and voluntary participation in transactions that further expatriates interests are an essential part of the conception of imperialism". Similarly, Britton (1982:347) argues that at the international level, this industry
structure ensures that Third World destinations have a largely passive and dependent role in the international system. Foreign multinational companies directly serve, and partially create the demand and the means by which tourists consume Third World tourist products. Destination countries on the other hand are the recipients of tourists. They provide the environmental attractions, novelty and superficial rationale for an overseas holiday.

- Secondly, a number of studies have indicated that “tourist development may be accompanied by a one way transfer of wealth from the destination area to points of tourist generation” (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:138). This essentially means that the economies of most developing destinations are not self-sufficient and self-regulated enough to retain the economic gains from tourism. As a result, a large proportion of profits and expenditure flow back to foreign investors. The high propensity of local economies to import goods and services inevitably leads to higher leakages (Murphy, 1985; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pearce, 1989).

- Thirdly, the employment of non-locals in professional and managerial positions also creates high leakages through salary remittance and transfers abroad and has also provoked charges of neo-colonialism (Farell, 1979; de Kadt, 1979; MacNaught, 1982).

The neo-colonial nature of tourism can also be justified by the fact that tourists transfer not only their wealth and economic superiority to local communities, thus emphasising economic disparities and inequalities, but also their culture and lifestyles. As it was previously mentioned, specific types of tourists expect western amenities and demand an environment identical to that of their own country. This has often been described as “cultural invasion”.

De Kadt (1979) noted that tourism emphasises the gap between the rich metropolitan tourists and the poor native hosts. Manning (1979) identified the difference between professional service and servility as observed in Bermuda. He argues that the advent of many elite tourists in the small and isolated community of Bermuda exposed the behaviour of the locals as servants, something that was deeply rooted in the colonial and racist structure of the society. Accordingly, Jafari (1974) pointed out that the protective familiarity or exploitative behaviour demonstrated by some tourists may generate the defensive reaction of some locals, especially those who have lived under colonial occupation.

Other writers have illustrated the notion that investing in tourism means investing in dependency, particularly in Third World countries and moreover that servility to colonialists is replaced by servility to international tourists from wealthy industrialised nations (Erisman, 1983; Graburn, 1983; Cater, 1987).
Finally, many authors have argued that the commercialisation of local culture and the exploitation of traditional culture symbols for the purpose for entertaining specific types of tourists, makes tourism a neo-colonial activity (Perez, 1975:141; Bugnicourt, 1977:3; Matthews, 1977:23). Perez (1975:14), has specifically referred to "The transformation of the relics of past colonial regimes, such as old fortresses and historic buildings, into tourist attractions".

However, and whatever the case may be, tourism is certainly welcomed by many Governments as a means of stimulating economic growth, regardless of the fact that tourists are being channeled within the commercial apparatus controlled by large-scale foreign and national enterprises which dominate the industry. An economic growth, which according to Britton (1982:355) allows the majority of locals to only participate in tourism through wage labour employment or small, petty retail and artisan enterprises, with severely limited income generating potential, whereas the greater commercial gains go to foreign and local elite interests. Nowadays however, one might argue that most developing countries are politically independent and as Mathieson and Wall (1982:148) put it, "....the manipulation and control of local politicians and elites by foreign metropolitan interests undoubtedly exists but is unlikely to be as influential and domineering as under colonial rule". It is this author's belief that the latter quote is somewhat superficial, and at least to date, international tourism is first and foremost a product of metropolitan enterprise and affluence. Whether this is likeable or not, the blunt fact remains that it is the metropolitan tourism capital which is the single most important element determining the organisation and characteristics of tourism in underdeveloped countries.

3.0 SOCIO-CULTURAL BENEFITS AND COSTS OF TOURISM

It is indisputable that tourism has become a universal phenomenon and a "front-runner among the limited economic development alternatives to many developing nations" (Runyan and Wu, 1979:449). In formulating an approach and appropriate methodology for the study of tourism, both as an industry as well as a unique but massive phenomenon, tourism impacts have been analysed by economists, sociologists and anthropologists. Since the 1960's and until the last decade tourism has been an overpowering economic diversification and development tool. Early development projects focused on economic analyses have commonly examined and cited the tangible financial benefits of tourism development such as foreign exchange earnings, generation of employment, investment acceleration, and almost completely disregarded the intangible, social and cultural effects of tourism.
Failure to consider the needs of the indigenous population has resulted in the destruction of cultures and values, the disruption of economic systems, the commercialisation of arts and crafts and the deterioration of the physical and social environment. Krippendorf (1982) cautioned planners to avoid an imbalance of economic benefits when weighted against social and environmental costs.

However, in recent years there has been an increased realisation that tourism is not exclusively an economic activity but "it also involves social, cultural, political and environmental aspects" (Pizam and Milman, 1984:11).

Affeld (1975) suggests that sociocultural impact research falls into three categories. Firstly, research has been concerned with the motivation, expectation, and attitudes of tourists. Secondly, research has been focused on the host population of the destination areas and has emphasised aspects of employment and organisation of the local tourism industry. Finally, research has attempted to investigate the nature and dynamics of the contacts between hosts and guests and the consequences of these contacts, often referred to as tourist-host interrelationships. Alternatively, Pizam and Milman (1984:11) argue that "the social and cultural impacts of tourism are the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships collective lifestyles, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisation".

In addition, Murphy (1985:117) believes that the social impacts involve the more immediate changes in the social structure of the community and adjustments to the destination's industry. Moreover, he notes: "the cultural impacts focus on the longer-term changes in a society's norms and standards, which will gradually emerge in a community's social relationships and artifacts".

Despite the Gulf conflict in 1991 and its subsequent repercussions throughout the tourism industry, figures on international tourist arrivals exceed 500,000 million generating more than £200 billion. The value of the tourism industry becomes even more staggering when earnings from domestic tourism are added to the £200 billion figure. In Cyprus alone, it is calculated that tourism contributes £1.18 billion (36.8% of the total receipts from exports of goods and services, and 21% of GDP) (2000 figures, Dept., of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, Republic of Cyprus) to the economy each year, whilst the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) confirms that tourism is now the World's single largest industry, generating more than £2.0 trillion annually. There is therefore no doubt of the economic value of tourism. Many of the world's countries now regard tourism as an important and integral aspect of the development strategies (Jenkins, 1991:61). In addition to being a significant generator of foreign exchange, tourism can act as a catalyst for economic regeneration and diversification, whilst as a
relative labour intensive industry, it is an important source of employment in both developed and
developing countries (24% in Cyprus) (1999 Annual report, Industrial Training Authority, Republic of
Cyprus). It is not surprising, therefore, that many countries have leapt into the tourism band-wagon, “the
hen laying the golden egg” (as it has been 'code-named' by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation),
developing and exploiting their natural resources in an attempt to gain their share of the multi-billion
pound tourism market.

It is thus inevitable that the physical presence of tourists and their behaviour in tourist resorts and
destinations will have some form of impact on local communities. Some of these impacts may be
immediate, such as inappropriate behaviour, displays of conspicuous consumption or simply the
inconvenience and nuisance caused by large number of holiday makers who may have little or no
intention meeting with or getting to know members of the local population. Other effects may be more
gradual, such as the local community adopting the behaviour, attitudes or moral codes of visitors
through a process of acculturation.

Local host communities may impact on tourists in terms of adapting for better or for worse, the attitudes
and perceptions of visitors towards societies and cultures. For example, in a study of young British
tourists visiting Greece and Morocco, Pearce (1982:89) found that the tourists saw the Greeks as more
religious and less affluent than expected and Moroccans were poorer and more greedy and mercenary
than expected. In both cases, the study revealed that tourists returned home with a more positive
attitude towards their own country, a finding that implies that an exploration of possible changes in
tourists' perceptions of their own society and culture as a result of overseas travel would be a fruitful
research topic. It is important to note that the impact of local people on tourists is dependent on the
nature of the encounter; in a study of Greek tourists visiting Turkey, Anastasopoulos (1992) concluded
that the negative attitude of Greeks towards their host derived largely from the organised, packaged
nature of their tour and the role of the tour guides. This study, along with those by Milman, Reichel and
Pizam (1990) and Pizam, Milman and Jafari (1991) also found that there is little empirical evidence to
support the view that tourism can lead to greater understanding and harmony and that, in certain
circumstances, host communities have a negative impact on visitor perceptions.

A further aspect of socio-cultural impacts on tourism is the way in which tourists adapt their behaviour
as a result of encounters with local people. It would be logical to propose that the more contact a tourist
has with local people, the less institutionalised the setting and the stronger the local culture, the more
likely is the tourist to become acclimatised or “acculturated”.

30
This section examines both the positive and negative social and cultural impacts of tourism as these emanate from the literature, unavoidably looks at economic concerns, and finally considers the extent to which the qualitative assessment of socio-cultural impacts can be measured against broader social and cultural change and tangible, quantitative impacts of tourism development.

From a social and cultural perspective, this rapid expansion of tourism is important in two respects. Firstly, within individual destination areas or countries, the development of tourism as a vehicle for economic modernisation and diversification almost inevitably leads to changes and developments in the structure of society. Some of these changes may be welcome, such as general, society-wide improvements in income, education, employment opportunities and local infrastructure and services. Other changes may be less welcome; traditional social or family values may be challenged, new economically powerful groups may emerge, or cultural practices may be adapted in order to suit the needs of tourists. In other words, destination societies may benefit from and suffer less desirable consequences of tourism as an economic development strategy. Secondly, tourism is "unique as an export industry in that consumers themselves travel to collect the goods" (Crick, 1989). The tourism product is 'exported' to tourists who travel to the destination, carrying with them their own values, beliefs and behavioural modes. Thus, as the volume of international tourism has increased, so too has the contact between different societies and cultures. To some observers, this interaction between tourists and local communities threatens to dilute or even, potentially, destroy traditional cultures and societies: "tourists seem to be the incarnation of the materialism, philistinism and cultural homogenisation that is sweeping all before it in a converging world" (Macnaught, 1982). To others, it represents an opportunity for sharing, for peace, understanding and greater knowledge among different societies and nations.

Whether considering the effects on a destination society brought about by the consequences of tourism development, the influence of ever-increasing numbers of tourists coming into contact with alien cultures, or a combination of both, it is inevitable that tourism, as a fundamentally social activity, will have an impact on those societies and cultures involved in tourism. Indeed, the rapid growth in tourism since the 1960's has been mirrored by increasing concern about the impacts of tourism on host destinations and there exists a large body of literature with both an analysis of the physical, social, and cultural impacts of tourism development and with potential solutions to the perceived problems (for example, Budowski, 1976; DeKadt, 1979; Cohen, 1979, 1984, 1988; Britton, 1982; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Holden, 1984; Murphy, 1985; Butler, 1991; ETB, 1991; Smith and Eadington, 1992; Ap, 1992; Urry, 1994).
Murphy (1985:117) describes tourism as a "socio-cultural event for the traveller and the host". It is a social process, which, in the context of both domestic and international tourism, brings together people from different regions and different countries in a form of social interaction. The resulting tourist-host relationship may frequently impact upon both the local community and the visitors. Tourism is also, from the point of view of destination areas, a means of improving and modernising the economic and social conditions of the host community and, therefore, tourism may be described as an agent of socio-cultural change.

It is difficult to distinguish between changes or impacts that are specifically social and those which are cultural. The condition and structure of a society and its cultural characteristics are inter-linked and changes in one almost inevitably lead to changes in the other. Nevertheless, the social impacts of tourism may be described as those which have a more immediate effect on both tourists and host communities and their quality of life whereas cultural impacts are those which lead to a longer-term, gradual change in a society's values, beliefs and cultural practices (Murphy, 1985:117).

The literature which examines the socio-cultural impacts of tourism has usually been directed towards either social or cultural aspects. The social studies often consider interpersonal relations, moral conduct, language, demographic and socio-economic changes within the host societies, whereas cultural impacts are concerned both with material and non-material forms of cultural expression and the processes of cultural exchange. Many theorists have attempted to classify the socio-cultural impact of tourism but always in broad context, since "there is no clear distinction between social and cultural phenomena..." (Mathieson and Wall, 1982:137). Williams (1979) defined three categories of impacts: economic, social and environmental/physical. Figuerola (1976, quoted in Pearce, 1989), identified six major categories of social and cultural impacts, presented in Table 2.2.
Table 2.2 - The Social and Cultural Impacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact on population structure</th>
<th>Size of population; Age sex composition; modification of family size; rural ⇒ urban transformation of population.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transformation of forms and types of occupation</td>
<td>Impact on/of language and level of qualifications; impact on occupational distribution by sector; demand for female labour; increase in seasonality of employment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transformation of values</td>
<td>Political; Social; Religious; Moral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Influence on traditional way of life</td>
<td>On art, music and folklore; on habits and customs; on daily living.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modification of consumption patterns</td>
<td>Qualitative alternations; Quantitative alternations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefits to tourist</td>
<td>Relaxation, recuperation, recreation; Change of environment; Widening of horizons; Social contact.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Source: Figuerola, 1976, quoted in Pearce, 1989:218)

Pizam and Milman (1984) suggested a classification similar to Figuerola’s, but with various modifications. They identified six categories of social impacts and examples of their components. These impacts are: Demographic (size of population, age, pyramid changes etc); Occupational (distribution of occupations); Cultural (changes in tradition, religion, language); Transformation of norms (values, morals, sex roles); Modification of consumption patterns (infrastructure, commodities etc); and Impact on the environment (pollution, traffic congestion etc).

Alternatively, Runyan and Wu (1979:449) distinguished "simple and complex impacts", and suggested a classification consisting of impacts relating to: economic development; recreation resources; and family, community and culture. Finally, Travis (1984) proposed listing of socio-cultural costs and benefits that may affect a tourist destination. The socio-cultural benefits were identified as cultural development and exchange, social change and choice, improved image of host community, improved public health, social and amenity improvements, education and conservation, positive cultural interchange and political modifications. On the other hand, he categorised socio-cultural costs as being: host culture destruction and debasement (cultural impacts), social instability, consumerism, changes in the law and social order, commercialised host-visitor relationships, changes in traditional values and political destabilisation.
3.1 Tourists and Locals

Tourism enjoys a love-hate relationship with its host community. It is both a much sought after and much reviled activity. On one hand, it has been identified as an economic saviour, generating employment, income and tax revenue and acting as a catalyst for regional development (Grey, Edelmand and Dwyer, 1991). On the other hand, it has been described as a pariah that destroys host societies and cultures and cuts a swath of environmental destruction wherever it goes (O'Grady, 1981; Rosenow & Pulsipher, 1979). Of course, both arguments have some validity. Tourism carries with it the potential to inflict both beneficial and detrimental impacts in host communities and host environments.

A large number of publications deal either primarily or incidentally with relations between locals (hosts) and tourists (guests). Few studies deal specifically, however, with the nature and dynamics of the tourist-local relationship, which has three principal dimensions: people's interactions, perceptions and attitudes. Sutton (1967:220) initiated the analysis of the distinct character of the tourist-local interaction and characterised it as a "series of encounters [between] visitors who are on the move to enjoy themselves... and hosts who are relatively stationary and who have the function of catering to these visitors' needs and wishes". Such encounters are especially transitory, non-repetitive and asymmetrical; the participants are oriented toward achieving immediate gratification rather than towards maintaining a continuous relationship (Cohen, 1984).

These basic traits of the 'encounter' have been further amplified in other research. Due to the transitory and non-repetitive nature of relationship, the participants do not have to take account of the effects their present actions will have on the relationship in the future; hence, there seems to be neither a felt necessity nor an opportunity to create mutual trust. Consequently, such "relationships are particularly open to deceit, exploitation and mistrust, since both tourists and natives can easily escape the consequences of hostility and dishonesty" (Van de Berghe, 1980:388). The asymmetry of the relationship and the quest for immediate gratification compound these possibilities. For example, the meaning of the encounter is different for each of the participants: tourism means work for most locals, leisure for the visitors, and this situation creates misunderstandings and conflicts of interest (Smith, 1989a:59).

As tourism moves out of the realm of native hospitality, it often passes through an anomic stage during which locals develop what Sutton (1967:221) has termed "a predatory orientation toward tourists". They strive to extract as much gain as possible from each encounter, irrespective of the long-term consequences that such conduct may have on the tourism flow. During this stage, which is often
marked by considerable hostility to tourists (Pearce, 1982:83-85), a significant increase in tourist-oriented discrimination, deviance, and petty crime take place (Pineroba, 1977:149; Cohen, 1982a:219-221). Such occurrences, however, are detrimental to the long-term development of tourism, and they give rise to efforts - on the part of either tourist entrepreneurs or the authorities - to create and institutionalise a professional tourist system. The principal motive of professionalisation is to preserve and enhance the long-term benefits of a continuous and growing flow of tourists.

3.2 Factors which determine the degree of socio-cultural change

Generally, the greater the gulf between the tourism generating country and the destination in terms of culture and economic development, the more significant are the social and cultural impacts likely to be (WTO, 1981). More specifically, the following factors determine the extent of socio-cultural change:

- **Importance of the Tourism Industry:** The primary purpose of tourism development is economic growth and diversification. In those destinations where tourism is part of, or leads to, a mixed economy, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are likely to be weaker of less widespread than in a country where tourism is the major industry. Where local communities become entirely dependent on tourism, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are likely to be most keenly felt. Furthermore, diverse economies are more likely to be able to support and supply the local tourism industry, reducing the need for imports and spreading the socially beneficial impacts of employment and income generation.

- **Size and Development of the Tourism Industry:** In a similar vein to the degree of dependence on tourism, both the size of the tourism industry and its stage of development are important factors. A relatively large number of tourists in small communities will have greater impacts on local residents, whereas larger communities are likely to remain relatively unaffected by tourists. It is for this reason that a number of tourist destinations, such as the Seychelles, adopt the policy of promoting themselves as up-market destinations, hoping to attract a smaller number of higher spending tourists. The purpose of this is to reduce the potential negative impacts of tourism whilst maintaining the economic benefits to the destination. It is also worth remembering that the stage of tourism development in a destination will determine the degree of socio-cultural impact; established resorts will experience less continuing change than a newer destination.
The Pace of Tourism Development: Many tourist destinations have experienced the rapid and relatively uncontrolled development of tourism. In such cases, the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are likely to be greater than in countries or destinations, which undertake a slow and controlled tourism development program. In effect, local communities should be allowed to gradually adapt the needs and benefits of tourism and tourists rather than having to undergo a process of rapid upheaval and change.

Types and Numbers of Tourists: Both the volume and the type of tourist are significant factors in determining the potential socio-cultural impacts of tourism. These are better assessed by theoretically examining the concept of carrying capacity on its own as well as within the context of Cycle theories. This is presented in sections 3.2.1 – 3.2.3, following.

All tourism destinations are different and the influence of these factors in determining the degree to which the socio-cultural impacts of tourism are experienced is also variable. Nor are such impacts restricted to developing countries or international tourism in general, although much of the literature concentrates on these areas. For example, the local communities in many rural, coastal and urban tourism destinations in Britain are affected to some degree by domestic tourists. Overall, however, the level of impact in a tourism destination will result from the "interaction between the nature of the change agent and the inherent strength and ability of the host culture to withstand, and absorb, the change generators whilst retaining its own integrity" (Ryan, 1991:148). The implication is, therefore, that the study of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism should be approached with some caution. It is inevitable that some change will occur as a result of tourism but such is the variety of factors influencing socio-cultural change that each case must be considered individually. For example, it would be logical to expect that the changes resulting from the development and growth of tourism in the Greek Cyclades islands would be relatively uniform but Tsarta's (1992) study indicates otherwise. The islands of Serifos and los are similar in size, population and original socio-economic conditions, but it was found that, owing to different types of tourism development (mass-charter tourism on los, moderate and controlled tourism on Serifos), different socio-cultural impacts were experienced on each island. The speed with which tourism had been developed, the length of time over which development had occurred and a variety of economic and political factors also played a role in determining the perceived socio-cultural impacts on each island.
3.2.1 Theoretical Examination of the Concept of Carrying Capacity

The concept of Carrying Capacity has long been considered in the field of outdoor recreation and has been concerned with the potential detrimental effects of recreation use on resource values and visitor experiences. According to Stankey (1981) it was Lowell Summer, an American National Park Service Technician who first raised the question, as early as in 1936, of “How large a crowd can be turned loose in a wilderness without destroying its essential qualities”. However, despite the evolution of an extensive literature on recreational carrying capacity, the basic conceptual framework has not changed (Sowman, 1987:332). All definitions of recreational carrying capacity incorporate two central aspects. Firstly, the biophysical component, relating to the integrity of the resource-base which implies some threshold or tolerance level after which further exploitation or use may impose strains on the natural ecosystem and, secondly, the behavioural component, reflecting the quality of the recreational experience.

The concept of recreational carrying capacity has diffused into studies of tourism due to the increasing concern for the negative impacts of tourism and the realisation that destination areas display cycles of popularity and decline. O’Reilly (1986) describes two schools of thought concerning carrying capacity. The first school of thought envisages tourism capacity as the capacity of the destination area to absorb tourism before negative impacts of tourism are felt by the host country. In other words, emphasis is placed on how many tourists are wanted and can be absorbed, rather than on how many visitors want to or can be persuaded to come to an area (Young, 1973). The second school of thought, which emanates from the cycle theories (section 3.2.3), considers tourism capacity as the level beyond which tourist flows will decline because certain capacities, as perceived by the tourists themselves, have been exceeded, therefore, the destination area ceases to satisfy and attract them, and hence they seek alternative destinations.

Hence, carrying capacity is not a scientific concept or a formula of obtaining a fictitious number, beyond which development should cease. Carrying capacity is not fixed. It develops with time and the growth of tourism and can be manipulated by management techniques and controls. Thus, carrying capacity is useful as a management process in order to ensure that tourism development is carried out within the context and thresholds of optimum level of overall capacity, thus ensuring the long-term sustainability of the tourist development.
3.2.2 Tolerance by the Host Population and Assessment of Socio-Cultural carrying Capacity Thresholds

In light of the above definitions, establishing carrying capacity is based on the concept of maintaining a level of development and use that will not result in environmental or socio-cultural deterioration, or be perceived by tourists as depreciating their enjoyment and appreciation (Inskeep, 1991:144).

Social carrying capacity on the other hand, is used as a generic term to include both the levels of tolerance of the host population, as well as the quality of the experience of visitors to the area. It can be defined as the maximum level of use (in terms of numbers and activities) that can be absorbed by an area without an unacceptable decline in the quality of experience of visitors and without an unacceptable adverse impact on the society of the area. The two components of social carrying capacity are (i) the quality of experience that visitors will accept before seeking alternative destinations, and (ii) the degree of tolerance of the host population to the presence of tourists.

Social capacity thresholds are perhaps the most difficult to evaluate (as opposed to environmental, cultural, economic), since they rely entirely on value judgements. However, with the development of suitable socio-psychological research techniques it should be possible to develop reliable evaluative standards.

Questionnaires, public surveys and interviews are some of the main methods employed by researchers to obtain valuable insights into people's perception of what constitutes a "quality visitor experience", or the degree of overcrowding that tourists will concede to before seeking alternative destinations.

Using an economic approach to determine social carrying capacity, visitor satisfaction declines as use level increases (Alldredge, 1972). This is due to the fact that marginal satisfaction declines as the number of users increases and there is some empirical research to support this premise (Stankey, 1973 & Manning et al, 1980). Therefore, it is possible to obtain an optimum level (threshold) beyond which satisfaction begins to decline.

The effects of tourism on host populations and on the attitudes or tolerance of residents to development of tourism and the tourists themselves, have been more systematically studied as previously explained. The problem associated with using evaluative standards for capacity determination is that attitudes themselves are difficult to measure; those that can be measured might never be manifested in action because of the adaptability process; and attitudes vary between people (Butler, 1974). Whether social
evaluative standards are considered when determining optimum carrying capacity and to what degree, depend on the goals and priorities of the body (local/national) responsible for tourism development.

Getz (1983) identified six different approaches of interpretations or methods of determining carrying capacity. One of these approaches deals with sociological carrying capacity and involves using attitudes and tolerance levels of the host population to set limits on tourist development. Doxey (1976) suggested that the reciprocating impacts of hosts and visitors may be converted into varying degrees of host irritations, depending on the volume of tourism, and the treat it poses to the way of life in host communities. The degree of the host irritations tends to change with time and follows a cycle similar to those of destinations (Butler, 1980). The residents of tourist destinations go through stages of euphoria, apathy, irritation and antagonism. The actual level of irritation arising from contact between hosts and visitors is determined by the degree of mutual compatibility. However, even with compatible groups, sheer numbers alone may generate tensions even when one excludes such factors as culture, economic status and colour. Thus, it can be suggested that at some point there might arise a predominantly negative reaction, which will threaten the tourist industry, unless limits are set on tourism development.

However, measuring attitudes is very difficult and cannot be carried out objectively. Also, attitudes of the host population are likely to change over time either through a process of adaptation (Dogan, 1989) or because of turnover in the population (Cheng, 1980). Furthermore, Doxey's framework of irritation is applied to the mood of a resort in its entirety and assumes behavioural changes in one direction, whereas it is possible for different attitudes to exist amongst groups of individuals within a single resort. Butler's (1974) framework on host attitudinal/behavioural responses to tourism activity, concludes that it is possible to identify a single carrying capacity threshold based on the cumulative attitudes and behaviour of the host population.

3.2.3 The Concept of Carrying Capacity in the Context of Cycle Theories

Cohen's (1972) first typology, was based on the degree that tourists seek novelty or familiarity in their travel. Cohen postulated that there are four tourist roles across the continuum of possible combinations of novelty and familiarity. The drifter, the explorer, the individual mass tourist, and the organised mass tourist. The "drifter" ventures further away from the accustomed ways of life and tries to live as much as possible the way the people he visits live. However, as the drifter tries to escape the tourist system, at the same time he opens the way for more commercialised forms of tourism, leading to "organised mass
tourism”. Hence, novelty is at its highest for the drifter and familiarity is at a maximum for the organised mass tourist (also, see section 1.1). Mo et al (1993) carried out an empirical research on Cohen’s tourist role typology. The results appear to substantiate the theory and have potential for its widespread use in tourism research.

In a somewhat familiar way, Plog (1973) stressed the changes that occur in tourist types and has suggested that resorts attract visitors in a continuum from “allocentrics” and “mid-centrics” to “psychocentrices”. At the beginning of the development process, an area is visited by a small number, of self-confident, outgoing, adventurous “allocentrics”. They prefer non-tourist areas, enjoy a sense of discovery and delight in new experiences before others have visited the area. When a destination becomes better known, it attracts more “mid-centrics”. Finally the destination becomes outdated and declining numbers of “psychocentrices” visit the area (also, see section 1.1).

Perhaps the most complete discussion on the concept of cycles of tourism has been provided by Butler (1980). Butler describes the process of how destinations develop from a tourist area perspective. He has suggested that a resort goes through a sequence of changes, which he termed exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline or rejuvenation. The “exploration” stage is characterised by small number of adventurous visitors who represent Plog's "allocentrics"; and Cohen's "drifters". A local response to these tourists initiates the involvement process, where facilities for visitors begin to emerge. As the number of visitors continues to increase, the resort enters the development phase with the proliferation of tourist facilities. In the consolidation phase, the rate of increase of tourist arrivals declines, and few new additions to the tourist infrastructure and facilities are made. The stagnation phase is associated with environmental, social and economic problems, the number of visitors gradually declines as certain capacities are exceeded and over-development occurs.

According to Martin and Uysal (1990), the value of the life-cycle concept is that it gives planners insight into the probable course that change will follow. Together with the concept of tourism carrying capacity, they enjoy a synergistic relationship that creates a more viable framework for tourism management. Therefore, in the context of the cycle theories of tourism and the concept of carrying capacity, development should be kept within predetermined capacity limits, in order to avoid exceeding thresholds and reaching saturation levels. If the tourist carrying capacity is exceeded, then the very attractions visitors come to see, may be destroyed and the destination begin to decline in quality and popularity.
The life cycle theories give some indication of the likely behaviour of tourists as a destination becomes more popular. However, these should be treated as hypotheses and not as theories, and used as a management tool to understand tourist behaviour.

4.0 TOURISM INFLUENCES ON SOCIETY

There is no longer any doubt regarding the multidisciplinary importance of tourism in today’s world. Tourism with its diverse nature is today the largest industry and largest employer worldwide. Together with its growth, the creation of jobs, the provision of foreign exchange, the return on investment provided especially for emerging economies, the technological and other improvements associated with the standard of living, the enhancement of cross-cultural understanding, as well as a list of other benefits tourism can offer, there have emerged a number of extremely critical issues facing the industry in terms of the impacts it has already had on destinations and their residents, and future prospects for people and places into the twenty-first century.

The formidable economic benefit derived from tourism since the 1960’s were primarily oriented towards the need of tourists, but the need to include efforts to manage the welfare of the host population were disregarded. Failure to consider the need of the indigenous population has resulted in the destruction of cultures and values, the disruption of economic systems, the trivialization of arts and crafts, and the deterioration of the physical and social environment. As already mentioned earlier, Krippendorf (1982) cautioned planners to avoid an imbalance of economic benefits when weighed against social and environmental costs.

Research since Krippendorf’s warning has demonstrated the tourism development has costs as well as benefits and tourists have been accused of destroying the very thing they came to enjoy. Consequently, sustainable development emerged as an important topic in the tourism literature. Because the host population is a key element in the success of a tourist destination, sustainable tourism is dependent upon the willingness of the host community to service the tourists.

Yet, the complex nature of planning tourism destinations results in varied and often paradoxical effects. Mathieson and Wall (1982) point out the difficulties that arise when planners of tourism attempt to maximize the benefits of tourism and minimize the costs at the same time. They specify the need for trade-offs and compromises.
The assessment of alternative policies implies the existence of a sound knowledge base. It is necessary that studies of tourism supply the information on which sound planning decisions can be made' (Mathieson and Wall; 1982:178). The following section provides an overview of the complex socio-cultural, demographic and economic concerns, which tourism planners have to consider in an attempt to even out the major benefits and costs of tourism.

4.1 Social Structure, Demographic and Cultural Concerns

4.1.1 Population Structure

One of the most profound and significant impacts of tourism has been on the demographic structure of destination communities (Cohen, 1984; Pearce 1989). The development of the tourist industry usually affects the size of the resident population, as the creation of new employment opportunities slows out migration and attracts new workers or residents in the community. Tourism helps the community to retain its members, primarily unemployed or under employed youths, in economically marginal areas such as mountains or islands (Cohen, 1984; Tsartas, 1989). However, tourist development also attracts foreign workers searching for an economic opportunity and who often come from other economic sectors and particularly agriculture (de Kadt, 1979; Cohen 1984).

Population changes as a result of tourism have been reported in a number of studies in the academic literature. Pizam and Milman (1984) refer to a higher increase in greater Orlando's population compared to other major cities such as Jacksonville, Tampa and Miami between 1970 - 1980, most of them owing to the development of major tourist attractions (e.g., Disneyland). Tsartas (1989) also observed that tourist development in the Greek Cyclades Islands stabilised the rate of population decline and reserved this into positive growth from 1981 onwards. Similar conclusions were drawn by Loukissas (1982), in his comparative study of the Greek Aegean Islands for the decade between 1970-1980, as well as, by Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) in their study for the island of Samos, Greece. Getz (1986) also noted that the creation of large hotels and recreation/sports facilities promoted population stability and growth in the Highlands of Scotland. Noronha (1979) reported that the projections of population growth in Bali were at the rate of 2.5% a year from 1971 to 1981. Most of this growth was confined to the three areas where the presence of tourism was greater.

Tourism development tends to be an age and sex selective process, thereby altering the composition of the population and not only its size. Pearce (1989) showed a number of significant alterations in the
age-sex pyramid of Queenstown, New Zealand, which was characterised by an excess of residents aged twenty to thirty, a shortfall of under fifteen years olds and a larger proportion of females. Changes in the age pyramid were also observed by Reynoso y Vallee and de Regt (1979) in their study of tourism development in two Mexico cities. They found that the number of the economically active population in the age group of fifteen to thirty-four years increased as labour moved into communities to supply the manpower for tourism development programs. Getz (1986:119) on the other hand, in his study of Scotland Highlands, noted that the areas under study were loosing proportions on the youngest and oldest categories because of their own tourism-dominated labour market. Getz observed that the tourist developed areas were attracting a more retired as well as economically active population between 15-29 years of age, and also stressed the importance of the increased number of females occupied in the tourism industry as well as the lower proportion in the 1-4 age category.

Tourism development is often held responsible for the transformation of population from rural to urban and for the creation of new communities. Pizam and Milman (1984:11) argued that “In many tourism developing areas, the industry has been responsible for the creation of new settlements that did not previously exist”. Baud Bovy and Lawson (1997) referred to the remote coastal village of Costa Brava, Spain, and the villages of Languedoc and Roussillon, Southern France, which stimulated tourism investment and due to the large number of in-migrants, were developed into huge tourist destination areas. Moreover, Tsartas (1989) noted the changes in the physical mobility of the population in the Greek Cycladic Islands and indicated how the movement of population from the mainland to the coastal areas resulted in the creation of new communities. Tsartas also reported increases in the proportion of urban population and considerable decline of population in traditional agricultural settlements. Similarly, Smuai (1979:108) observed that the geographical distribution of tourist facilities resulted in the coastal concentration of tourism jobs, something that “aggravated the shift of the Tunisian population away from the interior”. Getz (1986) noted a high degree of urbanisation - concentration of population in the larger urban settlements, whereas the small communities and rural sub-areas in the Scottish Highlands experienced a steady decline. This was primarily because of the increased out-migration of young adults to urban areas where tourism development had created many job opportunities.

Finally, Peck and Lepie (1989) identified considerable population changes and modification of family size (from extended to nuclear) in the coastal communities of North Carolina. They also reported the physical extension of the community limits, which was closely related to the aforementioned impacts. According to the authors, such changes were caused by the rising population, the increased number of in-migrants, the substantial increase in “second” homes and summer residents, the retired people that
settled permanently in the area, and the increased tourist traffic and associated infrastructural and leisure developments.

4.1.2 Social Structure, Norms, Consumption Patterns

Many researchers have illustrated the impact of tourism on social stratification within the host communities (de Kadt, 1979). However, the issues involved have not always been analytically distinguished. Cohen (1984:386) comments that “Tourism certainly promotes a change in the criteria of stratification: by placing greater emphasis on the economic domain, it enhances the value of money as a criterion of stratification versus more traditional criteria such as persons, origins or status-honour. Tourism thus, tends to affect a transformation of the existing system of social stratification (Greenwood, 1972; Reysono y Valle and de Kadt, 1979) by creating a new social strata and particularly urban middle classes (de Kadt, 1979).

Changes in the community’s social strata may be also caused by the revaluation of local resources (new uses for tourist development). Changes in the socio-economic status of some individuals occur because their previously unused land may suddenly acquire considerable value (Noronha, 1979; Cohen, 1982a; Tsartas, 1989). Foster (1964:225) emphasising the latter, argued that “those who possessed capital or land before the resort was established stand to increase their holdings considerably. Thus there will be an increased stratification of the community along with a heightened generational conflict”.

Finally, the most obvious impact of tourism on social stratification is that it augments socio-economic disparities and hence widens the span of the stratificational system within the local community (de Kadt, 1979; Boissevain, 1977). It is generally accepted that this change is a result of a dynamic process during which the social structure of the host community is polarised, accentuating the differences between those groups or individuals who do, and those who do no benefit economically from tourism (de Kadt, 1979; Duffield and Long, 1981; Cohen, 1984). Tsartas (1989) also noted that the creation of a “new urban class” in the Greek Islands of Cyclades, resulting from establishment of tourism related business by foreigners. In addition, Reynoso y Valle and de Regt (1979) pointed out that tourism development in two Mexican villages led to the arrival of highly educated people in order to fulfill the new work requirements. According to the authors, the new high-level employees started exhibiting certain social characteristics and created a kind of professional elite. It is often argued that these newly formed social groups try to impose their demands upon the local community. As a result, the conflict is
unavoidable and most evident in the area of political decision (Foster, 1964; Lundberg 1974). On the other hand, the influx of the new social groups for permanent residency with different material well-being and social mannerisms from the indigenous population can cause polarisation, resentment and community conflicts (Foster, 1964; de Kadt, 1979; Duffield and Long 1981).

Apart from tourism-generated changes in the social strata of host communities, it has been argued that tourism also disrupts the traditional relationships among family members and creates changes, which affect the internal family structure. In most traditional societies, relations between the generations are governed by strict patterns of authority underpinned by the financial dependence of the young adults to the older members of the family as well as by the economic dependence of wives to their husbands. Therefore, as de Kadt (1979: 43) puts it, "The widening of employment and earning opportunities for both young people and women decrease their dependence and cannot but strain intra-familial relations". The upgraded financial role of women within the family may prove to be frustrating to the male ego (UNESCO, 1976). The beginning of female economic dependence, because of the increased job opportunities provided by the tourism sector, allowed women in tradition societies to experience an upward social mobility and lead less restricted lives than was previously the case (Wilson, 1979; Reynoso y Valle and de Regt, 1979). Conversely, Tsartas (1989) noted that in the Greek Islands, the greater involvement of women in the economic activity did not alter their social and family status. Social life and entertainment remained exclusive privileges of men, while women, despite their relative financial autonomy, were still entitled to participate in major family decisions.

On the other hand, Greenwood (1989) referring to a Spanish rural community, and Smith (1989b) in her analysis of the Eskimo communities of Kotzebue and Nowe noted that, greater wealth and upward social mobility became increasingly desirable for the young members of these host communities. Tsartas (1989) observed that the increased financial independence of young adults in the Cycladic Islands of Greece led to significant travel to foreign countries and often to immigration. Tsartas also pointed out that young community members developed a different attitude towards life and a preference to leave the family after marriage, something that disrupted the traditional family bonds.

Tourism development may also affect the socio-economic values and social behaviour of local population in destination communities. That is the fact of tourism's disruptive role in reinforcing social and economic aspirations, which the local inhabitants cannot attain (Bryden, 1973; Jafari, 1974; Mathieson and Wall, 1982). The tourism 'Demonstration Effect' (also see, section 4.1.5) is in most cases seen as the principle causative factor of change in community values. According to McElroy and de Albuquerque (1986:31), "The term is employed to describe copying Western consumption patterns,
changing upscale occupational preferences, and declining community cohesion and morals. Greenwood (1989) notes that particularly young Basques and people from the local community in general have tried to adopt the life styles of the middle-class tourists they have seen. Tsartas (1989) also noted that the local youth of the Greek Cycladic Isles often imitates the behaviour and dressing style of the young Western tourists. He specifically referred to the islands of los and Serifos and pointed out certain changes in local entertainment and socialising patterns, arguing that young people consider the local traditional feasts to be out of fashion. Similarly, Boissevain (1979:87) identified a significant impact of tourism in fashion, morals and entertainment. In his study of tourism impacts on the dependent Isle of Gozo, he observed "the declining modesty in dress among girls..." as well as new modes of entertainment accompanied by a radical break in traditional forms of socialising. Duffield and Lond (1981) postulate that community cohesiveness, community-based social interaction and local forms of entertainment disappear with the introduction of large tourist recreation facilities. Wilson (1979) also argued that local people in Seychelles started adopting imported tastes induced by affluent tourists.

Significant changes in sexual values and morals have also been reported in the literature. Rivers (1973) noted that young Spaniards were convinced that unattached young female tourists were seeking sexual adventures, while Cohen (1971), in his study of Arab boys and tourist girls in a mixed Jewish Arab community, reported that Arab boys thought that blonde Scandinavian girls were exhibiting increased sexual permissiveness. Similarly, Tsartas (1989) observed changes in the sexual permissiveness of young locals in the Cycladic Islands and the emergence of the local "summer lovers". In that respect, Tsartas identified increasing feelings of xenophobia towards foreign tourists, from the older members of traditional, extended families in the two Cycladic Islands of los and Serifos. He argued that these feelings can be primarily ascribed to the fact that young adults started developing a clear preference for foreign females, while local girls were being ignored and described as socially and sexually inferior. The changes in young peoples' attitudes towards sexual relationships led to a break in powerful and long existing traditions and values. The concept of dower was gradually rejected and mixed marriages between foreign girls and local men increased dramatically. In turn, traditional kinship and community cohesiveness were disrupted, out-immigration of young members of the locality was encouraged, the community lost its genuine character and become more susceptible to foreign interests (see also Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Urbanowicz, 1989; Tsartas, 1989). Finally, Andronicou (1979) addressed the impact of tourism on values, attitudes and behaviour on Cyprus. In particular, he reported that young Cypriots adopted values about sex, dress and morality quite different from traditional ones as a result of their close and continuous encounter and relationships with tourists from Western nations. It
seems however, that Andronicou reported his findings guided by intuition alone, without conducting any form of research.

The increased welfare of the community and the apparent wealth of foreign tourists may introduce radical modifications in the consumption patterns of the host population. Because of tourism, local inhabitants can increase their household income and thus may try to improve their standards of living by greater material consumption. Furthermore, as Mathieson and Wall (1982:144) argued, "Heightened economic expectations among the local population who aspire to the material standards and values of the tourists may lead to the copying of consumption patterns". LaFlamme's (1979) study on Green Turtle Bay in the Bahamas indicated that since the expansion of tourism, local residents increased their possession of imported manufactured goods such as outboard motors, television sets and motorcycles. Moreover, most residents started placing greater emphasis upon the consumption of imported food. On similar lines, Tsartas (1989) reported the increased consumption of imported food and beverages by the local population of the islands of los and Serifos, Greece. In addition, he noted the high propensity to import clothes as well as the preferences for local people in purchasing expensive electronic equipment for their households. The view that tourism improves household incomes and thus increases opportunities for shopping is also confirmed by a number of studies (Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980) that are presented in more detail in Chapter Three. Urbanowicz (1989) in his study of tourism in Tonga, also noted that exposure to and the subsequent demand for western products by local residents should be primarily attributed to the influence of tourism.

Lastly, it is frequently mentioned that tourism creates adverse impacts on the daily life of local people in destination communities. The pattern of work in the tourism industry, the unsociable working hours and the adjustments to seasonal priorities inevitably influence the established order of daily life that has in the past been based on a different timetable. Duffield and Long (1981:421) comment that "Involvement in the tourist industry can also limit leisure time in the summer when the natural resources arguably have their greatest recreational value. Leisure pursuits are therefore largely confined to the winter". Similarly, Tsartas (1989) noted that the changes in the daily rhythm of life during the summer - which were imposed by the multiple demands and long working hours of many tourism occupations - led to negative attitudes towards work, especially from young adults.

Ultimately, it is widely acknowledged that the seasonality of tourism employment as well as the intensive and different working conditions allow little time for lasting relationships (Pizam and Milman, 1984), and more evidently between those people who are, and those who are not involved in the tourism industry. Subsequently, the changes in occupational and leisure time of locals may create
negative impacts on intra-familiar relationships such as tensions and discontent between married couples, which in turn may lead to friction and even separations or divorces (UNESCO, 1976; de Kadt, 1979).

The changes that tourism brings to the organisation of daily life have been also noted by Foster (1964). He put emphasis on the fact that locals change their timetables completely, starting and ending the day late because of the increased nightlife in the area. Similarly, Boissevain (1979) in his study of the dependent island Gozo in Malta, reported changes in the working hours as a result of the presence of tourism. He argued that tourist businessmen had to work during the midday period, which was traditionally the time of a meal break and long siesta. Furthermore, locals had to work even on Sunday, which was previously a day of rest and relaxation among the religious agricultural population.

On the other hand, the increased physical presence of tourism as well as the substantial demand for land, housing and various commodities can also have serious effects on the community's traditional standards of living. Getz (1986) argued that in-migration placed a continuing strain on the availability of housing in the Badenoch and Strathpey districts of the Scottish Highlands. Moreover, many problems were created in the localities from the conversion of housing units to bed and breakfast houses and the growing number of second homes (see also Peck and Lepie, 1989). Foster (1964) also noted the rezoning of land areas from residential to multiple dwelling or from farming to residential. This change created conflicts between locals and foreign investors. Such competition for property, resulting from the increased presence of outsiders and foreign developers, often causes prices to rise beyond the reach of many local residents (Duffield and Long, 1981). The fierce competition in the housing market has been also identified as a major negative aspect of tourism by Boissevain (1977) in Malta and Reynoso y Valle and Regt (1979) in Mexico. Both consequences were found to contribute to existing inequalities and community conflicts.

Increased prices of goods and services is another negative impact on the host communities, which is frequently mentioned in the literature (Tsartas, 1989; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Boissevain, 1977, 1979). Mathieson and Wall (1982) argued that retailers recognise the profit opportunities arising from the presence of tourists and increase the prices of goods and services. Furthermore, a dual price system may be introduced with normal prices for locals and higher for tourists. Mathieson and Wall (1982:88) conclude. "Local residents, in addition to paying more for their goods, may also have to go further afield for their purchases as the diversity of local supply is reduced, as stores catering to the local market are displaced by an increase in the establishment of speciality shops for tourists".
Finally, the physical presence of tourists often disrupts the peace and tranquility of the traditional daily life of local population and creates adverse impacts on the immediate environment of the community. Noise pollution and traffic congestion are the most frequently reported negative consequences of increased tourist visitation in resort destinations, something that often results in negative attitudes of local residents towards tourists (Pizam. 1978; Rothman, 1978; Jordan, 1980; Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Pizam and Milman, 1984).

4.1.3 Cultural Expression (Authenticity and Commoditisation)

Authenticity is a word that is frequently used in the literature to describe the tourism experience, tourism attractions and events or the motivation for tourism, yet scant attention is paid to explaining or defining it in relation to tourism. Part of the problem might be that the meaning of authenticity varies according to its use. As Trilling (1974:11) states, "the word ‘authenticity’ comes so readily to the tongue these days and in so many connections that it may very well resist ....efforts of definition". He goes on to assert, however, that its original usage was in the context of the museum to describe objects which are "what they appear to be or are claimed to be" (p.93), a usage which continues to be the most widely accepted and understood.

Within the context of tourism, the concept of authenticity has become rather ambiguous. On one hand, the word 'authentic' is frequently used to describe products, works of art, cuisine, dress, language, festivals, rituals, architecture, etc. Generally, something is considered to be authentic if it is made, produced or enacted by local people according to custom or tradition. Thus, in one sense, authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of genuine, the real or the unique. On the other hand, within tourism, it is also used to describe and sell different types of travel, certain journeys or even entire holidays. Importantly, it is generally used to distinguish between specialist or niche-market tourism products and mass tourism products, the implication being that mass tourism is, somehow, inauthentic. A difference thus appears between the two applications of authenticity within tourism. One is based upon the tangible origin of something; a culture object or event is either real, genuine and authentic, or it is false, or a fake. The second application, however, is based on a less tangible comparison. For a holiday or journey to be authentic, it must be perceived to be so in comparison to another experience that is inauthentic. For MacCannell (1989), the inauthentic is modern society, and tourism, therefore, is a search of the authentic. It thus becomes evident why certain forms of travel and
tourism are described as authentic because, in a sense, mass, package tourism is an extension of modern society, hence inauthentic.

Cohen (1988a) explains how a word that is normally used to describe something that is real or genuine has also become a socially constructed concept (i.e., a description of the condition of modern society). Following Trilling's origination of the word 'authentic' in the museum, curators and ethnographers have tended to view the authenticity of primitive and ethnic art in strict terms; to be authentic, things must have been created by traditional craftsmen using traditional materials. In particular, authentic items must have been made for the use of local people rather than for trade or selling on to strangers; "the absence of commoditisation ...[is]... a crucial consideration in judgements of authenticity" (Cohen, 1988a). Most importantly, authenticity is a quality that is perceived to be firmly rooted in pre-modern life, a quality of cultural products produced prior to the penetration of modern Western influences (Cohen, 1988a). In other words, things can only be authentic if they have been created without the aid of modern materials, tools or machinery; thus, anything, including society, that has been adapted, influenced, altered or, 'contaminated' by the modern, Western world has lost its authenticity. In this sense, authenticity develops into a way of describing the state or condition of societies. If the origin of strictly authentic products lies in pre-modern societies then, by implication, modern Western society, with all its characteristics of alienation, materialism, mass production and consumption and so on, is inauthentic. For the tourist, therefore, authenticity is to be found in pre-modern societies or societies that have yet to become Westernised and developed.

It is also possible to suggest that authenticity can develop over time. That is, it is feasible for a product or event that is originally inauthentic to become assimilated into local culture and to become authentic. No culture or society can be static; new cultural products emerge and, therefore, “emergent authenticity” (Cohen, 1988a) is a valid and realistic process within the context of tourism. Thus, over time, festivals or events originally staged for the benefit of tourists may come to be accepted as a local, authentic custom and crafts or products intended for tourist consumption may also achieve such a status. Tourism may also lead to the revival of old or forgotten rituals or crafts; the passage of time should not be viewed as a sign of diminished authenticity. "Frequently arts, crafts and local culture have been revitalised as a direct result of tourism. A transformation of traditional forms often accompanies this development but does not necessarily lead to degeneration. To be authentic, arts and crafts must be rooted both in historical tradition and in present-day life; true authenticity cannot be achieved by conservation alone, since that leads to stultification" (de Kadt, 1979:16).
Overall, then, authenticity is not simply the antithesis to modern life, something that motivates tourists. Nor is it just a label that can be attached to cultural products, events or tourist experiences as a means of comparing them with the inauthentic, the modern or the spurious. It is something that is unique to each individual tourist, possessing a meaning and importance that can only be assessed alongside an understanding of a tourist's experience, motivation, relationship to his or her home environment and reaction to the tourism environment. Authenticity should be judged through the tourist's own eyes, "what he considers to be the essential marks of authenticity, and which sites, objects, and events on his trip do, in his opinion, possess these marks" (Cohen, 1988b).

Important to the consideration of the authenticity of tourist experiences, is also the notion of "staged authenticity" (MacCannell, 1973, 1989). MacCannell suggested that although the tourist was motivated by the desire for authentic experience and "may believe that he was moving in that direction" (1973), he was, nevertheless, frustrated in his ambition by the way in which, experiences have been set up, or staged. In other words, although he may believe he is witnessing authenticity the tourist is, in fact, experiencing only what local people or the tourism industry are allowing him to see.

Authenticity may or may not be staged; what tourists experience may be 'real' or it may be planned, a regular repeated performance. What is important is the total tourist experience and what it means to the individual tourist. Different tourists have different motivations, expectations, knowledge and travel experience and the "whole issue whether or not tourists are satisfied with their holiday experience demands a full consideration of the nature of the tourist environment, the tourists' perceptions of that environment and the tourists' need or preference for authenticity" (Pearce and Moscardo, 1986).

A threat arising from this section is that authenticity, within the context of tourism, is a product, a commodity. It is not a quality or a condition of something but for many, an essential ingredient of the tourist experience. Tourists are motivated by a search for authenticity, whether as an actual experience or as a sign of something different from their ordinary, everyday existence, and the tourism industry markets authenticity as it would market any other tourism product. As tourism as a whole is a product that is produced, bought and sold then, logically, authenticity and the cultural products that represent it also have a value. It is important to consider, therefore, the extent to which this centrality of authenticity to the tourism experience has led to what Cohen (1988a) describes as "commoditisation" of culture.

Cohen (1988b:380) defined "Commoditisation" as "a process by which things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, thereby becoming goods (and services); developed exchange systems in which the exchange value of things (and activities) is
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stated in terms of prices from a market". Greenwood (1989) postulates that the commoditised cultural products lose in the process their intrinsic meaning and significance for the local people, who in turn lose their enthusiasm for producing them. Greenwood (1989) based his observations on the transformation of a centuries-old Basque public ritual - the Alarde, in the town of Fuenterrabia, Spain. The festival was transformed from being a joyful celebration of unity to an event performed twice a day for the benefit of tourists. Foster (1964) referred to this phenomenon as "the phony-folk-culture" and argued that ritual observances in the Pacific were transformed into a performance. Additionally, MacKean (1989) reported a rush towards standardisation and simplification of the souvenir arts as well as ritual dances in Bali while Loeb (1989) found fakes to be common among antiques collected by tourists in Iran.

A number of other studies have indicated that tourism contributes to the "renaissance" of traditional art forms in host societies through the increased spending of tourists on crafts, souvenirs, costumes etc (Foster, 1964; Graburn, 1976; Andronicou, 1979; Huit, 1989; de Kadt, 1979). On the other hand, many authors have stressed the fact that traditional forms of art, craft and design gradually disappear because their symbolic meaning is lost. Moreover, the disappearance of skilful craftsmen is evident in many host communities. This is primarily the result of the growth of degenerate, unsophisticated replacements which developed in association with mass production techniques (Matheison and Wall, 1982). Unarguably, tourism has accelerated the promotion of pseudo-traditional art or "airport art" (Craburn, 1976).

The deterioration and commercialisation of non-material forms of culture has been also a matter of concern by academics. The marketing of culture appears to be worse in developing countries. However, as Mathieson and Wall (1982:171) argue, "The expropriation of local culture and the exploitation of local peoples' performing or portraying their culture are worldwide phenomena...". The staging of contrived experience to compensate for the lack of real cultural experiences is another development which has become an accepted outgrowth of contemporary tourism.

It has also been argued that tourism is "culturally arrogant" (Mathieson and Wall, 1982) for manipulating the traditions and customs of local people in order to make tourist experiences more interesting and satisfying. As Jordan (1980) noted, local people in a Vermont vacation village were forced to commoditise their culture to meet the growing tourist demand, while on the other hand, tried to preserve selected aspects of their traditional customs for themselves. Finally, tourism can create negative impacts on the language of local inhabitants in destination communities. There is a scarcity of research investigating linguistic impacts of tourism and therefore it is not possible to discuss this socio-cultural
impact in detail. However, Gamper’s (1981) case study of the two Southern Austrian villages showed that local people changed their indigenous language to German in order to be able to communicate with tourists. Tsartas (1989) observed that young locals in two Greek islands adopted the language of tourists and gradually developed a strange linguistic mixture of Anglo-Hellenic expressions. Lastly, Pizam and Milman, 1984:12) in their study of the rural Isle of Sky, found that the indigenous language was displaced by that of tourists.

4.1.4 Revitalisation of traditional forms of Arts and Crafts

As a result of tourism, the arts and crafts of native peoples have changed in style and form, and also in the purpose for which they are produced. Artifacts formerly produced for religious or ceremonial purposes are now produced for sale. Tourism has accelerated the promotion of pseudo-traditional arts and is largely responsible for the disappearance of traditional artistic designs and craft forms, particularly those with deep religious and mythical affiliations. Tourism is also held responsible for the growth of a degenerate, unsophisticated replacement, which develops in association with mass production techniques.

However, there are also cases where tourism has induced a rejuvenation of particular forms of art and craft. The fact that many arts and crafts produced by hosts are intended for external consumption indicates the formation of new relationships between hosts and art consumers of the Western world (tourists). Objects, which are produced in one society and are transported to and consumed in another society, have been termed 'art metamorphosis'.

The ambivalence of tourism is also expressed in its impacts in traditional arts and crafts. Some studies have concluded that tourism contributes to the renaissance of traditional art and craft forms (Foster, 1964; Hartstonge, 1973; Mead, 1976; Deitch, 1977; McKean, 1977). Others have indicated that tourism has resulted in a decline in the quality of art forms and the traditional meaning of production has been debased with production for tourism consumption (Ropponen, 1976; Bascom, 1976; May, 1977).
4.1.5 The Demonstration Effect

One of the most visible and common social impacts of tourism, in particular in the context of tourism to less developed or poorer countries, is the introduction of alien values and ways of life into relatively traditional or isolated societies. As a result, local communities begin to adapt and change their own values and modes of behaviour, often in an attempt to emulate those of tourists, in a process known as the demonstration effect.

Up to a point, such a process is inevitable. Whilst on holiday, tourists demonstrate levels of affluence that are usually beyond the reach of local people, affluence which may be apparent simply because tourists can afford to travel in the first place. Frequently, however, they also display their relative wealth by their style of dress, the camera or video equipment they carry with them or by indulging in conspicuous consumption. Such displays of wealth may often lead to resentment among local communities, if they believe that they will be unable to achieve a similar level of affluence themselves. This resentment might be increased by the symbols of tourist development, such as expensive hotels or tourist zones, beaches or clubs which are 'off limits' to local people and by the behaviour of tourists which do not respect local morals and customs. For example, the development of tourism on the island of Phuket in Thailand has caused considerable local resentment, especially with respect to the "privatisation" of public beaches (Rattachumpoth, 1992). It is also likely, however, that local people, in particular the younger generations, will begin to question and challenge the local custom and tradition and will begin to strive after the material and financial affluence so openly displayed by tourists. The regular displays of wealth may also entice people to work in the tourism or other service related industries or, of greater consequence to host societies, migrating to the tourism generating countries.

Thus, the demonstration effect can lead to a number of social impacts in destination communities. On the positive note it may result in economic and social development within the community by encouraging people to work for things they lack but, more commonly, it can amplify the financial and moral gap between generations, it can encourage behaviour that undermines or challenges traditional values whilst advancing the spread of western, cultural homogenisation, and it may disrupt the social structure of local communities as younger people move to urban centres, tourism development areas or abroad to tourism generating countries. More generally, it can also lead to local communities developing inaccurate, stereo-typical attitudes towards tourists based upon their observations of behaviour which itself is usually untypical, as tourists are free from the social constraints and rules of everyday life.
4.1.6 Language

In most tourist-host encounters, language is the primary means of communication. More generally, however, language is also a significant cultural characteristic of any society and tourism, therefore, can have both immediate and longer-term impacts on host communities. This is most likely to occur in larger, more established tourist destinations, which attract mass tourists. In this situation local people are, in effect, obliged to learn and use the language of the dominant nationality of visitors in order to be able to deal and communicate with visitors on either a commercial or personal basis.

It is mostly through commercial necessity that foreign languages may be adopted or, in the case of some more isolated areas, that local dialects or languages begin to die out. The demonstration effect may result in local people wanting to learn the language of tourists, and, either intentionally or unintentionally, adopting their mannerisms. Similarly, visitors may learn foreign languages or adopt local accents. For example, longer stay visitors in the United States frequently develop an American “twang” in their speech. In more remote areas where the traditional, indigenous language is not widely spoken, or is only popular among the older generations, tourism may represent a threat to the very existence of that language. Brougham and Butler (1981) found that many people on the Isle of Skye in Scotland felt that tourism was a major factor in the diminishing use of Gaelic, mainly as a result of increasing second-home ownership and the influx of seasonal workers from the mainland. Conversely, the impact of tourism on language may represent a benefit to local people, resulting in more job opportunities for those who learn a second language or become multi-lingual.

4.1.7 Religion

Traditionally religion was a major motivating factor of travel and tourism, and even nowadays a significant proportion of domestic and international tourism is for religious or spiritual purposes. However, since the advent of modern mass tourism, the relationship between tourism and religion has undergone a fundamental transformation, in as much as the majority of tourists visits to religious shrines or centres of religion are no longer for purely spiritual purposes. In other words, religion has become a commodity, a tourism product, and religious festivals or buildings have become spectacles to be gazed upon and collected along with other sights of attractions. As a result, in many destinations there has been increasing conflict between local communities, devout visitors and tourists. For example, simply the physical presence of tourists who frequently take pictures of religious festivals or people worshipping with little consideration for the participants is a common and widespread problem.
Visits to monasteries, religious retreats and centres of learning may also disrupt the lives of inhabitants; even in Bhutan, where the number of tourists is strictly controlled, the authorities were compelled to prohibit tourists from visiting certain Buddhist monasteries as they were disturbing the monks.

Conflict may also arise when the importance or meaning of religious rites or practices is not recognised, understood or respected by tourists. For example, in India, tourists often attempt to take pictures of the “burning ghats”, places alongside the River Ganges in Varanasi where deceased Hindus are cremated, thereby causing great offence to local people. In the extreme, it is often reported that tourists are physically attacked for taking pictures in temples or churches where it is forbidden.

Whilst it is easy to blame tourists for impacting upon local religions custom and practices, they themselves are often exploited by religious institutions, usually as a source of revenue. In some churches or Cathedrals, collection boxes are often strategically placed near entrances and it is not uncommon to find bookshops, souvenir stalls or even teashops and restaurants located in religious buildings. In other cases, religious buildings have adopted a clearly definable dual purpose, separating their traditional function as a place of worship from their attraction to tourists and, hence, their earning potential. For example, entrance to a side chapel at St' Paul’s Cathedral in London is free for worshippers, whereas entrance charges are levied on tourists visiting other parts of the building. It may be argued that tourists are being taken advantage of and that the fundamental meaning and purpose of the building is being abused but, nevertheless, tourism represents a significant source of income for essential repair, maintenance and preservation of the building, making the relationship between tourism and religion, a positive one.

4.1.8 Crime

One of the most significant and least described by-products of tourism development is its impact on the moral standards of the host population (Archer, 1978). Crime is conceptualised as any anti-social behaviour including increased sale or consumption of drug and alcohol, as well as behaviour considered immoral by the society as a whole. Crime is considered an externality of tourism development. However, the publication of reports of crimes against tourists in diverse destination communities has drawn increased attention to the complex relationship between international mass tourism and the incidence of crime in resort areas.
Data on crime is relatively easy to secure, although it is often very difficult to relate such data to tourism. McPheters and Stronge (1974), and Jud (1975) investigated the relationship between tourism presence and various types of crime in Miami, Florida and Mexico respectively. These researchers, suggested that crime in a given geographic area may be influenced by seasonal factors, such as tourist arrivals, and concluded that the crime rate increased in proportion to the number of foreign visitors entering the country.

Other studies which asked residents if they perceived that tourism increased crime generally have reported a minority of respondents which felt that tourism contributed to crime (Sethna and Richmond, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Pizam, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Var et al. 1985; Liu and Var, 1986). On the other hand, in a study by Milman and Pizam (1987) on residents' perceptions of the social impacts of tourism on Central Florida, revealed that residents perceived tourism as a causal factor in increasing individual and organised crime, drug addiction, and alcoholism.

In contrast to the aforementioned studies, other researchers who have examined resident attitudes towards crime and tourism development found little perceived relationship between crime and tourism overall (Sheldon and Var, 1984; Tyrrell and Spaulding, 1984; Liu et al, 1986; Perdue et al, 1987; Allen et al, 1993).

### 4.1.9 Crowding and Congestion

Another common theme in tourism resident attitude literature is that of crowding and congestion, specifically focused on traffic inconveniences. Rothman (1978) concluded from his study on seasonal visitors that residents curtailed their activities during the peak tourism season because of congestion. Similarly, Tyrell and Spaulding (1980) determined that the residents of the state of Rhode Island saw congested roads as well as parking and shopping areas as a problem caused by tourism. Several other studies also found that residents perceived that traffic was a major problem created by tourism activities (Sheldon and var, 1984; Milman and Pizam, 1987; Ritchie, 1988; Long et al., 1990; Keogh, 1990; Prentice, 1993). However, resident perceptions of the congestion caused by major world events (e.g., Olympic games, World Football Championship), was less than predicted (Soutar and McLeod, 1993). Likewise, the majority of respondents in a Florida study did not agree with a statement, which suggested that traffic problems would disappear with the tourists (Davis et al., 1988).
A concept that is closely related to crowding and congestion is that of physical carrying capacity, which is defined in the literature as the level at which the tolerance is exceeded. The concept of carrying capacity was examined in sections 3.2.1 through to 3.2.3.

4.1.10 Local Services

Along with tax revenues and ample employment opportunities, residents have different views on the effects of tourism on local services. An early study by Sethna and Richmond (1978) found that residents in the Virgin Islands agreed that the money acquired from tourism contributed to the improvement of public services. Likewise, residents in Cape Cod, expressed a positive effect of tourism on local services (Pizam, 1978). An important finding in the aspect of services was made by Murphy (1983) who examined the different views of residents, administrators and business owners. He found that the three groups differed in their perception of the impact of tourism on local services.

Allen et al., (1988) discovered that tourism development increases the sensitivity to change of public services but concluded that satisfaction with and the availability of services was more a function of population size than tourism development. One study found a relationship between satisfaction with local services and tourism development. As development increased, satisfaction with public services decreased. Research results on the whole suggest that residents feel that tourism improves local services (Rothman, 1978; Thomason et al., 1979; Rithcie, 1988; Keogh, 1990).

4.1.11 Prostitution

Prostitution is considered to be one of tourism's by-products. However, it has become exceedingly difficult to assess tourism's responsibility for any upsurges in prostitution, especially in developing tourist destinations such as Bali, Fiji, Seychelles, Mexico, Thailand etc. A number of studies give a passive reference to the impacts of tourism on prostitution (Archer, 1978; Pizam, 1978; Urbanowiz, 1989, Harrison, 1992), but detailed research on the subject has not yet been conducted.

However, prostitution as a tourist 'attraction' is not limited to South East Asian countries. Amsterdam's red light district has long been a tourist sight, London's Soho is famous for its sex shows and, as Ryan (1991:163) pointed out, the legalised brothels of Nevada are widely advertised in tourist centres such as Las Vegas. Indeed, virtually every major destination has a red light area. It is difficult, therefore, to
assess the extent to which tourism has led directly to an increase in prostitution and, frequently the role of tourism in this context is overstated.

One of the most critical attempts to ascertain the relationship between tourism and prostitution is Cohen’s (1982b) detailed account if the various types of prostitution available to tourists and foreigners in Bangkok. Cohen’s data demonstrates that although prostitution is a lucrative occupation for Thai women, it does not bring economic security for them and their families. Moreover, women’s careers are frequently punctuated with severe psychological depressions or involvement in drugs and various types of crime (Cohen, 1982b). Urbanowiz (1989) has also reported increased homosexuality and prostitution in Tonga, as a result of tourism.

Similarly, Graburn (1983:441) in his illustrative examples states that "Korea has become famous for its ‘Kisaeng’ tourism which draws hundreds of thousands of Japanese men every year. ‘Kisaeng’ used to be equivalent of Japanese ‘geisha’, accomplished female entertainers and companions, but by now has become a synonym for prostitutes. These women are introduced to men in hotels as part of package tours, as ‘enterprise rewards’ to functionaries of small and middle sized companies, and by travel agencies, taxi drivers, and bell boys and cost about one quarter of the price for similar services in Japan”. Furthermore, the author notes that these women are licensed by the Government of Korea, which sees the need to maintain and even enhance the image of the country as a “male paradise” in order to maximise foreign earnings. (Graburn, 1983). The same author and other critics have also claimed that “Tourism is prostitution" in the metaphorical sense that poor countries are forced to “sell themselves" to the rich and powerful Western nations, having few other alternatives to earn foreign exchange.

Tsartas (1989) on the other hand, noted the existence of male and female prostitution in Greek islands with high tourist density such as Mykonos and Paros. He also argued that local prostitutes were unlikely to be found, primarily because their anonymity could not be maintained and also because their existence would stimulate severe public criticism.

Many hypotheses have been formulated in attempts to explain increases in prostitution in tourist resorts. Firstly, it was argued that tourism has created locations, which attract prostitutes (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). Secondly, the nature of tourism implies that people are free to spend money, escape from the norms and rules of everyday life and enjoy new experiences while their anonymity is assured. As Mathieson and Wall (1982:149) put it: “These circumstances are conductive to the survival and expansion of prostitution”. Thirdly, poverty is seen as responsible for forcing young people of both
sexes into prostitution (Graburn, 1983; Cohen, 1982b). Moreover, prostitution is viewed as an employment opportunity by many women in Third World countries and as a means of acquiring higher economic levels. Additionally, the aggressive promotion of the "sun, sea, sand and sex" vacational concept may encourage increased risk-taking in search of temporary sexual relationships and thus contribute to the prevalence of prostitution or homosexuality (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

Finally, some authors have associated increases in prostitution with an increase in venereal diseases (Turner and Ash, 1975). Cohen (1988a) also noted that the emergence and spread of 'AIDS' in Thailand coincided with an increase in the economic importance of tourism and the "sex industry" in the country. Discussions of relationships between tourism and prostitution, however, remain speculative since those relationships have not yet been empirically examined.

4.1.12 Gambling

Gambling has often been perceived as one of tourism's by-products affecting the community. Although little research has been directing towards the relationship between gambling, much of casinos' patronage depends on tourists and thus the effects of gambling can be assumed to be partially the result of tourist activity (Mathieson and Wall, 1982). The positive economic impacts of gambling on resort communities have been recognised by a number of authors: Stansfield, 1978; Pizam and Pokela, 1985. Such effects include the generation of tourist activity (often in resorts where the tourist traffic declines), local employment and increase in the community of a city's income from taxes. Despite the growing economic importance of gambling and the economic benefits accrued to local communities as a result of an increase in tourism, gambling also has some negative socio-economic consequences. Pizam and Pokela (1985) noted that the introduction of casinos in Atlantic City brought about serious impacts, such as the creation of a need for better public facilities and transport; increases in property values; increased local unemployment due to the unavailability of skilled personnel from the area, and finally, air pollution and changing community attitudes and standards. Furthermore, Pizam and Pokela (1985) in a research study on the perceived impacts of casino gambling on two Massachusetts's towns found that gambling was perceived as an activity which could introduce organised crime as well as worsen certain social aspects such as violent crimes, theft and drug abuse.
4.2 Economic Concerns

The most prominent benefits used to promote tourism development are the economic benefits communities can expect to derive from engaging in or increasing their tourism activity. Every study conducted on the subject of resident attitudes towards tourism included questions concerning economic factors. The research (the findings of which are deeply analysed in Chapter Three), has demonstrated that residents feel tourism helps the economy (Sethna and Richmond, 1978; Husbands, 1979; Ritchie, 1988), brings new business (Sethna and Richmond, 1978), and reduced unemployment (Milman and Pizam, 1987). Some researchers concluded that residents agreed that economic gains were greater than social costs (Sheldon and Var, 1984; Liu and Var, 1986). For example, residents on Turkey acknowledge a willingness "to put up with some inconvenience in exchange for tourist money" (Var et al., 1985:654). The vast majority of studies focused on employment opportunities and the revenues derived from tourism activity.

4.2.1 Employment Opportunities

The impact of tourism on employment opportunities for the host population, particularly in developing destinations, has been frequently mentioned in the literature as a positive socio-economic aspect of tourism development. Undoubtedly, tourism is a generator of employment and "this is the main argument that has been invoked on good grounds, in favour of establishing tourism facilities, not only in under developed countries but also in the developed countries, in regions where the traditional economic activity is suffering a regression (fishing, agriculture, stock raising)". (UNESCO, 1976:77).

However, de Kadt (1979) raised the question of who are the real beneficiaries of tourism-generated employment. De Kadt argues that during the initial stages of tourism development, most jobs are gradually taken by either locals or people from immediate areas. As tourism related developments increase, "and especially of institutionalised or mass tourism develops, migrants may constitute an increasing proportion of the local labour force" (de Kadt, 1979:42). This argument is supported by a number of scholars who postulate that uncontrolled tourist development on a massive scale generates employment for migrants and expatriate labour, rather than the local population (Foster, 1964; Young, 1973; MacNaught, 1982; Tsartas, 1989).

Additionally, an important impact of tourism employment on the local population of destination communities is that much tourism jobs are often characterised by low status and low pay (Duffield and
Long, 1981). MacNaught (1982) presented evidence from the Pacific Islands communities where jobs related to tourism were perceived by local residents as unusually degrading and dehumanising. MacNaught (1982:307) also reported that local participation in tourism jobs was very little and “the real benefits go to expatriates in the managerial positions”. This has also been reported by Mathieson and Wall (1982).

Apart from the aforementioned negative impacts of tourism on employment, tourism development creates job opportunities for members of the host population who previously had little or no occupational mobility, namely young adults and women (Foster, 1964; de Kadt, 1979; Getz, 1986). Smaui (1979) reported increased employment opportunities for women in Tunisia and particularly in hotels, travel agencies and administrative services. Tsartas (1989) also recognised the fact that women in Greek Islands were much more involved in the production process after the advent of tourism, especially in owner-managed, family businesses (snack-bars, shops and room renter-out). Reynoso y Valle and de Regt (1979) in their study of tourist development in two Mexican towns found that women abandoned their traditional activities, as many alternative job opportunities arose from tourism. Moreover, they noted that non-tourist related sectors did not provide a large number of jobs for women.

Shifts in the balance of male and female employment have also been reported by Wilson (1979) in Seychelles, Andronicou (1979) in Cyprus, and Boissevain and Inglott (1979) in Malta as a result of jobs created by the tourism industry. Getz (1986) and Tsartas (1989) also reported increased employment opportunities for young adults in the tourism sector in their respective studies of the Scottish Highlands and the Greek Cycladic Islands.

Significant changes in the qualification levels of the host population are also caused from the transformation in the forms and types of occupations. Reynoso y Valle and de Regt (1979) identified changing educational levels in their study, as the need for professional tourism services increased. Such changes however, were primarily introduced by expatriate, highly educated professionals. Similarly, Andronikou (1979:225) reported the opening of the first hotel and catering schools on the Island of Cyprus and notes that “the development of tourism created a sudden demand for trained labour which necessitated the establishment of a number of hotel schools where training was offered at all levels and in all specialisations”.

Finally, tourism development is often believed to create adverse impacts on occupational distribution by sector and may affect the community’s traditional work pattern. La Flamme (1979) conducted a study about the impact of tourism on the Bahamas Islands and identified a trend of steady decline in traditional, specialised jobs, such as boat building, farming and fishing. The result was a transition to
more lucrative and less demanding tourism-related occupations (services), such as waitressing, catering and fishing guiding. Gamper (1981) in his case study of two Austrian town communities reported that many established shops such as bookbinders, tanners and coppersmiths converted their business into souvenir shops. Moreover, the farmers of Passriach village, following the development of tourism in their village, left their fields and started renting rooms to tourists. Additionally, Wilson (1979) noted that a serious side effect of tourism was the shortage of fish in Seychelles because of the reduction in the number of people involved in the fishing industry. He also noted the increased imports of agricultural products as a result of the stagnation of the agricultural sector. Lastly, Tsartas (1989) pointed out that the traditional work patterns in the Greek Island of Serifos and Kos (e.g., fishing and wine production) were abandoned by the local population because tourism-related occupations were regarded as highly profitable and more attractive due to their seasonal nature. Cohen (1984) clearly recognised that very often, tourist development creates a conflict between tourism and other economic sectors as well as competition with regards to the availability of local labour for certain non-tourist occupations.

4.2.2 Price of Goods and Services

Economic disbenefits from tourism caused by an increase in the price of goods and services have also been perceived by residents in several surveys (Pizam, 1978; Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Liu and Var, 1986; Milman and Pizam, 1988; Keogh, 1990). Sheldon and Var (1986) found only moderate agreement with a statement, which suggested that increases in tourism were the cause of increased prices of goods and services. Very few respondents perceived tourism as a cause of the high cost of living in Zambia (Husbands, 1989). Only 26% of a sample of New Brunswick residents felt that the addition of a new park would cause price inflation in stores (Keogh, 1990).

4.2.3 Cost of Land and Housing

Tourism can cause the price of land to rise rapidly as noted by Lundberg (1974) who found that the cost of land for a new hotel construction rose from 1 percent to nearly 20 percent as the destination developed. An early study by Pizam (1978) found that residents viewed the cost of land and housing as a negative effect of tourism. More than 70% of respondents in a Turkish study agreed that tourism increased property value and housing prices (Var et al., 1985).
However, other studies found more neutral attitudes. For example, Belisle and Hoy (1980) determined that approximately 90% of the respondents described the effect of tourism on the cost of land and housing as neutral, i.e., neither positive, nor negative. Similarly, about half of the respondents agreed with the statement that tourism unfairly increases real estate costs while the other half disagreed in a study of Colorado residents (Perdue et al., 1987).

Only 26% of residents in a study concerning the potential impacts of proposed outdoor recreation development expressed a concern about inflation of land prices (Keogh, 1990). These mixed findings suggest that even though dramatic real estate changes have commonly been associated with tourism development, the perception of the effects of these changes on the residents is mixed and irregular.

5.0 CONCLUSION - TOWARDS THE FUTURE

This chapter has introduced some of the central concepts and studies associated with tourism and society. The chapter has presented some of the major positive and negative factors associated with tourism's influence on society as these stem from the literature. In addition, the chapter looked into the external influences of modernisation and neo-colonialism in association with international tourism and socio-cultural change.

As various researchers have discovered, the tourism industry has wide-ranging social and cultural impacts upon a community's social structure and individual lifestyles. In support of this view, tourism researchers have asserted that this service industry has become one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world economy, with nations, states and communities funding tourist boards to promote their location and attract further investment (Edgell, 1990).

Undoubtedly, tourism plays an important role in the economic and technological development of nations; contributes to the growth of domestic industries; and, attracts foreign investment. Furthermore, tourism is an economic activity that provides a country with income, creates jobs, reduces unemployment, fosters entrepreneurship, stimulates production of food and local handicrafts, facilitates cultural exchanges and contributes to a better understanding of the country and the world at large. Certainly, the changing dimensions of this vast, expanding industry, brings into focus concerns over cultural, ecological, environmental, social and political consequences of tourism (Edgell, 1990).

Any form of tourism which impacts upon the life of local communities beyond an agreeable or acceptable limit (from the host population's point of view) can be said to have exceeded the
destination's social carrying capacity. That is, the scale and type of tourism should, in theory, be restricted to that which optimises economic and social benefits to that local community without causing undue problems (if such a theory can ever be applied in real life!).

When considering social and cultural change, however, impacts are too often judged according to the values of modern Western societies rather than against the actual needs of the communities in destination areas. Too often, a Western cultural arrogance dictates what is right or wrong for other societies and cultures, societies which should be allowed to benefit from tourism, to modernise, to enjoy the standards of health, education, transport and housing that are taken for granted in the developed world. Similarly, with respect to domestic tourism, it is frequently the residents of towns and cities who try to impose their values on the residents of rural areas with little understanding for the needs of rural communities.

Tourism is obviously not an evil in itself, but that does not mean that it only plays a positive role in the development of regions and countries. At a time when many countries and regions are pinning their hopes on tourism and giving it priority status in their development plans (Cyprus, included) one should ask the question 'Does not tourism in some respects constitute a new form of economic domination, a new means of bringing about the cultural inferiority of 'exotic' peoples – in other words a new form of colonialism'? Perhaps one could argue that comments on neo-colonialism were made almost two decades ago and were made in the context of the Third World. However, they are equally applicable today when referring to local and regional communities in developed countries. As Stokowski (1993) commented, 'communities find themselves with no control over the direction of tourism in their own area as outside interests dominate'.

Tourism is a contradictory phenomenon (Crick, 1989). It depends upon an attractive environment, yet threatens to destroy it; it trivialises and commoditises cultural production, but can also preserve culture; it brings economic benefits to the communities, yet it undermines traditional family and social structure; it provides opportunities for younger people, yet it polarises generations; it can lead to international understanding, yet it reinforces prejudices and international differences. By its very nature, tourism is a source of conflict and the imposition of values of tourists, in defining the social and cultural limits of tourism development, does little to reduce that conflict. Tourism does have socio-cultural impacts, which may be viewed as either positive or negative, but the responsibility for assessing those impacts, for setting the limits of change, lies not with tourists or the tourism industry, but with the host communities themselves.
Tourism is an inseparable part of modern life with its positive and negative aspects and it cannot be eradicated from the surface of the world anymore (Dogan, 1989). People affected by tourism may only try to maximise its positive aspects and to minimise its negative aspects. However, which results of tourism will be designated as positive and which as negative, as well as strategies to be developed to cope with these results, probably depend on the characteristics of tourism development. Communities affected by tourism will probably step up their attempts to protect and preserve their values, interests and cultures. The sociocultural characteristics and socio-political positions of these communities will govern the strategy to cope with the changes induced by tourism which may change from an active resistance to tourism to an active adoption of it and the Western culture it symbolises. As tourism develops in a community, changes will occur in the responses of the people affected by it, depending on the level of tourism development and whether they are positively or negatively affected by it. However, in general, it may be said that in a community previously dominated by a particular response to tourism, a diversity of responses will emerge as tourism develops, and groups with different interests and characteristic responses to tourism will be formed within the community.

Predicting the future of any sphere of social or economic activity is fraught with difficulties. Furthermore, this can amount to little more than crystal ball gazing, bearing in mind the notoriously fickle business nature of tourism. Whatever the future holds for tourism, it is essential that knowledge about the interdependence between tourism and societies that motivate, generate and receive tourists is increased and used to guide its future development to the benefit of all.

The literature on social and cultural consequences of tourism as this has been exhaustively reviewed in this chapter seems to a great extent to make a bold statement prior to the study of the facts, that, ‘it is inevitable that the physical presence of tourists will have some form of impact on local communities’. It is the opinion of this researcher that this conclusion reached by the majority of researchers is substantially biased, as it does not take into consideration subjects such as: tourism through the context of neo-colonialism, the evolution of societies through time, the ‘Western’ direction of many societies, and the role of modernisation of societies at large. One might also raise the question over this conclusion: ‘Does family life change because of tourism, or because family life changes everywhere? Is this attributed to modernisation, or to a kind of alternative interpretation?’

It can be thus argued that there are benefits and drawbacks to the influx of tourism to a destination, however it is only with the right methodological approach that this can be elucidated. In the absence of the right approach it is obvious that tourism will be blamed for all the ill fates of modern societies. Chapter 3 that follows, which could be classified as an inseparable extension to the literature review,
attempts to add to the existing body of knowledge presented in this chapter, by reviewing the majority of case studies on the subject matter over a thirty year span. Additionally, this attempt helps identify methodological patterns and their limitations employed by other researchers in an aid to formulate the approach to be followed in this study.
References Cited


CHAPTER 3 - Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes Research on the Social Impacts of Tourism. A review of the Research conducted over the last three decades.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

One sub-component of tourism development research is a spate of studies that have focused on resident perceptions concerning tourism development. In general, resident perception research has focused on profiling social and cultural impacts of tourism in a variety of developed and developing countries, or on relating resident perception research to a corresponding stage of tourism development.

The preceding chapters introduced and examined the tourism's socio-cultural impacts within a community context. The chapter provided the reader with relevant information so as to help capture a broad and spherical picture of the theme under study and how this is presented in existing literature. Among other issues, the relationship between tourism and sociology, the external influences of neo-colonialism and postmodernism on tourism, and the socio-cultural benefits and costs of tourism on society were examined.

During the past two decades, researchers have given increasing attention to the impacts of tourism. The principal reason for this attention is that the perceptions and attitudes of residents towards the impacts of tourism are likely to be an important planning and policy consideration for the successful development, marketing and operation for existing and future tourism programs and projects. "For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts should be minimised and it must be viewed favourably by the host population" (Ap, 1992).

This chapter, builds upon the preceding one by investigating the nature and extent of socio-cultural implications of tourism upon the indigenous population of selected destination areas over a 25 year span. Existing research on residents' perceptions of the social impacts of tourism has provided a knowledge base that is exploratory in nature and primarily descriptive. The review of the research literature that follows, exhibits various summary results on social issues identified by researchers in a number of case studies presented in ascending chronological order. Additionally, the methodological patterns adopted by other researchers as well as their similarities and differences in terms of research techniques used, are examined in
an attempt to formulate the base for the development of the methodological instrument to be employed for this study.

2.0 REVIEW OF CURRENT RESEARCH CASE STUDIES IN ASCENDING CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

2.1 South Delaware (Rothman, 1978)

In 1978, Rothman, undertook a survey on two communities on the Atlantic Cost in South Delaware. His aim had been to determine how the recreational population influenced the lives of the residents and to what extent had the presence of these summer visitors influenced the way of life in the selected communities under investigation. The survey was conducted primarily through the means of questionnaires, which were distributed to all permanently occupied residences in both communities. Results were supplemented by interviews with public officials. The results of the survey showed that residents of both communities felt that the overall appearance of their communities changed during the summer when the influx of tourists was at its peak. Some 70% of the people reported feelings of tension during the tourist season and perceived an increase in the amount of crime. Likewise, residents perceived that tourists articulate negative consequences for the community such as noise, traffic congestion, litter, overcrowding, and price increases.

On the other hand, residents perceived some positive benefits of tourism such as increased revenue, more seasonal jobs as well as the expansion of municipal and commercial services (e.g., recreation, police protection, shopping opportunities, etc). Rothman, also reported that intimate social relations between tourists and local residents were rarely observed. Finally, and despite the existence of various groups with opposing opinions, the overwhelming majority of permanent residents would encourage further tourist activity. As Rothman (1978:12) noted, “This is due to economic dependence upon vacationers”.

In conclusion, the presence of tourists was perceived to have significant impacts on both communities. However, these impacts did not appear to be disruptive and people were able to cope with visitors without generating any conflicts.
2.2 Cape Cod (Pizam, 1978)

Pizam (1978) studied the social costs of tourism as perceived by the residents of Cape Cod, a rural tourist destination area in South Massachusetts. His study was exploratory in nature and hypothesised that "heavy tourism concentration in an area might lead to negative resident behaviour towards the tourist" (p.9). Additionally, it was anticipated that residents' attitudes towards tourism would be a function of their economic dependency on tourism as well as a function of certain socio-economic and demographic variables (e.g., age, sex, income, etc). For the purpose of his survey, Pizam designed two separate questionnaires, one for residents and one for entrepreneurs. A total of 1,636 residents and 212 entrepreneurs were interviewed and responses were rated on an 11 point Likert-type scale, ranging from '-5' to '+5', with '0' equating to "no effect resulting from tourism". Pizam reported that the most negative impacts on the community of Cape Cod, were: traffic conditions; vandalism; noise; prices of goods and services; drug abuse; and, alcoholism. On the other hand, residents perceived that tourism had a positive impact on: income of residents; quality of life in the community standard of living; and, opportunities for shopping. Moreover, on one hand, half of the resident sample felt no or little reason for substantial changes in the community, while the other half believed that any further tourist development should be controlled, restricted or even ceased. As far as residents are concerned, the results of Pizams' study have many similarities to those of Rothmans' (1978).

Pizam also noted that entrepreneurs' responses regarding the impact of tourism on Cape Cod were almost identical. Entrepreneurs believed that tourism had negative impacts on: traffic conditions; litter; noise; prices; and, cost of land and housing. Tourism had, according to them, positive impacts: on the income of residents; employment; standard of living; quality of police and fire protection; availability of recreational facilities; and, shopping opportunities. In addition, entrepreneurs felt that tourism minimised unemployment and enhanced understanding between people.

In summary, it seems that in Pizam's study, entrepreneurs of Cape Cod involved in the tourism industry, expressed the most positive attitudes towards tourism, whereas the most negative attitudes towards tourism were expressed by residents employed in non-tourism related industries.
2.3 Virgin Islands (Sethna and Richmond, 1978)

In 1978, another survey of residents' perceptions of tourism was carried out by Sethna and Richmond in the U.S Virgin Islands. The researchers used a stratified random sample of residents to represent levels of age, sex, education and income. The questionnaire which was constructed for this purpose consisted of eight statements in each of the following categories: (i) social; (ii) moral; (iii) financial; (iv) religious; (v) physical; (vi) human; and (vii) cultural. Responses were rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from a "strong disagreement" to a "strong agreement" to the statements. The analysis of the results suggested that the residents of the US Virgin Islands had a strong favourable image towards tourism. In effect, local residents strongly disagreed to statements referring to their countryside, sexual morality, feelings for tourists or own opportunity to have a good time, as being adversely affected by tourism.

In addition, the residents strongly agreed that tourism had a number of positive elements on offer to their community such as job opportunities for the local people, economic benefits to the community and improvement of social services and infrastructure. They also perceived tourists as very friendly and respectful people especially with regards to local traditions and culture. Furthermore, they believed that tourism helps them to create new friendships and mix with interesting people.

2.4 Corpus Cristi, South Texas (Thomason et al, 1979)

Thomason et al (1979) undertook a survey in the Corpus Cristi area of South Texas in order to develop a profile of the attitude of local residents towards winter visitors and investigate the differentiating attributes of attitudes by residents, entrepreneurs, and public sector personnel.

A questionnaire consisting of a wide range of 7-point semantic differential scales was drawn up for the survey. Both personal and telephone interviews were employed resulting in a total sample size of 261 (156 residents; 55 entrepreneurs; and 50 public providers). The study showed that entrepreneurs perceived winter visitors significantly more favourably than the other two tested groups. This applied mostly to attributes relating to personal characteristics of visitors (honesty, good manners, fairness etc) and also to the economic benefits that winter visitors brought to the community. However, both residents and public providers revealed positive attitudes towards these set of attributes. Significant differences were revealed between
residents and the other two groups with regard to attributes related to facilities and services. The negative impact of tourism on crowding levels for example, was more accurately felt by residents. Public providers were also found to exert more sensitivity towards visitor impacts on community services, hence less favourably disposed towards this category of attributes. Finally, and not astonishingly as it was indicated in other studies (Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978), the attitudes of those who are economically dependent on tourism (entrepreneurs) were more positive.

2.5 Santa Marta, Colombia (Belisle and Hoy, 1980)

The perceived impacts of tourism by the residents of Santa Marta, Colombia were investigated by Belisle and Hoy (1980). The purpose of their study was two-fold: first, to identify the positive and negative aspects of tourism as perceived by the local population of Santa Marta, and hence, establish a general profile of the population's satisfaction with the industry; second, to determine the influence of selected variables on the population's responses. These variables were primarily distance and socio-economic status and secondarily, age, education and sex. For the accomplishment of their purpose, the authors developed two hypotheses. Firstly, that the perception of tourist impact varies with the distance a person lives from the tourist zone, and secondly, that the perception of tourist impact varies with the resident's socio-economic status (see also, Pizam, 1978). Belisle and Hoy devised a questionnaire, which contained a series of questions potentially related to tourism. The answer scale ranged from '-5' ("strongly negative impact") with intermediate variables of '-3', '-1', '+1' and '+3', to '+5' ("strongly positive impact"). A value of '0' was given for a neutral response. A stratified sample was selected according to distance from the central tourist zone and socio-economic status. A total of 108 residents were interviewed.

The findings revealed an overall positive perception of the impact of tourism in society and economy. Local residents felt that tourism is the most beneficial economic resource of the area and much employment is generated from it. Furthermore, a large percentage of the sample agreed that tourism raised the average standard of living in the area and was mostly associated with improved transport infrastructure. Additionally, residents felt that tourism provided opportunities for many forms of cultural exchange such as the increase in the opportunity that they have to learn another language. Residents also felt that tourism had a
positive impact on the evolution of cultural traditions. Tourism was found to have a neutral impact on the existence of racial or social segregation. In contrast, however, residents perceived that economic benefits from tourism accrued to a minority of the area's population. Finally, it was felt that tourism was to be blamed for seasonally inflated food prices, for an increase in robberies, and to a lesser extent, drug traffic, smuggling and prostitution. Distance was found to have a significant effect on the perception of tourist impacts in that people away from the tourist zone perceived that the overall impacts of tourism were positive. The effects of socio-economic variables such as sex, age, occupation and income, were reported as insignificant.

The positive attitudes of the Santa Marta residents towards tourism may be a function of the incipient stage of tourism development in that area. Based on Doxey's Irritation index ("Irridex") which measures residents' reaction towards tourism and tourists, Santa Marta residents appear to be best characterised by the first stage, i.e., "euphoria", however, as tourism expands and becomes pervasive, resident attitudes may become negative.

2.6 Clwyd and Gwynedd, North Wales (Sheldon and Var, 1984)

Sheldon and Var (1984) surveyed residents' attitudes to tourism in the communities of Clwyd and Gwynedd, North Wales. The sample consisted of 250 households in the North Wales area, randomly chosen from the telephone directory, and each was mailed a survey questionnaire. Residents were asked to respond on a six-point Likert scale ("1 = strongly disagree", to "6 = strongly agree") on statements about tourism impacts. The study produced a total usable sample of 54 residents (25% response rate to the questionnaire). Results showed that tourism was ranked the least important industry when compared to mining, agriculture and manufacturing industries in the communities. Traffic congestion was perceived as the major disadvantage of tourism (98.1% of residents agreed). On the other hand, there was a strong appreciation of the cultural and educational effects of tourism. Residents felt that tourism encouraged a variety of cultural activities (82.1% agreed), contributed to a greater variety of entertainment (62.3% agreed), and, was responsible for the better care of old and historic buildings (86% agreed). Residents also believed that tourism enhanced cross-cultural exchange and understanding (76.9%) and that meeting foreign tourists was a valuable educational experience.
The most positively perceived economic impacts were: the creation of more jobs for local residents (81.1% agreed); and, investment acceleration and spending in the local community (76.9% agreed). A number of negative social impacts have also been detected by the authors, however, the percentage of the residents who agreed with the relevant statements was smaller. Residents felt that tourism had led to more vandalism (50.9%); disrupted the tranquility and peace of public parks (37.7%); resulted in overcrowding (45%); and, that native Welsh people were being exploited by tourists (17%). In addition, lifelong residents were found to be more sensitive to the impacts of tourism on their lives than were more recent residents. Furthermore, the authors reported that residents living in higher density tourist areas perceived tourism to be more important than other industry sectors, they appreciated the economic benefits of tourism and its positive effects on public services. These results showed the opposite to Pizam’s (1978) findings, which showed that there was more friction between tourists and residents in high-density tourist centres. Finally, the results indicated that local residents did in fact, stereotype visitors. As Sheldon and Var noted, “... Visitors from more distant countries are seen as being ‘more nice and considerate’ than those who lived closer” (p.47).

In conclusion, the study revealed that, although residents of North Wales did not perceive tourism to be their most important industry, they were aware of the economic impact and social change that tourism had brought about.

2.7 New Zealand (Garland, 1984)

Garland (1984) investigated the social effects of tourism as perceived by the residents of three destination communities in New Zealand. No research hypotheses were specified by the author. The main part of Garland’s questionnaire included a list of variables produced to measure the social impacts of tourism on residents. Responses to the 29 potential social impact variables were rated on an 11-point Likert type scale. Personal interviews were conducted and the survey method of self-completion was adopted, using a “drop-off, pick-up later” approach. The randomly selected respondents built up a total sample size of 500 residents. Garland’s research findings illustrated that the majority of communities’ residents were favourably inclined towards foreign tourists. In addition, more than half of each community’s respondents suggested that the future numbers of overseas visitors should increase by 100% (i.e., double in number). Most residents however, did not favour home
hosting overseas visitors. On the other hand, residents felt much in favour of domestic tourists and believed that their future numbers should increase. The contradictory aspects of tourism's impacts on residents and their communities were evident. More specifically, tourism was seen to have a strong positive effect (i) on opportunities to meet interesting people; (ii) on the quality and range of shops and food and beverage outlets; and (iii) on feelings of civic pride. Besides, local residents perceived that, to a lesser degree, tourism created positive impacts on employment opportunities; personal income; standard of living; cultural facilities; and, preservation of historical buildings.

Garland's results indicated that tourism was seen as most painful to residents through the issues of: (i) traffic congestion; (ii) cost of housing rental; (iii) theft and burglary; (iv) litter and noise; (v) prices of goods and services. In addition, residents felt that tourism had a mildly detrimental effect on prostitution and the cost of land acquisition and house building. Lastly, residents' responses revealed that the presence of tourists in their communities had a minimal or no effect on impact variable such as: (i) changes in the way of life; (ii) children caring; (iii) unemployment; (iv) medical services; (v) concern for material gain; (vi) family values, and elderly people in the community.

2.8 Marmaris, Turkey (Var, Kendall and Tarakcioglu, 1985)

Var, Kendall and Tarakcioglu (1985) examined residents' attitudes towards tourism in the Turkish resort town of Marmaris, using a technique similar to that employed by Sheldon and Var (1984) in Northern Wales. A random stratified sample of 114 residents of Marmaris was determined in advance of the tourist season. Questionnaires were personally delivered to the respondents and were collected on the same day by those administering the questionnaire. An 86% return was achieved, which represents a usable sample of 98. Responses were rated on a 6-point Likert type scale ("1= strongly disagree", to "6 = strongly agree"). The results identified both positive and negative perceptions of residents towards the socio-economic impacts of tourism in their town. Respondents strongly agreed that meeting tourists is a valuable educational experience and that tourists contribute toward international peace and understanding. Residents also realised that tourism resulted in changes in their lifestyles. However, almost 84% of the respondents said that they were willing to put up with some inconvenience in exchange for tourist money. This result seems to confirm Rothman’s (1987)
conclusions about impacts of seasonal visitors on residents. It is also perceived among residents that tourism drives property values and housing prices up (70.5% agreed). Furthermore, there was some agreement on the statements that tourism commercialises ethics and people think only of the money brought in the community from tourists (37.5% and 50% agreed respectively). The problems of traffic congestion and crowding were not solely attributed to tourism by Marmaris's residents.

In addition, residents did not see tourism contributing to crime rates, but rather only 16.9% thought the crime rate in the province had increased because of tourism. Also, a sizeable portion of the sample felt that tourism did not have a negative impact on children. A quite surprising large percentage of the sample (90.6% admitted that they litter more than tourists do, and that the problems associated with the heavy littering should not be reflected on the influx of tourists to the resort town of Marmaris. The majority of the sample also agreed that tourism created more business and reduced unemployment levels. Finally, the findings indicated strong stereotyping behaviour of some residents toward tourists of certain nation origin. In particular, residents felt that tourists from the Middle Eastern countries, as well as Turkish workers abroad and domestic tourists were the least preferred tourists, whereas, tourists from Western Europe, the Far East and tourists from America were the most preferred. The pattern observed here seems to confirm Sheldon and Var's (1984) finding on stereotyping in North Wales who found visitors from relatively more distant origins being ranked more favourably than visitors from closer areas.

2.9 Sri Lanka (Ahmed, 1986)

Ahmed's study focused on the perception of the residents of Sri Lanka towards the impact of tourism in their country. He also investigated how these perceptions were related to alternative marketing strategies for the development of tourism. Ahmed, conducted his survey using a structured questionnaire which generated a usable sample of 121 middle and upper-middle class English speaking Sri Lankans. The examination of mean scores dealt with perceptions of the impact of tourism on Sri Lanka indicated that it was perceived to create employment and economic growth, but also to lead to price increases. Tourism was found to have little impact on the distribution of wealth. However, residents identified some negative socio-cultural impacts such as changes in consumption habits and dressing styles and corruption of young
boys, primarily attributed to the strong demonstration effect of tourism. Furthermore, residents perceived that tourism led to an increase in vices such as prostitution, drug and alcohol use, and to the deterioration in moral standards. Some tendency for gambling was also mentioned as a negative social consequence. Finally, tourism was viewed as tending to destroy traditional and local culture.

### 2.10 Four major counties - Hawaii State (Liu and Var, 1986)

The purpose of a study by Liu and Var (1986) was to determine resident attitudes to the economic, sociocultural and ecological impacts of tourism development in four major islands (Oahu, Maui, Hawaii, Kauai) of the Hawaiian state. Three thousand questionnaires were mailed out to a sample, which was randomly selected. The response rate was in the region of 20% (636 questionnaires). Respondents were asked to rank their responses to the questions on tourism impacts on a six-point agreement/disagreement scale. The survey results showed that there was a strong agreement on the positive economic benefits of tourism, including jobs (95% agreed); investment (90%); local business (74%); and, standard of living (80%). However, 56% felt that the cost of living has also increased because of tourism. Similar to the agreement on the positive economic benefits of tourism was the strong agreement on the positive cultural benefits of the industry. These included such items as, variety of entertainment (92%); meeting tourists as a valuable educational experience (91%); need for more historical and cultural exhibits (87%); desire to learn more about tourism culture (78%); encouragement of variety of cultural activities by locals (81%); and tourism’s positive impact on Hawaiis’ cultural identity (71%).

Regarding the degree of impact on some social variables, only 37% of the respondents felt that the crime rate in Hawaii had increased because of tourists. The majority however, agreed that tourism had caused more prostitution (64%), but not more vandalism (43%), nor had there been an increase in the use of illegal drugs (27%). Although respondents felt that the aloha spirit was declining (64%), they also felt that the majority (73%) of local residents were courteous and friendly to tourists. Local residents also disagreed that they suffered from the presence of tourism or that they were exploited by it. Finally, surprisingly, it appeared that residents who were economically dependent on tourism did not respond differently to those
who held non-tourism related jobs. This finding confirms primarily Pizam's (1978) conclusion, and to an extent, also counters to Rothman's (1978) suggestions.

2.11 Five rural communities of Colorado (Perdue, Long, Allen, 1987)

Perdue, Long and Allen (1987) investigated residents' attitudes towards tourism in five rural communities of Colorado, which depended on tourism for at least 25 percent of their retail sales. The hypothesis of the study assumed that outdoor recreation participants compared to non-participants would have negative perceptions of tourism. Self-administered questionnaires were selected using systematic sampling. The final sample size was 264, and results revealed an overall positive attitude towards tourism. Residents felt that tourism improved the appearance of their community (68% agreed), and the quality of life in the area (68.2% agreed). Furthermore, 57 percent agreed that tourism was not responsible for increased crime problems and most importantly for this study, 74% felt that tourism development had not reduced the quality of outdoor recreation in the area. However, more than half of the respondents agreed that tourism had unfairly increased real estate costs (53%). Regarding residents' desirability for additional tourist development, almost 84% felt that attracting more tourists to the area would improve the local economy, and 71% felt that their community should make more efforts in order to attract a greater number of tourists. An interesting finding was that half of the respondents (52%) disagreed with the statement that non-residents should be allowed to develop tourist attractions in the area. Finally, the results did not seem to support the original hypothesis since very few differences in attitudes were found between participants and non-participants in outdoor recreation. However, the authors noted that "... as the perceived impact of tourism on outdoor recreation opportunities increases, the desirability of additional tourism development decreases significantly and the favourability of special tourism taxes increases" (p.420).

2.12 Cordoba and Patagonia, Argentina (Schluter and Var, 1988)

Schluter and Var (1988) examined residents' attitudes towards tourism in a survey conducted in Cordoba and Patagonia, Argentina. The survey adapted to local requirements the questionnaire implemented in Hawaii by Liu and Var (1986). Sixteen hundred self-administered
questionnaires were distributed in Cordoba and 1,190 questionnaires were distributed in Patagonia. The response rate reached twenty-three percent. The results indicated that there was a strong agreement regarding the positive economic impacts of tourism on employment, standard of living and income. Schluter and Var also noted that in areas where residents relied solely on income from tourism, they were more supportive because of their economic dependency on the industry. The survey results also showed a strong agreement by residents that tourism was responsible for increasing the cost of living (96.3%) and believed that those who benefited more from tourism were the local business managers (88.6%). Results on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism were slightly contradictory. Residents believed that tourism stimulated cross-cultural encounters (95.5%) and the desire to meet tourists and learn about their culture (93%). On the other hand, eighty six percent of residents felt that tourists were unaware of the local culture and that Argentina's traditional sense of hospitality was declining (64.8%). The highest difference of opinion was found in the negative social impact of tourism. The residents of Bariloche, a town entirely dependent on tourism, held the industry responsible for an increase in the use of illegal drugs (64%); mobs (64%); prostitution (44%); and, crime rate (44%). However, those impacts were not perceived as significant among the residents of Puerto Madryn who perceived only slight increases in the above mentioned impact variables.

In summary, the findings of the survey, showed that some expected results, such as strong perception of the economic benefits of tourism were not found; instead, the positive socio-cultural benefits were recognised. It was also found that there was a strong relation between economic dependency on tourism and positive perceptions of economic benefit, plus closer awareness of sociocultural costs.

2.13 Central Florida (Milman and Pizam, 1988)

The purpose of Milman's and Pizam's (1988) study was to investigate Central Florida residents' perception of the social consequences and impacts of tourism. The study was exploratory in nature and no formal hypotheses were developed. Strata sampling of residents of three counties (Orange; Seminole; and Osceola) was drawn proportionally to the number of residents in each county. Interviews were conducted by experienced telephone interviewers and a total usable sample of 203 households was obtained. In general, Central Florida residents had a positive attitude towards tourism. About 78% of respondents favoured somewhat, or strongly
favoured the presence of tourism and some 63% of them felt that the image of Central Florida improved somewhat or significantly as a result of tourism activities. Residents also revealed that they would willingly take jobs in the tourism and hospitality industry (63.1%). In addition, seventy-five percent of the respondents said that they would suggest to friends or relatives to take jobs in the tourism industry. With regards to the social relationship between tourists and residents, the majority of respondents (some 70%) said that they had contacts with tourists. Moreover, about fifty-seven percent of residents believed that tourists were somewhat similar, or very similar to local inhabitants. The study also revealed that there was a consensus among Central Florida residents as to the socio-economic impacts of tourism. Respondents felt that employment opportunities, income, standard of living, and the town’s overall tax revenue improved as a result of tourism.

Despite the overall positive feeling towards tourists and the tourism industry, Central Floridians were able to point out some specific negative impacts that in their opinion were perceived to worsen as a result of tourism development on their community. These impacts were perceived to be: individual and organised crime; alcoholism; drug addiction; and especially, traffic conditions.

It was also reported that residents who were directly employed in the tourism industry had a higher level of support for tourism than those who were not employed in the industry. These findings confirmed the results reported in previous studies (Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Schluter and Var, 1988). The mean score of some variables (those that scored a neutral value on the 5-point Likert type scale) indicated that the level of tourism in Central Florida at the time of the study, had no impact on them. Such variables were: morality; honesty of people; sexual permissiveness; and, mutual confidence among people.

Finally, and although Central Floridians acknowledged the existence of a number of negative social impacts on their area, support for the tourism industry was strong among them. Furthermore, residents not only supported the existing magnitude of the industry, but also favoured its expansion.
2.14 Canada (Brayley and Var, 1989)

Brayley and Var's (1989) study investigated the perceptions of tourism's influence in economic and social conditions among a group of 125 undergraduate students from the University of Vancouver and Quebec. The study examined the perceptions of both French and English-speaking Canadian students. The data collection instrument for the study was a questionnaire that included 25 items, fifteen of which solicited an indication of agreement (or disagreement) with a statement of belief about tourism's relationship to a particular social circumstance or trend. As Brayley and Var noted: "In general, Canadian students viewed tourism as contributing positively to economic development, international relations, and the enhancement of protection of the physical, cultural and social environment" (p.579). Most statements that presented negative views of tourism were generally met with disagreement by both sub-samples. However, significant differences were observed between the two sub-samples with regards to certain social issues. More specifically, French-speaking students strongly agreed that tourism tends to exploit the unskilled, unemployed and migrant groups, and that the development of tourism in small communities disrupts their character. In contrast, English-speaking students adopted a more "neutral" position on the above statements. Finally, the results of the study suggested that the student sample generally viewed tourism first, as a positive economic influence and second, as a positive socio-cultural influence.

2.15 Livingstone, Zambia (Husbands, 1989)

A survey carried out by Husbands (1989) in Livingstone, Zambia, aimed at ascertaining residents' perception of tourism in relation to the social status of residents. Personal interviews were conducted following a random selection of a sample, and 195 usable responses were obtained. The view of the sample as a whole was that tourism did not display any noticeable effects. In fact, there was some slight evidence that respondents viewed tourism negatively in that tourism brought about fewer jobs, and that tourists received superior service in shops and banks, compared to local residents. Furthermore, many residents believed that tourism was responsible for the high cost of living in Livingstone. Husbands identified two groups of socio-demographic variables in order to assess the relationship between perception of tourism and social status. One group was composed mainly of social status variables, such as, length of residence in Livingstone; annual household income; highest level of education attained;
employment status; occupation; and, personal monthly income. The other group was made up mainly of demographic variables, such as, age group, marital status and household size. Education and employment status emerged as the most important variables associated with the perception of tourism.

Based on the results of the study, three conclusions became apparent. First, persons who had attained secondary education and who were generally employed in the sales/service sector and also had tourism-related jobs, attributed great importance to tourism. Second, persons with low income and low status jobs (the lowest social status) with no tourism-related employment were indifferent to tourism. Third, persons with high income, and high status employment (the highest social status) who were to some extent not employed in the tourism industry, either viewed tourism as relatively unimportant or they were not favourably disposed toward the industry. These findings also confirmed the results of previous studies (Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978; Milman and Pizam, 1988).

2.16 Deadwood, South Dakota (Caneday and Zeiger, 1991)

Canaday's and Zeiger's (1991) study attempted to investigate the socio-economic and environmental costs of tourism, as perceived by both the residents and entrepreneurs of Deadwood, a gaming community in South Dakota. Personal interviews were conducted to 144 households and 37 entrepreneurs, in a randomly selected sampling process. The survey instrument employed for this study was based on the one developed by Pizam (1978) and included a five point Likert type scale response to a variety of possible effects of tourism, ranging from a value of '− 2' ("no effect from tourism") to a value of '+ 2' ("strong effect from tourism"). No formal hypotheses were developed for the study due to its exploratory and descriptive nature. Responses from the residents were not intensely negative. Residents perceived that tourism had the strongest impact on traffic conditions, litter, noise levels, and occurrences of gambling. In contrast, entrepreneurs had very negative responses to eight items. They believed that tourism had strongly influenced: available jobs; social norms; access to parking and hunting areas; air quality; drug abuse; alcoholism and gambling. Surprisingly, entrepreneurs, viewed traffic conditions as not being affected by tourism. Finally, the study examined the relationship between economic dependence on tourism and attitudes towards the industry. The analysis demonstrated that people employed in tourism related businesses were
likely to be more familiar with tourism's impacts and that they identified those impacts more frequently.

2.17 Cairns, Australia (Ross, 1992)

Ross (1992) surveyed resident perceptions of the impact of tourism in the Northern Queensland tourist city of Cairns, Australia. 508 respondents completed the survey, with the sample having been randomly drawn from electoral rolls. A set of community facilities similar to those employed by Allen et al (1988) was included in the survey schedule, together with items measuring global assessments of tourists' positive and neutral impacts on the individual and the community. Enjoyment levels of community impact items were measured by way of a five point Likert scale, ranging from high negative impacts to high positive impacts, with a mid-point neutral category. Respondents rated each community service or facility on how it had been affected by tourism. Most negatively affected were: the cost of buying land; cost of buying or renting a house; cost of living and crime levels. Services and facilities most positively affected were: hotels and restaurants; shopping facilities; business opportunities; parks and gardens and entertainment facilities. Those services and facilities with more neutral ratings (i.e., not affected by tourism) were: fire-fighting services; general appearance of the city; friendliness of local residents and emergency health services. Respondents were also asked to rate the overall positive and negative impacts on themselves and also on their community. It was revealed that respondents were more likely to report no personal effects on themselves. As Ross (1992:14) noted, "residents have indicated a greater likelihood of perceiving the varying impacts of tourism at the community level rather than at the individual level". Finally, residents also rated the extent to which they enjoyed community life. The analysis suggested that both positive and negative personal impacts are more likely to be associated with varying levels of enjoyment of community life. Thus, positive personal impacts were associated with higher levels of community enjoyment whereas, negative personal impacts were associated with lower levels of enjoyment of community life.
2.18 Two Greek Isles (Tsartas, 1992)

Tsartas (1992) examined the difference in the social and economic impacts of tourism on two neighbouring Greek islands of similar characteristics (Serifos and los). An objective of the study was to test the hypothesis that massive and rapid tourist development causes substantial social and economic changes in agricultural regions. Questionnaires were developed for a random sample which was drawn from the electoral registers of the port and the capital city of each island. In all, 70 questionnaires were completed in los and 63 in Serifos. The questionnaire was constructed around five thematic categories: tourism; social values; occupational characteristics; demographic characteristics and local problems, entailing 81 mainly "closed type" questions. The aim was to study the opinions and attitudes of the local people on the five themes. For los, results massively showed a local support for tourism mainly due to the profit it brought (97.6%), but also identified negative aspects, including inappropriate impact on youth (36.9%); moral problems because of nudism; the behaviour of young female tourists (32.9%) and the use of drugs (13.4%). The skepticism towards any further tourism development (despite the huge support due to the lure of profit) is evident throughout the study.

On los, the study also surfaced the demonstration effect in that young men imitate the standard of living of tourists. The role of the family as a social and economic unit had also changed. The role of the father had also weakened due to the massive level of tourist development, thus 'control' within the family became difficult.

The situation on Serifos, where tourism development was in a small scale, was difficult. Although the majority of the inhabitants believed in a moderate and controlled type of development following the problems, which emerged from excessive tourism development on los, they favoured further tourism development on the island in order to discourage the young from emigrating.

The difficult social consequences that have occurred in these two island societies affected by different levels of tourism development led to the conclusion that the type of tourism (mass or uncontrolled vs. moderate and controlled) was vital as with regards to the form and extent of the social changes that will ensue in the host society. It seems that this becomes more evident in small island societies, mainly because, due to their isolation and economic needs, these changes in the social structure affect the population as a whole. Thus, tourism becomes the unique factor of economic change in such host societies.
2.19 Nadi, Fiji (King, Pizam, Milman, 1993)

King, Pizam, and Milman (1993) investigated the host perceptions of Nadi, Fiji, towards the social impacts of tourism. The questionnaire used in the study was based on a similar instrument developed and used by Milman and Pizam (1988) in their study on Central Florida. The study was exploratory in nature and no formal hypotheses were developed. A household survey was undertaken and telephone interviews were conducted, producing a total usable sample of 199 interviews (one per household). A cluster sample was undertaken to accommodate the physical layout and nature of the local community.

The general conclusions drawn from the survey revealed that residents (most of whom were dependent on the industry for their livelihood) supported the magnitude of tourism at the time of the study, and furthermore, favoured its expansion. Of the respondents, 80.2% favoured or strongly favoured the presence of tourism in their area. A vast majority (90.7%) also stated that the image of Nadi improved somewhat or significantly as a result of tourism activities. Respondents were also asked to express opinions on sixteen areas (variables) about the impact of tourism on social and economic activities and concerns. Their responses were rated on a 5 point Likert type scale, where ‘1’ indicated that the variables had been “significantly worsened” as a result of the presence of tourism, and ‘5’ “significantly improved”, with ‘3’ indicating “no effect from tourism activity”. Respondents identified a number of improvements which included: the town’s overall tax revenue; income; standard of living; work attitudes; quality of life; courtesy and hospitality to strangers and confidence among people.

On the other hand, a number of negative effects were also recognised. These were: the increased incidence of alcoholism; individual and organised crime; drug addictions; openness to sex and traffic conditions. The remaining of the variables had a mean of around 3.0, which indicated that residents perceived the current level of tourism as having no significant impact. These variables included morality, politeness, manners, and people’s honesty. Respondents also said that they would willingly take jobs in the tourism hospitality industry (97%). About 90% of the respondents said that they would suggest to their friends or relatives to take jobs in the tourism industry. The majority of respondents (75.9%) believed that foreign tourists were very different from local residents. The extent to which local residents had developed social relationships with tourists was also large, since the majority of respondents (about 88%) indicated that they had contact with tourists. The above results confirm many of the findings in previous studies (Pizam, 1978; Milman and Pizam, 1988).
The results of the study suggested that residents of Nadi, a community dependent on tourism, clearly differentiated between economic benefits and social costs. As the authors conclude, residents' awareness of certain negative consequences did not lead to reduced support or opposition toward further tourism development. On the contrary, the majority of respondents (80.3%) felt that the volume of tourists visiting the area should increase.

2.20 Spey Valley, Scotland (Getz, 1994)

Getz (1994) conducted a longitudinal evaluation of the attitudes and perceptions of local residents towards tourism in the Badenoch and Strathspey District of the Scottish Highlands (often referred to, as Spey Valley) in which a measurement was taken in 1978 and again in 1992. The idea behind this longitudinal research was primarily to identify and measure tourism impacts over a long period of time during which social and cultural evolution had occurred in response to tourism development.

The 1978 survey consisted of 132 households randomly selected from district property valuation lists, which were geographically stratified to ensure full coverage of the district. A very high completion rate was achieved (86%) through repeat visits by researchers who conducted the structured interviews. The 1978 research was completed at a time when tourism demand was growing and residents had clear perceptions of tourism’s impacts.

The 1992 survey consisted of a random postal survey with postage-free mail-back, drawn from the list of voters. A 40% response rate was achieved. To test the perpetual or cognitive dimension of attitudes, a stratification scale was used. This provided a relatively straightforward measure of how residents evaluated elements of quality of life in Spey Valley. To measure the effective dimension, emotive statements in a Likert type scale were used, with the specific goal of differentiating sub-groups of the population, which held different attitudes towards one or more domains. Some of the statements in the Likert scale also reflected perceptions of impacts, similar to the satisfaction scale.

From a planning and policy perspective, the measurement of perceptions and attitudes in Spey Valley has had important implications. Residents were found to be largely supportive of tourism and the changes in development it had brought. However, while the general pattern of attitudes
remained consistent from 1978-1992, an increasing negativism was apparent. This was attributed by Getz (1994) to the poor performance of the industry in the years 1988-1992.

This study did contribute to the theoretical understanding of tourism impact causation and resultant resident attitude formation. Specifically, the case study supported the social exchange theory of attitude formation. Although the research did not test specifically for a relationship between economic dependence and attitudes towards tourism, the 1978 samples clearly revealed that owners and managers of businesses were the most positive about tourism, growth and change. Also, the general state of economic dependence on tourism and knowledge about the industry in Spey Valley were very high. Accordingly, the overall positive attitude towards tourism and growth reflected the belief that the industry's benefits out-weigh the costs to residents. However, increased negativism and dissatisfaction over the 14-year interval, suggested that residents believe benefits have declined, or have not matched expectations.

2.21 Bakewell, U.K (Ryan and Montgomery, 1994)

Ryan and Montgomery (1994) attempted to identify and categorise the attitudes of residents towards tourists and to indicate the stability of those attitudes over a period of time. The area selected for the study was the town of Bakewell in the Derbyshire Dales area, United Kingdom. The questionnaire used in the study consisted of 30 attitudinal statements, all of which were posed in the positive voice (i.e., respondents were asked to agree with the statement). Levels of agreement were indicated on a seven point Likert type scale where '1', indicated "total disagreement" and '7', "total agreement" with the item. A small pilot sample was also tried out. The questionnaire was distributed by hand to random households within randomly selected areas of Bakewell. A total of 240 questionnaires were distributed and 160 (101 + 59) usable responses were collected. The survey was conducted in two stages (February/March and August/September). Results of the study indicated clearly that Bakewell has a skewed population distribution towards older people in that it had a high proportion of retired and older people. Another strong result that emerged from the study was the fact that price of property is beyond the reach of the younger local residents (75%).

On the subject of residents' homogenity towards tourism, three groups emerged: (i) the enthusiasts (22.2% of the sample) - those that tended to moderately support tourism; (ii) the
somewhat irritated (23.5% of the sample) - those that had negative opinions about the impacts of tourism and were also more sceptical about the benefits that tourism brought, and (iii) the middle of the roaders (54.3% of the sample) - those whose scores generally fell between those of "irritated" and "enthusiasts". It appeared from the exercise that over the five-month period covering the change from off-peak to high-season tourism, resident attitudes were quite consistent. In general, the study supported that for many, tourism in Bakewell was seen as part of everyday life bringing benefits and some problems. The real concern about some impacts of tourism was inevitably the increase in property prices.

2.22 Darwin, Australia (Bastias-Perez and Var, 1995)

Bastias-Perez and Var (1995) investigated the impact of tourism as perceived by the residents of Darwin, Australia. Two hundred respondents completed the self-administered questionnaire. The sample size represented the cross-section of Darwin. A 5 point Likert scale was used to measure the levels of agreement and disagreement to 35 items used, 25 of which were statements designed to determine to what extent respondents held particular attitudes towards or perceptions of tourism in Darwin. Seven broad issues were extrapolated by factor analysis. These were: positive social impacts; positive economic factors; negative social impacts; residential awareness of tourism; seasonality; negative economic factors and pressure on infrastructure. Darwin residents demonstrated a positive attitude toward social impacts derived from tourism activity. Residential perception of tourism in Darwin was cited as being beneficial and pleasurable. Issues leading to negative social impacts, such as: increases in vandalism; crime rate; cost of living and pollution and waste, were also included. In testing the first hypothesis of the study (to prove that age was a good determinant of residential attitudes and perceptions toward tourism), middle-aged residents proved to be more inclined to appreciate the positive economic benefit derived from tourism activity. In testing residents' educational levels against the awareness of the negative aspects of tourism, results demonstrated that respondents were not affected in their perception of tourism's negative impacts by their level of education. However, the data showed that those residents with higher educational qualifications, tended to have an awareness of tourism related issues as preservation of the natural environment and the increase of the life and vitality of the Darwin community. A third hypothesis (the issue of direct dependency on tourism affecting a positive view) was also tested. Analysis of the data demonstrated that the results might have been affected by the
number of respondents whose answer negated the statement establishing employment in the industry, or by a close relative. It was reasonable judgement, therefore, that "previous experience" not be totally discounted as a tool for assessing the perceptions of residents in a destination area towards tourism.

The last hypothesis, examined the potential of using income level of respondents as a tool to assess their perceptions of tourism. The survey indicated that residents in the average income range, as calculated in the survey and supported by national statistic figures, had a positive view of tourism with regard to its economic benefits.

In conclusion, the results of the tests on the hypotheses demonstrated that it is possible to assess the perceptions and attitudes of residents in tourism destination areas with the use of demographic characteristics as a tool, in support of the finding by Brayley, Var and Sheldon (1989) who found that there was a "persistent generally positive view of tourism's influence on economic and social conditions in the host community".

2.23 Isle of Samos, Greece (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996)

In their study, Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) investigated the impacts of tourism, as perceived by the residents of Pythagorion, a well-established tourism destination on the Greek Island of Samos. The aim of the study was to examine attitudes and perceptions of local residents and did not attempt to measure the actual social effects of tourism development on the area.

The study hypothesised that heavy concentration of tourists in a destination might lead to negative resident perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and tourists. Two hypotheses were developed: (i) that residents' perceptions towards the social impact of tourism would be a function of their direct economic dependency on the tourism industry; and, (ii) residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism and tourists would be a function of certain socio-demographic characteristics, such as sex, age, occupational status, household income, etc.

The sample size covered 20% of the population (116 households) selected in a cluster sampling method, producing 85% successful interviews, accounting for a response rate of 73.3%. The survey instrument consisted of a pre-structured questionnaire similar to the one designed by Pizam (1978) and Milman and Pizam (1988). It consisted of 48 questions in seven
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Chapter 3 - Review of Research conducted over the last three decades

categories: screening for permanent residency; socio-demographic profile; perceived tourism impact; effect of tourism on the image of the town; attitudes towards tourists and the tourism industry; similarity between tourists and residents and desirability of tourism occupations.

In general, respondents expressed a very positive attitude towards tourism. Some 80% of the respondents strongly favoured or favoured somewhat the presence of tourism in the area. In respect to their overall attitude towards tourism, the vast majority of the respondents (76%) stated that they favoured or strongly favoured tourism activities and development in the island. Only 3.5% of the respondents strongly opposed the existence of tourism on the islands. Eighty-four percent of residents also stated that the image of the area had improved because of tourism. Seventy-eight percent also felt that the number of tourists visiting the area should increase. The majority of respondents (87%) also perceived tourists as being different from local inhabitants.

Respondents were also asked to express their opinion about the impact of tourism on a variety of socio-economic issues. Employment opportunities; town’s overall tax revenue; attitude towards work, and hospitality towards strangers were perceived to improve as a result of tourism in the area. Local residents also had very positive perceptions about the impact of tourism in economic-related issues. Sexual permissiveness was also perceived to increase as a result of tourism. In contrast, variables such as: prices of goods and service; brawls; drug addiction; vandalism and individual crimes were perceived to worsen as a result of tourism. For the rest of the variables (confidence among people; honesty; morality; organised crime; prostitution and gambling) residents perceived that the current level of tourism development had no effect on them. These findings confirmed the findings of other studies with regards to the perceived impacts of tourism on a variety of socio-economic variables (Rothman, 1978; Milman and Pizam, 1988; King, Pizam, and Milman, 1993).

In addition, the study questioned the respondents on tourism’s particular impacts on women and young residents, because in previous studies, women and young adults were found to be disproportionately affected by tourism development. The results indicated that respondents believed employment opportunities for women and the socioeconomic position of women within the traditional society of Samos had improved as a result of tourism. Additionally, respondents contended that tourism had increased women’s participation in family decisions. As to the impact of tourism on young adults, respondents perceived that out-migration of young family members had decreased as a result of tourism development. Respondents also felt that
tourism was responsible for the increased economic dependence of young adults on their family; for increased travel of young adults to foreign countries and for the establishment of new homes after marriage. On the other hand, tourism was not perceived to have any impact on the marriage of young family members. This is attributed by the authors to the fact that marriages in closed societies were still subject to the strict patterns of tradition.

On the subject of attitudes towards tourism employment, the study indicated a very high degree (96%) of desirability for tourism occupations. Respondents also ranked “tourism occupation” as their first choice when asked to select from a limited list of occupations, which also included professions such as, schoolteacher; civil servant; ship mechanic; agriculture labourer and fisherman.

In an attempt to test the first hypothesis of the study, a series of ‘t - tests’ were undertaken in order to assess the perceptual differences between those residents who were ‘directly’ economically dependent on tourism and those who were not. The results indicated that residents who had a ‘main’ business relation with tourism had more positive perceptions towards the industry and its impacts than those who had no main business relation. The most significant differences between the two groups were identified in variables such as the presence of tourism in the area; the volume of arrivals; and, consequently, the level of support for further tourism development; the image of the town; and, the overall opinion about the tourism industry on the island. Those residents involved in tourism businesses were significantly more supportive of the industry than those who had no business relation with tourism.

Differences between the two groups were also found with regards to economic-related issues such as: employment opportunities; personal income; town’s tax revenue and standard of living. Those directly dependent on tourism perceived the industry to have more positive impacts on the above-mentioned factors than those who were not. However, the authors mention, that the latter category did not exhibit any negative attitudes. Thus, it was concluded that even those residents who did not have any direct economic benefits from tourism recognised the industry’s importance and positive effect on the economy of the community.

Other significant differences between the two categories of respondents were based on variables such as, attitude towards work, hospitality towards strangers, mutual confidence and sincerity, honesty, morality, and, in the variables related to the economic, social and family role
of women. Residents who were economically dependent on tourism perceived it to have a positive impact on these issues as opposed to the residents not involved in the industry, who exhibited less positive neutral and, in a few cases, negative attitudes. Several social, economic and legal factors were perceived to be negatively impacted by tourism by both groups. However, those who were not mainly involved in the industry perceived tourism to cause more negative impacts on several issues that those who did, such as issues on: individual crimes; drug addiction; sexual harassment; vandalism and prices of goods and services. These results together confirmed the findings of other studies (Pizam, 1978; Thomason et al, 1979; Schluter and Var, 1988; Milman and Pizam, 1988, Husbands; 1989) that revealed the same differences in the perceptions of those who were and those who were not economically dependent on the tourism industry. It also confirmed the first part of the initial hypothesis. In a second attempt to investigate the possibility of any perceptual differences between the self-employed and those employed by others, the results of the 't - tests' did not show any significant differences in attitudes towards tourism and its impacts between the two groups, thus rendering the second hypothesis as 'not confirmed'.

Lastly, an examination of any perceptual differences between those residents who had and those who did not have any of their family members employed in the industry was conducted. Results partially confirmed the hypothesis in that, those with family members employed in tourism were more supportive of the presence of tourists in the area: advocated an increase in the volume of tourists; perceived tourism as improving the image of the town; thought that it improved the socio-economic position of women and had an overall more positive opinion about the tourism industry on the island than those who did not have family members employed in the industry.

2.24 Dawlish, South Devon, United Kingdom (Brunt and Courtney, 1999)

The authors of this case selected Dawlish, a small seaside resort in South Devon, mainly because Dawlish represents the archetype of a small English seaside resort, similar in many respects to numerous other destinations long associated with the tourism industry.

The purpose of this study was twofold: (a) to investigate community perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism, and (b) to examine the extent to which they coincide with their classifications made by academic writers. The authors reveal through their literature review a
range of socio-cultural impacts relative to tourism development, the tourist-host interaction, and resulting influences. A resident survey was undertaken which showed that perceived impacts reported by informants coincide with the majority of those identified in the literature. This, according to the authors, suggested that the general analyses of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism could be applied to the perceptions of residents of a small British coastal tourist resort.

Perhaps the most striking element of this study lies in the methodology. It is the first study ever, not to employ a questionnaire as an instrument for data collection, but instead, the researchers opted for a qualitative survey employing qualitative non-schedule-structured in-depth personal interview as the research methodology.

The method of data analysis adopted basically revolved around the creation of typologies and finding associations in order to build up matrixes to facilitate explanation and interpretation. To study the results, these were displayed in conceptually clustered matrixes. These, display the relevant responses of all informants, thus allowing an initial comparison among responses and among informants.

Finally, according to the authors, the results of the study demonstrate that the quite large range of negative impacts of tourism frequently cited within the literature are clearly evident in their case-study. On the perceived negative impacts to quality of life, results suggest that tourism leads to greater investment in social services to the benefit of the community as a whole.

The manipulation of the results from the interviews, coupled with the absence of group dynamics, the possibility of ‘leading questions’, and the possibility that the coding of answers to interview questions might alter the message that the interviewee wants to bring forward, were the main drawbacks of this rather original methodological approach.

2.25 Tozeur, Tunisia (Bleasdale and Tapsell, 1999)

Bleasdale and Tapsell examined some of the issues surrounding the socio-cultural impact of the development of tourism on the small town of Tozeur, Tunisia and its hinterland, by drawing on surveys and fieldwork undertaken over a five-year period. The instruments used for gathering data revolved basically around observations, which were at a later stage supplemented by interviews and informal conversations with local residents, tourists, tourism
employees and representatives of the 'Office National du Tourisme Tunisien - ONTT' (Tunisian National Tourist Office).

The authors recognize, but do not attempt to offer any solution to, the constraints associated with attempts to assess tourism's impact on society and culture, which according to them, are empirically fraught with methodological difficulties, such as:

a) The boundary between societal and cultural impacts is indistinct and there is an overlap with economic and environmental aspects.

b) Local, regional and national influences are difficult to separate.

c) Tourism is not the only agent of change – other forces such as education and television are at work.

d) Tourists and residents are not homogenous groups – distinct interest groups will all have different perspectives on tourism.

The authors begin their analysis by acknowledging the fact that like with any discussion of socio-cultural impacts of tourism, there is the difficulty of separating the social from the cultural, and that discussions are largely arbitrary.

One of the positive impacts identified, was the fact that tourism has been the driving force behind employment and the creation of new jobs (both direct and indirect).

On the long list of negative impacts identified, the following came out stronger:

The demonstration effect (many locals, particularly women, find the tourists' dress mode offensive and the wearing of shorts and bare limbs, is not acceptable in Islam).

Tourists' behaviour (rudeness, drunkenness, and a general disrespect to Tunisians and their culture) was also brought up.

One social impact, which is usually associated with the growth of tourism, is prostitution, both male and female, and Tozeur was no exception. The researchers identified definite signs of male prostitution and very occasionally signs of female prostitution, although this was largely attributed to serve the local population or visiting Tunisians.
However, a much more negative development in recent years, particularly evident in Tozeur has been the increase in child prostitution and paedophile activity.

The authors also identified that many Tunisians demonstrate a self seeking relationship with tourists with the objective of receiving gifts from them, marriage, or gaining help in obtaining employment in the tourists’ country of origin. Several young men interviewed in this study, admitted to overseas fiancées, girlfriends, or wives.

The researchers also identified that juvenile delinquency had risen along with theft, pickpocketing and aggressive behaviour against tourists. The availability and use of drugs also appeared to be on the increase in Tunisia. The increase in crime rates was largely attributed to tourism and to the frustration felt by some young Tunisian males when faced with the affluence of tourists.

‘Staged Authenticity’ is a commonly reported feature of tourism in the developing world and Tunisia was no exception on this issue, either. The authors bring up ‘belly dancing’, ‘snake charmers’, Bedouin feasts’, ‘wedding feasts’ and ‘local cuisine’ which are often so far removed from authentic as to be unrecognizable by locals, thus it seems they have been created for consumption by the tourist industry.

On the other hand, local products of traditional craft goods, particularly carpets, rugs, blankets, ceramics and basket-ware have been stimulated by the growth of the tourist trade, and economically this has been seen as a positive benefit.

Overall, there were clear signs of increasing commercialization impinging on traditional social relations and behaviour. Interaction with tourists was mainly limited to commerce, service and curiosity. Perhaps the most significant social impact, according to the researchers, reclines in the enhanced status and freedom, which accrues to the many young males who work in tourism. This represents a significant shift in intergenerational relations. On the other hand, some local patterns were very resilient – notably relating to the position of women in society. As to whether these changes represent a positive or a negative force in the community, the authors admit that it is often difficult to judge. Moreover, the impact of increasingly large numbers of tourists in the peak season on the relatively small local population is a likely source of future conflict.
2.26 Pohangina Valley, North Island, New Zealand (Mason and Cheyne, 2000)

The purpose of this study was to discuss resident attitudes to tourism development. The findings of this study are then discussed in relation to national tourism surveys in New Zealand.

The methodology for this field research followed the multiphase approach detailed by Churchill both in 1979 and 1991, in his books, 'A paradigm for developing better measures of marketing constructs' and 'Marketing research: methodological foundations', respectively. This involved a literature search, questionnaire and survey sample design and a pretest to refine the instrument before it was administered. The questionnaire contained a mix of open-ended, closed-ended, and Likert scale questions. The sample for the research was selected using the rural delivery postal services of Pohangina Valley. A response rate of 36% resulted from the delivery of questionnaires.

Once again, typically the results of this study were similar, if not almost identical, to other studies. The nature of impacts as perceived by residents were divided in two bold groups (positive and negative) with the 'enhancement of community facilities' being awarded top points on the positive side, and 'drink-driving', 'noise pollution', 'increase in crime', 'decline of areas character' etc, scoring highly on the negative side.

A positive element of this study is that it supports the claim other researchers made (Husbands, 1989; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996) that communities are made up of groups and individuals with mixed views in relation to the perceived impacts of tourism. Views are influenced by level of understanding, and the field research indicated a number of variations in respondents' understanding of the term 'tourism'. For some involved, it would assume that tourism was primarily seen as a negative force while for others it was seen as bringing benefits.

2.27 Riga, Latvia (Upchurch and Teivane, 2000)

In the most recent study available, Upchurch and Teivane attempt to investigate resident perceptions of tourism development in Riga, Latvia. The thrust of this study was to (a) determine the stage of development of tourism in Latvia and (b) to evaluate the positive and negative impacts of tourism development in Riga, Latvia. In achieving these goals, the authors analysed Latvian residents' perceptions of tourism via a descriptive research design using a
convenience sampling process. A face-to-face survey was used as the process to collect data. The subjects of the study were randomly selected and were approached in the main square of Riga (an area that attracts tourists). With the distribution of questionnaires, a letter explaining the study was provided to each respondent. Perhaps the most odd in this study is that the authors designed their questionnaire based on the existing resident impact literature, setting off as a starting point, the fact that tourism activity impacts the host community structure, employment patterns, social structure, crime, and prostitution in the host community. Also, the quality of life as a result of tourism, friendliness, prices of products and services, and the availability of products and services, were all included in the construction of the questionnaire as potential impacts resulting from the development of tourism. Respondents were asked to rate a list of subject variables e.g., theft and burglary, alcohol and drugs, honesty, prostitution, family conflicts, personal appearance, pollution etc, as being impacted by the influx of tourism into their community. Respondents were asked to rate their answers on a 1 - 5 scale, '1' being 'greatly decreasing' and '5' being 'greatly increasing', with '3' indicating 'no change'.

Overall, the respondents indicated that the social categories of prostitution, theft and burglary, and the use of alcohol and drugs were decreasing in frequency in the community. Conversely, residents believed that friendliness, honesty, and trust in people, had greatly improved with the advent of tourism in Riga.
3.0 CONCLUSION / SUMMARY

Most of the early studies, in their attempt to identify the perception of tourism among resident populations, suggested that among impacted populations positive attitudes tend to be associated with the tourism's economic role, while negative attitudes revolve around social concerns. During the past decade increasing attention has also been given by researchers to the social effects of tourism. However, the two variables, economic and social, still remain inseparable in many cases or to the least extent, economic aspects have an indirect effect on how residents perceive the social impacts of tourism. Perhaps the most acknowledged variables cited by researchers that link economic and social impacts are the tourism's perceived capacity to generate employment and contribution to income and standard of living.

The purpose of this chapter has been twofold: Firstly, a review of the majority of the journal literature pertaining to host community perceptions of the social impacts of tourism was attempted. In reviewing the findings of these studies, it is evident that the social impacts, in particular, are not universal. A summary of those perceptions referred to specifically by the authors in the text of these articles and where residents had in their majority indicated an agreement/disagreement to an impact statement, is presented in Table 3.1. Secondly, the research techniques employed by researchers were examined in an attempt to formulate the base for the development of the methodological instruments to be adopted for this study.
### Table 3.1 - Summary of Residents’ perceptions of the impacts of tourism

<table>
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<th>IMPACT CATEGORY</th>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>NEGATIVE</th>
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| **ECONOMIC**    | • Contributes to income and standard of living  
• Increases opportunities for shopping (quality and range of shopping and food & beverage outlets)  
• Increases employment opportunities  
• Improves transport and public utilities infrastructure  
• Accelerates investment, development, and infrastructure spending in the economy  
• Improves town’s overall tax revenue | • Inflates prices of goods and services  
• Increases prices of real estate (land and housing)  
• Increases cost of living |
| **SOCIAL**      | • Increases availability of recreational facilities  
• Increases availability of entertainment  
• Improves quality of municipal services (police and fire protection)  
• Improves quality of life  
• Improves understanding and image of different communities and cultures  
• Enables meeting visitors which is a valuable educational experience  
• Increases demand for historical and cultural exhibits  
• Promotes cultural exchange  
• Encourages variety of cultural activities by locals  
• Preserves cultural identity of host population  
• Increases morality, honesty, politeness and manners, mutual confidence and attitude towards work  
• Raises feelings of civic pride  
• Improves the appearance and image of the host community  
• Preserves and enhances cultural facilities and historic/archeological buildings/sites  
• Enhances international relations  
• Improves attitude and hospitality towards strangers  
• Stimulates cross-cultural encounters and the desire to meet tourists and learn about their culture | • Increases robberies, thefts, burglaries and vandalism  
• Increases organised/unorganised crime  
• Increases drug use, addiction and trafficking  
• Increases alcoholism  
• Increases smuggling  
• Increases prostitution  
• Increases sexual permissiveness  
• Increases exploitation of local natives  
• Causes locals to avoid shopping in tourist areas  
• Increases difficulty in obtaining tickets for entertainment events due to overcrowding of tourists  
• Changes consumption habits and dressing styles  
• Deteriorates moral standards  
• Worsens traffic conditions, litter and noise levels  
• Exploits the unskilled, unemployed and migrant groups  
• Disrupts the character of small communities  
• Increases openness to sex  
• Increases in sexual harassment  
• Disrupts the tranquility and peace in public areas  
• Causes overcrowding  
• The ‘traditional’ sense of hospitality declines |
The findings from these studies are diverse in nature; hence it is difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions. Despite these, most studies did contain one common element and this was to ascertain the influence of socio-economic variables upon resident perceptions of tourism. In general, it was found that the socio-economic variables did not reflect any significant variations.

The summary of the research findings above provides a sound description and knowledge base of the host residents’ perceptions of tourism impacts as these have emerged through the case studies. However, due to the diverseness of operationalisation and lack of comparability among studies (in terms of sampling frame, sampling size, data analysis techniques used, tests of significance used, identification of research hypotheses, etc) it is not possible to arrive at a common conclusion concerning the development of a sound body of knowledge about the social impacts of tourism and their measurement.

Unfortunately, and in addition to the lack of comparability among studies, the general feeling that one gets from the literature which emanates from the unfortunate methodology adopted by most researchers, is that tourism is a social disruptor, and a cultural polluter or exploiter. It seems that tourism serves as a trash-basket for all the ill fates of modern society. Furthermore, it is evident throughout the studies reviewed, that the majority of researchers seem to a great extent to make a bold statement prior to the study of the facts, that ‘it is inevitable that the physical presence of tourism will have some form of impact on local communities’. It is the opinion of this researcher that this conclusion is substantially biased, as it does not take into consideration subjects such as the evolution of societies through time, and the modernization of societies at large.

Additionally, some other observations from these research studies (listed below), emanating from a comparative analysis of the methodological approach adopted, elucidate the claims made in the preceding paragraphs.

a) Although the researchers were able to clearly identify the problem and state the objectives of their study, the central concepts of the studies were not linked to some explicit theory. This atheoretical orientation poses problems in the development of a conceptual framework.

b) The sampling methodology used in the studies varied from study to study. The description provided about the sampling plans were generally limited and the information provided did
not allow the reader to make judgments about the appropriateness and adequacy of the sampling plan.

c) The vast majority of researchers have roughly used the same methodological approach for collecting data, i.e., pre-fabricated questions, tick-boxes, and Likert-type scales. In other words, they all measured impacts instantaneously, and to a large extent they all came to broadly similar conclusions. Perhaps two exceptions to the general picture drawn, are the studies by Brunt and Courtney (1999), on Dawlish, South Devon, UK, and Bleasdale and Tapsell (1999), on Tozeur, Tunisia. Brunt and Courtney first did a resident survey to identify impacts, then they conducted qualitative non-scheduled structured in-depth personal interviews. However, the manipulation of the results from the interviews, coupled with the absense of group dynamics, the possibility of ‘leading questions’ both in the initial survey as well as in the interviews, and the possibility that the coding of answers to interview questions might alter the message that the interviewee wants to bring forward, were the main drawbacks of this somewhat original methodological approach. On the other hand, Bleasdale and Tapsell gathered data through observations which they used as their primary research instrument. At a later stage though, these were supplemented by interviews and informal conversations with local residents, tourists, tourism employees and representatives of the Tunisian NTO. The surveys and fieldwork undertaken was over a five year period.

d) Perhaps the weakest aspect of the data characteristics would be that no reliability and validity of the measures used in the survey instruments were reported. The elusiveness in attempting to measure the social attributes of tourism provides a formidable challenge for this research study. There is a definite need for disengagement from the elementary descriptive stage of the current research into an explanatory stage.

Quantitative investigations into the host perception of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism yield limited information, admittedly though about a larger number of people. Qualitative data on the other hand can be represented by perceptual and attitudinal dimensions, and real life events not readily converted to numerical values.

Bearing into consideration the arguments above, it can be further argued that there are benefits and drawbacks to the influx of tourism to a destination. However, it is only with the right methodological approach that this can be elucidated. In the absence of the right approach it is
obvious that tourism will be blamed for all the ill fates of modern society. On the contrary, tourism has to be acknowledged as an inseparable part of modern life. Furthermore, tourism cannot be separated from the social changes and developments in family life.

The rationale for this study which will form the framework for the design of the research methodology, is that, when attempting to measure perceptions and attitudes, it is impossible to have the subjects think in 'tick boxes' on a 'black or white' option, to an often pre-fabricated question which leads the respondents with or without their consent to an answer.

All studies reviewed in this chapter are supported by the literature review in Chapter 2. In addition, they built up on the literature available and assume: (a) the pre-existence of socio-cultural impacts in a host community, and (b) that the impacts are to a large extent attributed to the influx of tourism to their region, neglecting entirely the evolution of societies through time as well as the modernization of societies at large.

The overwhelming contribution that these case studies make to the thinking of this study is that perceptions and attitudes cannot be measured instantaneously. If tourism has made an impact, this is a shared impact. Furthermore, it is evident that impacts are not immediate, but reside at a deeper level of abstraction. Bearing in mind the conclusions drawn in this section, the approach of this study to the subject will be entirely different from the 'norm' (as this has been dictated by most researchers to-date) and will revolve around a long-term cumulative path, which will be asking people to justify their thoughts and reflect back through time, rather than the instantaneous one-off measurement technique adopted by the majority of researchers.

For this purpose, the approach to be adopted (which is analysed in detail under Chapter 6), gives the opportunity to discuss the subject of impacts within the sphere of social change over the years, without alerting participants to the actual scope of the study, thus eliminating any bias for or against tourism. Moreover, another innovation of the approach of this study, is the dealing with groups as opposed to individuals in collecting data, thus utilizing the dynamics exerted by groups in capturing social impacts, which after all, might be shared impacts. In addition, the spontaneous and collective interaction of group members tends to produce insights that are otherwise impossible to obtain with the use of stereotypical research methods.
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CHAPTER 4 – Tourism in Cyprus – Volume, Value and Characteristics

1.0 OVERVIEW OF TOURISM TO CYPRUS – FOUNDATIONS AND GROWTH (the prior to 1974 period)

Tourism in Cyprus in the 20th century has undergone several changes and has been shaped both by the prevailing market forces as well as by the island’s political history. In early years prior to the island’s independence the emphasis was on small scale tourism utilising the cool mountainous hinterland of the island appealing to a small market living near to Cyprus (mainly Egyptians and Israeli visitors), or having links with the British administration, or wealthy Cypriots.

Following independence and the formation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, planners recognised the potential for tourism growth as an important economic activity and saw tourism, as a means of ensuring diversification, restructuring the economic base and earning badly needed foreign exchange.

A programme for tourism development was included in the first five year development plan 1962-66 with an allocation of £1.0 million for the organisation and development of tourism and a further £2.0 million for loans on favourable terms and investment into the tourism industry. Growth during the first economic plan period was haphazard, with a sharp rise in arrivals, bed-nights and receipts in 1963 and then a dramatic fall in 1964 reflecting the inter-communal strife at the time between the Greek and Turkish communities.

By the end of the plan in 1966, however, tourist arrivals which took place during the 1960’s and continued until the early 1970’s raised from a figure of just over 25,000 in 1960 to over a quarter of a million in 1973; an increase of over 900%. By contrast, world international tourist arrivals increased over the same period by 175%. Tourism receipts had grown to £3.6 million in 1966 and £23.8 million in 1973 compared to £2.3 million in 1960.

During this growth in tourist arrivals there has also been a change in the distribution of tourist beds between locations. In 1961 nearly half of the licensed beds in hotels were in the hill resorts, a quarter in Nicosia and the remainder in the coastal areas; by 1973, 74.1% of hotel beds were in coastal areas compared to only 27.7% in 1961; it can also be seen from CTO data that nearly half of the hotel beds...
were in Famagusta, that developed in a largely uncontrolled manner and became a text-book example of insensitive coastal tourism.

It is clear that tourism was booming in the end of the pre-invasion period, however strains on the social and environmental fabric were created and the tourist product formulated was directed towards the sun and sea seekers who flocked to the island in ever increasing numbers.

1.1 The post invasion (1974) period

The Turkish invasion of Cyprus in July 1974 at the height of the tourist season, struck a disastrous blow to the tourist industry. All economic activity came to an abrupt halt. The two highly developed regions of Ammochostos (Famagusta, the town of Varoshia) and Kyrenia, fell in the hands of the invaders. This had as a result the loss of 13,000 beds contributing 71.7% of the total bed capacity at the time plus 5,000 beds under construction and about 40% of the island’s tourist facilities in restaurants, cafes, bars, and nightclubs.

The Greek Cypriots, who formerly dominated the tourist industry, were left with the southern part of the island, which had never been considered as a prime tourist territory, and this was not developed to meet the demands for tourists. Because of the tragic events in 1974 and the massive dislocation of population, which followed, and the enormous loss of the developed tourist infrastructure, the Cypriots were confronted with urgent problems of survival such as shelter, food and subsequent efforts for gradual developments and economic recovery.

1.2 Efforts for the re-establishment of tourism

Under these circumstances and the more general economic crisis that had been created, tourism development policy was not initially concerned with the attainment of long-term objectives and targets. After 1976 however, tourism took anew its place as a high priority sector in the Government development plans. The aims, targets, policy and expenditure programmes as expressed in a number of Emergency Plans (1977-78, 79-81, 82-86, 89-93, 94-98) were to re-establish the role of Cyprus as
an international destination and to create new hotel accommodation and ancillary facilities to capitalise on the prevailing market demand at the time.

Incentives and loans with favourable terms were provided to the tourist industry and displaced hoteliers and other developers and investors as well as Cypriots living abroad took this opportunity to invest in tourism.

The Government embarked at the time on a large investment programme for the creation of the necessary infrastructure and other capital projects to boost the production capacity of the island. For example, a new airport in Larnaca was constructed to replace the Nicosia International Airport, which ceased to operate, and has been under the United Nations control since 1974.

As a result of the strenuous efforts by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation, the support given by the Government through various policy measures, and the entrepreneurial spirit of the Cypriot tourist professionals, tourist traffic to Cyprus began to increase once again.

The recovery of tourism was fast and Appendix 5 (Parts G and H) clearly depicts that. The pre-invasion peak was passed in 1979 where the number of arrivals exceeded that of 1973 and in 1978 where receipts accounted for C£33.3 million.

The number of international tourist arrivals in 1976 was 172,092, and this rose year by year to reach 1,377,636 in 1989 (an increase of 800%). In contrast, over the same period world international tourist arrivals increased by 83%. By 1987 the number of tourists had grown to 948,551. This represents a mean annual increase of 18% for the period 1977-87, a rate in excess of that in other Mediterranean countries (Witt, S., 1991). In 1988 the number of long-stay visitors to Cyprus for the first time surpassed the 1 million mark, reaching the record level of 1,111,818 tourists. In 1989 this number rose to 1,377636 and in 1990 visitors reached the level of 1,561,479. The 1990 figure would have been even higher if the Gulf crisis had not arisen in early August. In 1992, the number reached 1,991,000, in 1996 it reached 1,950,000, in 1997 it increased to 2,088,000 and finally, the volume of tourist arrivals reached a new peak of 2,434,258 in 1999. Unofficial figures for 2000 bring the volume of tourist arrivals to new heights, reaching 2,700,000.
1.3 Major Tourist Markets

The major share of the tourist traffic to Cyprus originated from Central and Northern Europe (92.6% in 1998). Cyprus remains heavily dependent on the United Kingdom as a tourist source market, some 47.5 percent of tourist arrivals in 1999 being from the U.K.

Other important generating markets include Germany (9.8%), the Nordic countries (10.9%), Russia (5.5%). Arrivals from Russia and ex-Soviet Union countries had decreased by almost eleven percent in 1998 as a result of the recent political and economic instability prevailing in these countries.

1.4 Bed Capacity

Cyprus' tourism is largely based on hotel capacity in the coastal areas. This was also the chief characteristic of the pre-1974 tourism.

Following the reactivation of tourism, the hotel capacity of the Ayia Napa area, experienced a great boom. On the other hand, the hotel capacity of the Nicosia area and the hill resorts changed very little.

Despite the great increase in hotel capacity, the total number of beds in the Government controlled areas surpassed for the first time in 1981 the bed capacity level of 1973 of the entire island. The total capacity of the free areas was 15,253 in 1981 as against 14,796 in 1973. By the end of 1997 the number of beds in operation in all areas was 84,368. Of these 45,950 were in star hotels, 27,867 in hotel apartments and tourist villages, 414 in tourist villas, 337 in traditional buildings, 9,192 in tourist and furnished apartments and the rest 608 were in hotels without star and guest houses. There were also 2,771 beds under construction.

Tourism accommodation is heavily concentrated in a small number of coastal resorts of the total bed capacity of 86,151 in 1998, 19.5 per cent was concentrated in Limassol, 40.3 per cent in the Famagusta (Ayia Napa, Protaras, Paralimni) areas, 10.8 per cent in Larnaka and 24.0 per cent in Pafos. Of the remainder, 2.8 per cent was concentrated in Nicosia and only 2.4 per cent in the Hill resorts.
The results of the 1999 Tourist Survey conducted annually by the CTO, confirms the overwhelming importance of the coastal areas: the proportion of tourists who spend their holidays at seaside resorts amounted to 94.14 per cent of the total with Famagusta (Ayia Napa, Paralimni, Protaras) area, 33.81%, Limassol 20.85% and Pafos 23.1% being the most important destinations.

1.5 Tourism Receipts

The importance of international tourism to the Cyprus economy is demonstrated by the fact that foreign exchange earnings from tourism have been continuously increasing. These have been estimated at £1.18 billion in 2000, £1,022,00 in 1999 and, £878,00 million in 1998, against £830 million in 1997 and £780 million in 1996. Meanwhile, the hotel industry offered employment to approximately 40,000 in 1999.

1.6 Tourism Development and Existing Problems

Even though the 2000 tourism statistics are yet unknown, the ministry of Tourism expects that the previous year’s record level of tourist arrivals will be surpassed by a significant margin of about five percent.

Nevertheless, the success of the tourist industry in Cyprus is accompanied by a number of problems some of which could be a serious threat in the future.

There is an inadequacy in basic tourist infrastructure. The airports in Larnaka and Pafos are small and completely inadequate as is the main port of Limassol, while the road network is lagging behind, despite some considerable developments in the last few years. The means of transportation throughout the island leave much to be desired with no public transport whatsoever. In addition there is a shortage of self-drive cars (Andronikou, 1993).

Cyprus is heavily dependent on the UK market, which dominates the industry and inevitably suffers from the effects of the UK economy (Kett, 1992). The 1993 economic recession in the UK has inevitably
led to a decrease of the tourist traffic during that year, which once again proves how volatile this sector is to external forces.

The inherent problem of shortage of labour has not only pushed costs upwards quite rapidly in recent years but has also gradually eroded the best selling point of Cyprus tourism: Cyprus Hospitality. Foreign labour hardly enhances the 'Cypriot character', which is why most visitors come to the island (Gregoriou, 1992).

Andronikou (1993) observes that a very acute problem particularly for the hotel industry is the loss of competitiveness compared to other destination in the Mediterranean. This has been due to:

a) the never-ending increases in airport taxes, airport landing fees, the CTO guest night tax, and the municipality guest night tax;

b) the imposition of VAT first at 5% and then at 8%, plus the 3% CTO tax in food, beverage and accommodation;

c) the withdrawal with effect from 1st January 1993 of custom concessions which have and will affect the quality and standard of accommodation that hotels offer;

d) higher labour costs; the manpower payroll cost of hotels has shot up to over 55% of gross revenue in the last 5 years as opposed to 28-35 percent in the period preceding 1995.

Furthermore, the laisser-faire policy of virtually unrestricted and unplanned development has reached a crucial stage. Unplanned development and anonymous architecture, together with the huge effort put into revitalising the economy after the Turkish invasion has inevitably made an ugly impact on the landscape (Blatchford, 1990). Generally, the environment is poor and tourist development has not been in harmony with it.
1.7 Tourism Development and the Environment

During the late seventies and early eighties the results of the growth in tourism began to create a substantial impact on the environment, primarily in the coastal areas of the island where most of the tourist development has been concentrated. Regret has already been expressed before the Turkish invasion over the unplanned over-development of the prime resort of Famagusta and even though there was the unique opportunity for consequent development to be on a planned and controlled basis this was not done.

The South Eastern and Southern coastal regions which were the first to be developed as well as the West Coast around the ancient port of Pafos, which became the next focal point for development through the eighties, is evidence that development has been of an unrestrained nature with the impression given of an obsession for constant growth. The intensity of construction of tourism facilities together with the haphazard manner in which it has taken place and the design styles adopted have had a severe detrimental impact on the environment.

There has been a failure to integrate resort infrastructure with aesthetically pleasing characteristics of the natural environment. High rise hotels and apartments adjacent to the beach and hard up against the beach mainly along the Larnaka and Limassol coasts has created a situation not very different from the worst excesses in Spain, rendering mile upon mile of concrete, unrecognisable as Cyprus (Skinner, 1992). These buildings together with houses, shops and other facilities unharmoniously and incongruously strung together, lacking the basic principles of architecture not only is a real eyesore but in many cases block the beautiful view of the sea. Many units of accommodation have no sea views but instead look directly into other blocks of development.

Ayia Napa, once a small agricultural settlement and now a sprawling tourist centre has little Cypriot character left to it. The character of the area lacks depth and appears superficial and as the Shankland Cox study puts it 'rather like a stage set in which tourists are the actors....'. The resort of Pafos has also not escaped this; there is little sensitivity in layout or building form or any evidence in an attempt to create urban identity and landscape and there is the fear that in the future it could become another anonymous tourism development area.
The principal cause for all this has been the absence of adequate planning regulations and the absence of proper controls something for which the Town Planning Department is responsible for. The relevant professional organisations such as architects and engineers are also partly to blame for this state of affairs.

Tourism development has also adversely affected certain tourist areas through overcrowding. Androkikou (1987) points out that as a result of this, coastal regions have suffered from obliteration of geological features, ecological disturbance, disfigurement of the coastline and from a reduction in the attractiveness of the resource. The lack of adequate infrastructure and parking places has in addition, especially during peak periods, made traffic congestion a seriously emerging problem.

It cannot be alleged that tourism development in Cyprus has led to serious air and water pollution. On the contrary, the Cyprus coast is among the cleanest in the Mediterranean, with many beaches bearing the ‘Blue Flag’ award. Even so, the overcrowded areas such as beaches and picnic places are at times scattered with debris and litter creating an unhealthy situation. This is not just because of the influx of foreign tourist traffic. Domestic tourism is to blame as well. Unavoidably, another detrimental effect has been noise pollution in certain resort areas brought about by overcrowding and the use of loudspeakers or live music in nightclubs and other entertainment venues.

On the other hand, tourism development has not adversely affected in any serious manner heritage resources and their quality nor has there been a loss of agricultural production from hotel construction on truly fertile lands; any exceptions have been of a negligible and marginal nature. Specialised tourism has at the same time created awareness for the interesting flora and fauna of Cyprus and has helped in its preservation (Andronikou, 1987).

It can be concluded that tourism caused substantial damage to the environment of Cyprus particularly in terms of architectural pollution in coastal regions. A repulsive and unrecognisable environment has been created without any Cypriot identity or character and further development of the sort which has scarred the island during the past decade will intensify the pressures on the environment even more. Steps should be taken to control future growth in tourism accommodation and tourist arrivals (the environmental degradation from tourism is positively related to the number of tourists) through the use of a regulatory framework and the CTO has been involved in the preparation of a programme of 'controlled development' which came into effect in 1991. There is also a need for more integrated and
larger scale environmental improvement schemes than those available in both of last decade’s five-year development plans.

Alternative forms of tourism development which could release some of the pressure from the coastal resorts and are environmentally friendly are already under way with the ‘Agrotourism’ programme launched by the CTO and the ‘Laona project’ in the Akamas peninsula on the west of the island.

2.0 TOURISM AND THE SOCIAL FABRIC

2.1 The case of Cyprus

In Cyprus, hospitality forms an integral part of culture, and the people have a welcoming attitude towards foreigners. Furthermore, the society’s culture emphasizes ideologies and value systems, which attach great importance to individual achievement. As the tourist policy followed by the Cyprus government and the CTO has been to aim at the middle and high income groups, and the tourists come mainly from Europe, tourism has not had as marked an adverse effect on the values and attitudes of Cypriot society as may otherwise have been the case. In certain areas, such as Ayia Napa, however, the influx of large numbers of tourists has influenced social behaviour and social values, and caused certain amount of antagonism. Bryden (1973) suggests that ‘there may be a relationship between tourism density expressed in the annual numbers of tourists as a proportion of the population....and the growth of resentment towards tourists... The influence here is that tourism density...is an indicator of the degree of confrontation between tourists and indigenes and that this confrontation gives rise to resentment of tourists’.

The concept of ‘tourism density’ is thus used as a measure of ‘social carrying capacity’, which Matheson and Wall (1989, pp.21-22), define as ‘host people’ levels of tolerance for the presence and behaviour of tourists’. An alternative measure used by Andronikou (1987), is the ‘contact ratio’, which is the inverse of tourism density, that is the ratio of the local population to tourist population. Now, whereas Andronikou suggests that the minimum value that the contract ratio can fall to before the social impact resulting from tourist development becomes detrimental is about eight, most authors now do not believe that a single specific value can be given for social carrying capacity. Matheson and Wall
(1989, p.21) point out that ‘Carrying capacity remains an elusive concept, but the time when researchers and managers sought one mythical magic number, which could be approached with safety but exceeded at peril, has passed’.

The extreme concentration of tourists in a certain areas will probably result in a modification of social attitudes among young people, especially towards sexual behaviour. This is part of the ‘demonstration effect’, which introduces foreign ideologies and ways of life into societies that have not been exposed to tourist lifestyles. The close and continued contact of Cypriot youth with young foreign tourists has resulted in their adopting different sets of values on morality, dressing style, and so on, in comparison with prevailing traditional attitudes, and as a result the bonds of closely-knit families are in some cases being loosened.

The development of tourism in Cyprus has helped create a demand for traditional crafts and handicrafts and this has given an impetus to the revitalisation of these crafts. The tradition of the pottery industry goes back hundreds of years and is practised in a small number of villages some distance from the tourist resorts. These villages now attract tourists who come to admire the artisans who still use their own tools, and show great dexterity and high skill quality. Other traditional crafts being practised include weaving (the end products being curtains, lace, tablecloths), embroidery, basketry (making use of canes, reeds and wild grass), jewellery, woodcarving and leather making. All these crafts have been revitalised and re-established through the demand created for these products by the influx of foreign tourists. Most of the goods produced are handmade and represent real works of art.

Tourism has also created a demand for drama performances, flower shows, art festivals, folklore dances, wine festivals and so on. These have expanded and flourished in recent years and are now put on for the benefit of both tourists and the local population.
3.0 CONCLUSION

The reliance of the island's economy on such a fragile sector as the tourism industry creates a number of problems which may threaten the industry in the future, such as: the unstable political climate; lack of basic tourist infrastructure; overdependence on the markets of the UK and the Scandinavian region; shortage of labour and the influx of foreign labour, which hardly enhances the Cypriot character visitors seek when they come to the Island; gradual loss of competitiveness compared to other destinations in the Mediterranean; very high labour costs; absence of planning in development; the dominative laissez-faire policy; lack of impact studies; and, the lack of development of the tourism industry in harmony with the host population and the environment.

Almost two decades of rapid growth in tourist accommodation have exerted pressure on the coastal areas, their physical resources and the social fabric. Perhaps the best examples of impetuous tourist development on the island have been the regions which lie on the island's eastern corner, and especially the village of Ayia Napa, which has been transformed from a quiet fishing village to one of the largest tourist resorts on the island and the Mediterranean in a span of 20 years, now surpassing in popularity destinations like 'the Balearic Islands, specifically, Ibiza'. As a result, traditional tranquillity associated with village life was affected and the lifestyle of the local inhabitants has been permanently disrupted by the physical presence of tourists. In addition, the character of the area lacks depth and appears superficial, with no sensitivity in layout or building form, a development that rather resembles a stage set in which tourists are the actors. There have also been detrimental effects on the natural environment and resources. Andronikou (1987) points out that as a result of these, coastal regions have suffered from obliteration of geological features, ecological disturbance, and disfigurement of the coastline.

It is reasonable to conclude that since tourism is such a large sector of the economy of Cyprus it would have some impact on social change. However, we cannot at this stage be led to conclude that this impact is a negative one and that it might be attributed to the sheer size of the tourism flow to the island or to any other cause, as many researchers have suggested in the numerous case studies on residents' perceptions of the social impacts of tourism (reviewed in Chapter 3). Similarly, we cannot be led to conclude that the impact might be a positive one because of the economic benefits brought about by the influx of tourism.
Tourism is just one, perhaps a quite influential, variable, that builds up the mosaic of social change. There are more diverse variables that need to be brought in for the design of a methodological approach that truly reflects the scope of this study, and these will be approached in the chapter that follows.

References Cited


1 A Map of the Island of Cyprus can be found in Appendix 1
CHAPTER 5 – Social Change in Cyprus, 1976-2000

The purpose of this Chapter is to outline the main social changes (1976-2000) in order that these will form the contextual background of the qualitative methodology, which will be presented in Chapter 6.

The methodology will demand that a selection of items will be utilised as a basis of recall so the subjects can attribute the causes of those changes.

The Chapter is supported by Appendices 2 through to 5, which attempt to introduce and familiarise the island of Cyprus, its government, its social policy, and its economy, to the reader.

1.0 SOCIAL PROGRESS IN RETROSPECT

The Turkish invasion in July/August 1974 resulted in the forceful displacement of about one third of the population from their homes and the occupation of almost 40 percent of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. This brought about a severe economic and social setback, which is also reflected in profound social changes. In addition to the sections that follow, Appendix 5 (Part A through to Part F) depict the socio-economic change over the last twenty-five years in figures, as these were extracted from official sources.

1.1 Demographic Profile

1.1.1 Population growth, composition and geographic distribution

The 2-year period following the Turkish invasion is characterised by negative growth, through war losses, massive emigration, and geographic redistribution of population, fertility decline and increased mortality. With the exception of the aforementioned period, the population has been recording positive growth rates. The annual rate of growth reached a peak of 1.4% in 1984 (Dept. of Statistics & Research, Ministry of Finance), the maximum recorded after Independence. In the last few years the growth rate declined steadily but remained above 1%.
The total population of Cyprus is estimated at 758.81 thousand at the end of 1999 compared to 741.0 in 1996, 702.1 in 1990, 626.6 in 1980, 614.6 in 1970 and 573.6 thousand in 1960 (Dept. of Statistics & Research, Ministry of Finance).

The estimated ethnic composition of the population at the end of 1999 gives: 84.1% Greek Cypriots, 0.3% Armenians, 0.6% Maronites, 0.1% Latins, 11.7% Turkish Cypriots, 3.2% Foreign residents. 3.2% (Dept. of Statistics & Research, Ministry of Finance).

The Turkish invasion had serious repercussions on the geographical distribution of the population. The Turkish Cypriot population, concentrated in the Turkish occupied part at the insistence of their leaders. The Greek Cypriots of the occupied area (representing one third of the Greek Cypriot population), were driven out of their homes and became refugees in their own country. The refugee problem gave a further boost to urbanisation since a large proportion of the rural displaced population came to settle in the towns. A large number of refugees chose to settle in urban areas because they had relatives there. Many refused to go to housing available in remote Turkish Cypriot villages, because the agricultural land was poor and did not fit into the patterns of cropping to which they were used. The spatial distribution of the refugees was also influenced by the Government through the establishment of refugee housing estates at the periphery of the towns, where employment prospects for the refugees were better and the necessary infrastructure and services were available. In addition, it was anticipated that these estates would, in the future, house low-income families once the political situation was resolved.

At the same time the depopulation of certain rural areas continued so that by the end of 1997 it was estimated that 68.9 per cent of the population in the Government controlled areas lived in the urban centres.

1.1.2 Fertility, Mortality, Marriages/Divorces, and Migration

A declining trend in the birth rate is observed over the years. It dropped from about 32.2 (births per 1,000 population) in 1946 to about 22 in the early sixties and reached a minimum of 16.0 in 1975, after which it increased steadily to 20.8 in 1982. Again, from then onwards, the birth rate declined gradually to 18.3 in 1990, reached 14.2 in 1997, and stands at 12.8 in 1999.
The death rate also followed a general downward trend. It decreased from 10.7 (deaths per 1,000 population) in 1961 to 9.8 in 1970, 9.3 in 1980, 8.4 in 1990, reached 7.9 in 1997, and stands at 7.6 in 1999.

The age structure exhibits that the population of Cyprus is in the process of progressive ageing, but has not yet reached the stage of ageing of other European populations. From 1965 onwards, the proportion of children below 15 has been decreasing, in contrast with that of those aged 65 and over which has been increasing. These developments are reflected in the aged/child ratio, which consequently registered an increase from 0.16 in 1965 to 0.39 in 1990.

The dependency ratio is also affected by changes in the age structure of the population. In 1961 the proportion of children below 15 was 36.7% while that of old persons (65+) 5.9%, resulting in a dependency ratio of 74. In 1990 the corresponding figures were 26.0% children, 10.1% old aged and the dependency ratio dropped to 56, and has remained at approximately the same levels since then.

On the subject of fertility, the long-term trend has been on a decline. From 1970 onwards, the total fertility rate decreased gradually up to 1973 and dropped further to a level below replacement in 1975 as a consequence of the Turkish invasion. There was a reversal in the trend thereafter and the total fertility rate increased to reach a peak of 2.5 in 1982. Since then there has been a decrease in the total fertility rate (2.0 in 1997) and a resumption of the longer-term declining trend.

The fertility behaviour within the child bearing ages has also changed over the years. In the sixties maximum fertility was in the 25-29 age group with a significant contribution of the ages above 30. In the seventies there has been a gradual shift to somewhat earlier fertility with maximum fertility in the broad age group 20-29 and in the eighties there was a further shift to earlier fertility with the contribution of the 20-24 age group higher than the 25-29 group.

On the subject of marriage and divorce, the crude marriage rate, averaged over four year periods to remove the leap year effect recorded a decrease during the last decade, but remains still high by European standards.
On the other hand, the number of divorces has been increasing. The total divorce rate increased significantly during the last decade from 41.6 per thousand in 1980 to 55.8 in 1985 and 72.8 in 1990.

On the subject of migration, though there are no accurate figures, there are indications of a high migration flow to Cyprus since 1986 of Cypriot returning emigrants as well as foreign workers coming to Cyprus for temporary employment. It is estimated that the net migration balance for 2000 was +8,500 persons.

1.2 Development of women in society

The roles played by men and women in the traditional Cypriot family are not fundamentally different to their counterparts in other Mediterranean societies, which accept women's role as domestic and expressive. In the traditional Cypriot family there is natural division of labour so that role expectations are clearly defined and complementary to one another.

The significant economic and political changes that the Cyprus society has undergone over the last two decades had a pronounced impact on the status of women, and has managed to alter traditional roles and bring about the adoption of new ones, ranging from their status in the family, their participation in the labour force and their role in the decision making process of society in general.

As far as education is concerned, a considerable progress has been achieved which is mainly due to the significant increase of the proportion of girls attaining third level (higher) education. In 1990, 81.5 girls per 100 boys enrolled in third level (higher) education comparative to 62.9 in 1980 and 47.4 in 1973.

Similar developments have been observed as regards the female participation in the labour market. The percentage of working women among those aged 15 years and over rose from 28.8 in 1976 to 38.4 in 1982 and 47.4 in 1990.

Over the years, the tertiary sector of industry (weaving, dressmaking, domestic assistants etc) has attracted a significant larger proportion of women compared to the other sectors, 40.4% in 1976,
increasing to 44.2% in 1980 and to 58.9% in 1990. The more women come within the economic activity the more they are affected by unemployment. The percentage of female unemployed increased from 17.3 per cent in 1960 to 44.6 in 1980 and to 51.4 in 1990. This is probably due to the fact that in recent years more women tend to seek employment than in the past.

The 'traditional' role of a woman in the Cyprus society as it was known in the 'old years' (leaving school at the age of 12-14, getting married, having a family, engaging in domestic duties and, raising children) is long gone. Today women enjoy a prominent position in society and are greatly respected. Despite however the apparent equality in the level of human development of the two sexes, the status of women is by no means equal yet to that of men. There are differences, which in some cases are quite significant.

1.3 Education Profile

The significance of education goes beyond its contribution to the accumulation of knowledge. It provides a very important tool to people, which they can utilise to improve their own well being as well as that of their families and their societies as a whole. "Its importance is reflected in the growing recognition that investing in both the formal and informal education and training enhances the skills, knowledge, attitudes and motivation necessary for economic and social development" (Demetriades³, 1992). This has been highly recognised in Cyprus and its educational system has been expanding since Independence in 1960. the present structure of the system consists of one to three years of pre-primary schooling, six years of primary schooling, six years of secondary and two to four years of tertiary education. Pre-primary schooling is not compulsory although the central and local authorities provide numerous kindergartens and nurseries. Many private centres compliment these and they all offer basic day-care facilities for children.

The government provides primary and secondary education free but private schools are also available. Third level education consists mainly of private institutions, technical Colleges run by the government, and a University. However, third level University education has been in high demand and this is mainly pursued abroad. Basic education consists of nine years (six primary and three secondary). The last three years of secondary schooling, though not compulsory, offer the
possibility to pupils to specialise in the area of their interest. In addition to the basic core of the educational system, there are special schools and training centres for handicapped children such as schools for the blind and the deaf.

The continuous development of the education system accounts for the relatively high rate of literacy in the country. The adult literacy rate increased from 82% in 1960 to 94% in 1993. For women the increase was even more significant. Only 73% of women were literate in 1960 compared to 91% for men, while by 1993 the corresponding figures increased to 90% and 98% respectively. In 1976, 13% of all adults (6% of men and 21% of women) had never attended school and only 9% (11% of men and 6% of women) had attended University education. By 1993, those who had never attended school dropped to a mere 5% of the total population (2% of men and 8% of women) while University education increased to 17% (19% of men and 16% of women).

By 1994, the University ratio (full-time equivalent enrolment) of females in relation to males reached 89.5% from 60.9% in 1980. The corresponding ratio for secondary enrolment stood at 97% in 1993 compared to 95.8% in 1980. Even more striking is the rate of enrolment of those aged 20-24 in third level education. In 1991, the average enrolment ratio reached 36% (40% for males and 32% for females) which is significantly high even by the standards of industrialised countries. By 1994, due to the operation of the University of Cyprus, the gap in the enrolment ratio between the two sexes was almost totally eliminated as many women who, for financial, cultural and other reasons, could not attend University education abroad, enrolled at the local University and their ratio exceeded 40%.

1.4 Health and life expectancy profile

Good health and human development are inseparable. It is imperative therefore, that a good health system and the provision of an acceptable level of health services should stand high on the priority list of every country.

The health system in Cyprus has been undergoing changes over the years but the most drastic changes are envisaged with the implementation of a National Health Scheme to be enforced by the year 2004. The Ministry of Health has also initiated a 5-year programme (which is now well under
way) for the upgrading of its medical and paramedical personnel through special training programmes. These courses, which are conducted by the University of Surrey, aim to enrich the knowledge of the medical staff both in the theoretical developments and in new technological equipment.

Over the last thirteen years, life expectancy has increased by more than two years both for men and women and has reached 74.6 years for men and 79.1 years for women by 1993. These levels are very close to those of industrial countries. At the age of 60, life expectancy for both sexes is about 20 years.

Several other health indicators show also the improvement achieved in health in recent years. For example, in 1980, there was one doctor for every 908 people. By 1999, the ratio improved to one doctor per 368 people. This stands at about the same level as in North America and only slightly less than the average ratio for industrialised countries.

For 1993 it was estimated that from all causes of deaths, diseases of the circulatory system were responsible for 54.3% while malignant cancer accounted for 19.2% of the deaths. It is worth noting that the percentage of deaths due to diseases of the circulatory system is higher than in almost all industrial countries. This presumably points to the need for changing the dietary habits of the population.

Another discouraging situation regarding the level of health in the country is the increasing trend in alcohol consumption. From an average alcohol consumption of about 44 liquid litres per adult in 1980, consumption levels soared to 73.7 litres per adult in 1994. This is a worldwide phenomenon, and although alcoholism has never been a problem in the country, the upward trend and its potential seriousness must not be overlooked.

Expenditure on health as a percentage of GDP ranged from a lower value of 2.7% in 1980 to 4.1% in 1990, to 5.7% in 1999. Whereas this ratio has increased considerably over the years, Cyprus is still behind the standards of industrialised countries where expenditure on health is about 9% of GDP.
1.5 Employment and Unemployment

Employment is a vital factor to human development as are health and education. In addition to income generation, employment contributes to the dignity and prestige of people, for it gives them the opportunity to earn their incomes through their labour and to be creative rather than being given financial assistance.

In Cyprus there is some discrimination against women despite all the efforts made and the improvements recorded. The right of women to the same employment opportunities as specified by the United Nations Convention 34-180 on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against women is not safeguarded by legislation. Despite this, however, efforts have been made in the context of the Government's commitment to the Convention to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women in all fields such as legislation, political and public life, education, employment, health care etc. In fact, the Government's Development Plan of 1989-1993 had this as its basic objective with respect to women.

However, the problem of discrimination is offset to some degree by the low levels of unemployment and the continuous availability of employment opportunities. The unemployment rate (number of unemployed persons per 100 of economically active population) reached its highest level in 1986 with 3.7% while it dropped to as low as 1.8% in 1990 and 1992. The high rate of unemployment (8.6%) attained in 1976 is attributed to the repercussions of the Turkish invasion on the Cyprus economy. Female unemployment has been higher than the overall rate of unemployment throughout the whole period under study. This is the opposite in most industrialised countries where female unemployment is generally lower or nearly equal to the overall level of unemployment, although the rate in Cyprus is significantly lower in absolute terms than the great majority of the industrialised countries. Furthermore, the incidence of long-term unemployment, especially that of more than 12 months, is considerably lower in Cyprus than in almost all the industrial countries. It accounted for almost 25% of the total number of unemployed in 1980 and dropped to less than 7% by 1974.

The relative size of the workforce has experienced an increasing trend since 1980. While the gainfully employed comprised only 43.3% of the total population in 1980, it increased slowly but steadily to 46.2% in 1994. Employment in the services sector increased significantly over time at
the expense of both the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. In 1980, one fifth of the labour force was in agriculture and manufacturing sectors. In 1980, one fifth of the labour force was in agriculture, about one third in industry and almost 46% in the services sector. By 1993, the share of agriculture fell to just under 13% of industry to 26.6% while the share of the sector of services increased by almost 15 percentage points to 60.5%. Thus, Cyprus has reached a sectoral distribution of its labour force similar to that of the developed countries, with the services (tertiary) sectors becoming the dominant economic activities.

2.0 CONCLUSION

Demographic change and social structure are closely related and mutually dependent. Social developments have been analysed in this chapter over a period of more than 30 years, concentrating on growth, size, and structure and examining in a very general way the very general demographic changes in fertility, mortality, and migration.

It is quite obvious from the discussions in the chapter, coupled with the information depicted in appendices 2 through to 5, that the overall state of social change is a reflection of economic progress and modernisation through time. New economic needs, education, employment, health, and the quality of life appeared to have worked together so as to bring substantial changes to the Cyprus society at large.

Searching through the masses of data available on the socio-cultural changes that have taken place on the island since its independence in 1960, one could clearly conclude that the ‘transformation miracle’ as it is often referred to by politicians, is nothing more that the streamlining of a weaker and often wounded culture towards western modernisation, yet at the same time retaining those socio-cultural elements that reflect the historical development of the Cyprus society. If tourism is to have played a role in this development process, is yet to be discovered.

Based on this information, the methodology will utilise the following social change themes as these have emerged from the chapter. These are the themes, which came out stronger from the overall review of social change over the past thirty years.
a) Institution of the family and marriages

b) Morals in modern times

c) Life in the community, quality of life, lifestyle, national and cultural identity

d) Education, profession, foreign workers and illegal immigrants.

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- Social Indicators (annual)
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- Labour Statistics (annual)
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- Human Development Report for Cyprus (1995), Research Papers and Reports II (44)
- Cyprus In Figures (annual)

1 The total Population Figure, does not include illegal settlers from Turkey, who are estimated at about 115,000

2 Because of the prejudice against marrying in leap years, the number of marriages is calculated following a four year cycle with a trough during leap years and peaks in the year preceding and succeeding the leap year

CHAPTER 6 - Methodology

1.0 Refined Research Objectives

The preceding chapters defined the research domain as the relationship between socio-cultural elements, which influence resident perceptions of the impact of tourism, and their support for tourism.

In the light of the previous chapters, the initial objectives which were to:

a) Determine the extent, to which social and cultural impacts of tourism contribute to changes in value systems; individual behaviour, interpersonal contact; family relationships; collective lifestyles; moral conduct; traditional ceremonies, and community organization,

b) Identify whether the impacts of tourism are felt stronger among people who are directly involved in the field of tourism and/or are in proximity to tourism development,

c) Identify whether the variables of gender, age, level of education, occupation, language, and previous travel experience(s) affect the attitudes and perceptions of the local population towards tourism,

... were refined in the light of the decision to employ a qualitative method as the research instrument. Thus the objective of the methodology was formulated as follows:

A study of the changes in family life in Cyprus in the period 1975 – 2000 and the degree to which such changes are attributed to tourism.

The new, refined objective of the methodology adds to the knowledge of the impact of tourism by being reduced to something tight and small, i.e., family life in a specific time period, with the key words being 'attributing it to tourism'.

In an attempt to explain others' behaviour, an attempt to understand people, one wonders why people act this way. Attribution theory analyses how we explain people's behaviour. The variations of attribution theory share some common assumptions: that the human mind wants to make sense of its world; that one attributes people's actions to internal dispositions (enduring traits, motives and attitudes) or to the external causes; and, that one does so in a fairly logical, consistent way.
In fact, the process of attribution rarely actually goes as far as seeking the actual cause of something, instead it points out the locus of cause (Riley, 1991: 34-35).

The core of this chapter deals with an explanation of the methods employed to gather the data. It also delineates limitations and assumptions of the methodology.

2.0 THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The research question emanated out of the general case of tourism's social and cultural impacts and their effects on host communities. In this respect, the starting point was the general view of tourism as a worldwide phenomenon with its merits and problems and the review of 27 different case studies on the subject matter in areas around the world. The final form of the research question was formulated through the application of the subjects of social change, and tourism, in the specific context of Cyprus.

The major task of the methodology is to study the changes in family life in Cyprus over a 30-year period, and investigate whether the changes brought about, can be attributed to tourism. In addition, the study seeks to identify the different impacts (both positive and negative) that tourism inflicts upon the island's host population. Thirdly, the study tries to differentiate between the strength with which these impacts are felt among people who are directly involved in the field of tourism as opposed to those who are not directly involved in the industry. Finally, the methodology looks into variables such as gender, age, level of education, and occupation, and seeks to identify whether these variables affect the attitudes and perceptions of the local population towards tourism.

2.2 Development of the research instrument

2.2.1 Review of the appropriate literature

The literature research was carried out with the aim of summarising the existing body of knowledge in the field, which the present study is to build upon. The literature review concentrated on three broad areas as follows: (i) Sociology, Tourism and the Socio-cultural impacts of tourism, (ii) Benefits and costs of tourism and (iii) Residents' perceptions and attitudes research on the social impacts of tourism – a review of 27 case studies.
The fundamental task of the literature review was to provide the reader with information on the relationship between sociology and tourism, and the impact that the influx of tourism is likely to inflict upon the host community. Furthermore, the literature review aimed at reviewing the numerous studies conducted by other researchers in the field of sociology and tourism and draw conclusions on the findings as well as the methodological approaches adopted by these researchers.

In addition to the general literature review, descriptive information as well as secondary data were needed for drawing a background picture to the study and especially to aid the reader to grasp the magnitude of both the socio-economic developments in Cyprus over the period under study (1976-2000) as well as the developments with regards to the tourism industry in Cyprus over the same period.

2.2.2 Revision of the research approach

In light of the literature review (Chapters 2 and 3) and the methodological approach employed by researchers so far, it was decided that people should be given a broader opportunity when discussing the subject of impacts. Therefore, it was decided not to look directly at the problem, but to firstly identify the type(s) of social change that has taken place in Cyprus over the past three decades, identify what has changed for the best; what has changed for the worse and why; and secondly to identify to what degree such changes are attributed to tourism. The rationale for dealing with groups as opposed to individuals, was that 'if tourism has made social impact, it will be a shared impact, thus what is done with a group is not merely an extraction of the impacts, but it is also measuring whether it is shared or not (consensus)'. This brought about the new reformulated methodological objective ('A study of the changes in family life in Cyprus in the period 1974 – 2000 and the degree to which such changes are attributed to tourism'). To achieve this, the groups were not informed of the actual scope of the study (i.e., were not informed that the study is related to the subject of tourism and its effects on their family life). The study was furnished as a 'survey on social change' and issues brought forward for discussion were designed to reveal the information the moderator wanted, without going directly at it.

Another originality of this research is the fact that as opposed to the very focused studies so far, this study widened and deepened the scope and took a reflective view (got people to think over time). Bearing in mind that a directed and focused reflection recall of events, beginning with the most recent event first, and working backwards in time, together with the accuracy of the description of the event to be recalled, improves the memory recall process, the moderator had available a chronological list of
major events which have marked their presence in history and were, whenever necessary, brought up to give participants stimulus to think back.

2.2.3 Problems to the methodology due to the new objective

The problems associated with the methodology relative to the refined objectives are:

a) There is a problem of identification of what changes in family life have taken place (these have been identified in Chapter 5),

b) The degree to which these, are attributed to tourism. An assumption of this research is that the impact of tourism is somehow cumulative,

c) The assumption of this study that the impacts of tourism are, whatever they may or may not actually be, perceived by residents,

d) The impact of tourism may or may not be discreet, in other words, the impact of tourism may be hidden among other impacts. Previous studies have assumed that the impact of tourism is very discreet. It may not be so, it may be indirect, it may be tandem with some other attributed cause, but no assumptions are made about the direct impact of tourism,

e) The perceived impact of change in family life may not actually be attributed to tourism at all, and,

f) What is perceived, as an aggregate level of abstraction can be best recalled by reflective methodology.

3.0 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

The information needed for the study of the factors that affect the way residents perceive the impacts of tourism and the subsequent influence of this perception in support for tourism was collected using a social survey, specifically a group discussion of a topic that is the 'focus' of the conversation, namely, Focus Groups.
Focus groups provide a rich and detailed set of data about perceptions, thoughts, feelings and impressions of group members in the members' own words. Focus groups are a flexible research tool: discussions may be very general or very specific; they may be highly structured or quite unstructured; they can be adapted to obtain information about almost any topic in a wide array of settings and from very different types of individuals.

The decision to use Focus Groups as opposed to any other research tool was based on the fact that the spontaneous and collective interaction of group members often produces insights that are not obtained readily, if ever, in individual surveys, structured interviews, or experiments. Surveys and experiments tend to provide feedback about the world or specific phenomena as conceptualised by the researcher. This etic approach is quite useful, but it must be recognised that such conceptualisation may be at variance with the way individual respondents conceptualise the world. Focus groups are designed to help understand how individuals conceptualise and categorise phenomena. As such, the data generated by focus groups are more emic than etic. Much of the power of the focus group as a method of inquiry grows out of the spontaneity and synergy of the group dynamic. The discussion in focus groups depends on both the individuals that make up the groups and the dynamics of the group as a whole, a characteristic that no other research method portrays.

All too often for researchers, one method or technique becomes the means by which all research problems are addressed, and other methods are ignored or discounted. So it has been with focus group interviews. For other researchers on the subject area under investigation in this survey, focus groups were never appropriate. Where the truth lies is unknown. Perhaps, the high cost and the high volume of time involved in conducting, transcribing and analysing focus group interviews acts as a deterring factor to the selection of this method as a survey tool. Whatever the reasons behind the decision of other researchers to opt for adopting stereotypical research methods, it is the belief of this researcher that focus groups are the best means for exploring the way particular groups or individuals think and talk about this phenomenon, for generating ideas, and for generating diagnostic information. For these purposes, focus groups represent an unmatched and rigorous scientific method of inquiry.

Focus groups are used widely because they provide useful information and offer the researcher a number of advantages. This information and the advantages of the technique come at a price, however. The relative advantages and disadvantages of focus groups are summarised below:
3.1 Advantages of Focus Groups

Focus groups provide a number of advantages to this study, relative to other types of research:

a) Data from a group of people is provided, much more quickly and at less cost than would be the case if each individual were interviewed separately.

b) Focus groups allow the researcher to interact directly with the respondents. This provides opportunities for the clarification of responses, for follow-up questions and for probing of responses. In addition, it is possible for the researcher to observe nonverbal responses such as gestures, smiles, frowns and so forth, which may carry information that supplement, or even contradict, the verbal response.

c) The open response format of focus groups provides the opportunity to obtain large and rich amounts of data in the respondents' own words. The researcher can obtain deeper levels of meaning, make important connections, and identify subtle nuances in expression and meaning.

d) Focus groups allow respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members. This synergistic effect of the group setting may result in the production of data or ideas that might not have been uncovered in individual interviews.

e) Focus groups are very flexible in that they can be used to examine a wide range of topics with a variety of individuals and in a variety of settings.

f) The results of focus groups are easy to understand because researchers can easily understand the verbal responses of most respondents, whereas this is not always the case with more sophisticated survey research that employs complex statistical analyses.

3.2 Limitations of Focus Groups

Although focus groups are valuable research tools with substantial advantages, they are not a panacea for all research needs and these do have their limitations. Many of these limitations are simply the negative sides of the advantages listed above:
a) The small number of respondents that participate even in several different focus groups and the convenience nature of most focus group recruiting practices, significantly limit generalisation to a larger population.

b) The interaction of respondents with one another and with the researcher has two undesirable effects. First, the responses from members of the group are not independent of one another, which restrict the generalisability of results. Second, the results obtained in a focus group may be biased by a very dominant or opinionated member. More reserved group members may be hesitant to talk.

c) The ‘live’ and immediate nature of the interaction may lead a researcher or decision maker to place greater faith in the findings that is actually warranted. There is certain credibility attached to the opinion of a live respondent that is often not present in statistical summaries.

d) The open-ended nature of responses obtained in focus groups often makes summarisation and interpretation of results difficult.

e) The moderator may bias results by knowingly or unknowingly providing cues about what type of responses and answers are desirable.

Bearing in mind the advantages and disadvantages of focus groups as those have been presented above, this research aims to be the first ever study in this field to be conducted utilising focus group interviews as a means of gathering data. It is the ambition of this researcher that the findings of this approach will become an additional tool in the social scientist’s research tool kit as an important tool for discovery and exploration.

4.0 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE

Sampling for a qualitative survey requires a different mindset than for quantitative studies. This is difficult, as the term sampling is often associated with logic derived from the general laws of statistics and probability. Qualitative data, on the other hand, can be represented by perceptual and attitudinal dimensions and real life events not readily converted to numerical values.

For the purpose of this study, the following guidelines were considered in instrumenting the collection of data.
4.1 Sample, Sampling Size and Sampling Procedure

The study population comprised of homogenous aged controlled strangers (strangers, not acquaintances; however, due to the small size of the population acquaintanceship is unavoidable) who would have preferably experienced the rise of tourism on the island, i.e., within the age group of 40-70.

The study took place in Cyprus and covered all regions of the island. The island is neatly divided up by the Cyprus Tourism Organisation in 5 major areas. On the basis of this division, it was decided that six FOCUS GROUPS in total would be conducted, one of them being a Control Group (Table 6.1). Five focus groups were conducted among people who are not directly involved in the tourism industry, whereas the control group was conducted among people who were directly involved in tourism.

### TABLE 6.1 – Number of groups in the project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Urban centres</th>
<th>Rural communities</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nicosia &amp; Hill Resorts</td>
<td>1,Males</td>
<td></td>
<td>Minimal to no tourism contact for Nicosia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The majority of tourists visit the hill resorts on day trips alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>1,Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tourist area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Control Group)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>1,Females</td>
<td></td>
<td>Major tourist areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pafos</td>
<td>1,Females, and 1,Males</td>
<td></td>
<td>Major tourist areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famagusta Area (Ayia Napa, Protaras, Paralimni)</td>
<td>1,Males</td>
<td></td>
<td>The tourist resorts of the Famagusta area have the fewest inhabitants but have the highest influx of tourists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allocation of groups in each sector is not related to population density for each area. The idea here was to include in the study both Rural and Urban areas, i.e., both away from the tourist centres among people with minimal tourism contact, as well as in, or in proximity to tourist centres. It is worth noting, however, that due to the small size of the island and the fact that tourism is the driving force of the Cyprus economy, people tend to think and express themselves ‘nationwide’.
4.1.1 Selection of sample

The sample was not randomly selected. The composition of the groups were selected so as to be homogenous in background (as few gaps in social background and lifestyle as possible), so as for them to feel able to talk freely to each other.

Recruitment specifications employed in the study (Table 6.2) included variables such as sex, age, employment sector, family status, education level, employment basis, occupation etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIFICATIONS</th>
<th>Nicosia</th>
<th>Larnaka (Control Group)</th>
<th>Limassol</th>
<th>Pafos</th>
<th>Pafos</th>
<th>Ay. Napa, Protaras, Paralimni</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Females</td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of participants</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
<td>Min.7, Max.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age groups</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
<td>31+ (ideally 40+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family status</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education level</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
<td>Mixture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation / Social Class</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
<td>Mixture (with the exception of occupations which have direct contact with tourists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident district</td>
<td>Nicosia &amp; Hill Resorts</td>
<td>Larnaka</td>
<td>Limassol</td>
<td>Pafos</td>
<td>Pafos</td>
<td>Ay. Napa, Protaras, Paralimni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural/Urban</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
<td>Yes/No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A split sample of 3 groups for men and 2 groups of women was employed due to the explicit nature of some issues raised in the discussions corresponding to differences in perspectives between men and women (sexual contacts, homosexuality, pornography, out-of-marriage relationships etc).
4.1.2 Group Size and Duration of Focus group discussions

The ideal number of participants was set at 8, however, any number of participants between 7 –10 for each group was considered as appropriate.

The duration of the group discussions was set at a minimum of 60 minutes to a maximum of 100 minutes, however, up to two hours were allowed to accommodate disruptions of the group dynamics from 'late arrivers' or 'early leavers'.

4.1.3 Recruitment of participants

Screening through short questionnaire (over the phone) was carried out to see if the person in the household fitted the recruitment category and was interested in participating. The screening did not alert participants to the topic of the research.

4.1.4 Venues

Locations were selected on their ease of access, comfort, tranquillity and cosiness, and were mainly small hotels and community centres where people tend to gather naturally. In the case of Limassol one of the participants offered her house, which was very centrally located. For Nicosia, the specially designed for group discussion rooms at 'RAI Consultants' were utilised.

The prerequisite here was to get small, comfortable, quiet and cosy rooms. Facilities for audiotaping were also utilised and all discussion groups were recorded on audiotapes.

4.1.5 Language

All discussions were conducted in the native language (Greek). The audiotapes with the discussions were then transcribed and translated into English by a professional translator so as to avoid any misinterpretation of the findings.
4.1.6 Incentives / Reward to participants

All participants were rewarded with a £15 Marks & Spencer voucher. Snacks and drinks were also provided during the discussion sessions.

4.1.7 Pilot Focus Group

One pilot focus group (mock focus group) was conducted in Nicosia among the Cyprus College Faculty colleagues. The pilot focus group was conducted with the assistance of the Head of Qualitative Research at RAI Consultants. Additionally, RAI Consultants, who were at the time conducting a series of focus group discussions on a social study survey for a major client of theirs, allowed me to participate at these discussions, as an observer. Their assistance proved invaluable in training the moderator (myself) on the various techniques applied, especially in moderating and managing a group discussion.

4.1.8 Control Group

One discussion group made up exclusively of people who have been earning their living through tourism was also conducted. This group (the Control Group) was treated exactly as any other group.

4.1.9 Moderating the Group / Managing the Discussion

The following guidelines were set to facilitate the management of the discussion:

a) The moderator introduces himself and the topic in a fairly general fashion so as participants may not be able to follow the researcher’s detailed thinking on the topic, let alone reveal the actual case. The moderator has to admit that as a researcher he is there to learn from them.

b) The moderator sets the ground rules – only one person speaking at a time; no conversation among neighbours (no side conversation); everyone participating, no one dominating the discussion.
c) The moderator calls participants to give a brief self-introduction, either by setting an 'ice-breaker' question, or by giving participants a true 'discussion starter' which initiates an opening statement from each participant and helps to deter 'group think', i.e., the tendency for dissenters to suppress their disagreement in favour of maintaining consensus in the group.

d) If the moderator doesn’t get out the hard core, he guides them there through an example.

e) All participants, including the moderator, wear a tag with their first name on it.

f) The moderator explains why discussions are audio taped.

g) The moderator brings up, if necessary, a chronological list of events which are of significant importance, so as to give participants stimulus to think back.

The Moderator’s discussion guide (Appendix 6) gives a guideline on the procedure followed during the discussions.

Perhaps it is worthwhile mentioning at this point, that while the focus groups were conducted, the moderator kept supplementary notes on non-verbal communication and gestures of participants to the key issues. The information helped with the interpretation of the findings especially where participants made a statement with an emotional message (e.g., anger, sarcasm).

4.2 Themed areas covered during the discussion groups

It can be seen from Chapter 5, that a number of key aspects of change in family life took place during the period under investigation. These form the basis of the discussion groups. These changes have been categorised under the following themed areas:

a) Family and Marriage

b) Morals and Sexual Ethics

c) Community, Culture, Quality of life in community, and Lifestyle

d) Education and Profession

Table 6.3 that follows describes the themes covered by the discussion groups.
A more structured approach with guided questions was followed so as to have basic control over the content and direction of the group discussion. However, the moderator avoided fixed questions. The goal was to produce a discussion that managed itself.

General questions were raised first and then more specific issues were brought-up for discussion. The goal was to tease out of the participants in the group discussions how much of these they attribute to tourism.

All transcripts under appendices 7 through to 12, give a clearer picture as to what went on in the discussion groups.
TABLE 6.3 – Themes covered during the discussion groups

The discussion leader introduced the themes depicted in this table and the actual subject matter within those themes came up through the discussion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME 1 – FAMILY and MARRIAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Family safety / Security (e.g., going for a walk at night)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Family bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ex-marital relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Social values – changes over the years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Social networking – how often do you see your family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Marriages with foreigners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pastimes. Leisure time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Family bonding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Violence within the family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEME 2 – MORALS and SEXUAL ETHICS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Drugs (use, addiction, trafficking)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Crime (organised, unorganised, robberies, theft, burglaries, vandalism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Changes in morals – attitudes on virginity, homosexual relations, availability of pornography, attitudes on AIDS, prostitution, sexual permissiveness, dressing styles, openness to sex, sexual freedom, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual harassment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Alcoholism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>THEME 3 – COMMUNITY, CULTURE, QUALITY OF LIFE IN COMMUNITY and LIFESTYLE</th>
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<td>- Overcrowding</td>
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<td>- National and Cultural identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Violence</td>
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<td>- Overall consumer habits and attitudes</td>
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<th>THEME 4 – EDUCATION and PROFESSION</th>
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<td>- Foreign workers and illegal immigrants</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Interest in agriculture and farming</td>
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5.0 FORMS OF ANALYSIS

The theoretical basis behind the analysis of the findings is Content Analysis. Every effort to interpret a focus group represents analysis of content, however, with some efforts being more formal than others, there are rigorous approaches to the analysis of content, approaches that emphasise the reliability and replicability of observations and subsequent interpretations (Bertrand, Brown and Ward, 1992). These
approaches include a variety of specific methods and techniques that are collectively known as content analysis (Krippendorf, 1980).

The analysis of focus group data can take a wide variety of forms. These may range from very rapid, highly subjective impressionistic analyses to very sophisticated computer assisted analyses. There is no best approach. Rather, the approach selected should be consistent with the original purpose of the research and the information needs that gave rise to it.

Content Analysis was employed in this study as a specific type of research tool. The researcher created a set of categories, which illuminate the issues under study and then classified the content according to those pre-determined categories. It is essential that these categories are precisely defined to minimise bias resulting from the judgement of different investigators, but this has no implications to this research because there has been only one researcher involved.

The output of this Focus Group Research is a set of six transcripts, one for each discussion group. To optimise the results of the research and determine the dimensionality of the impacts, a four-stage approach was introduced, which emphasises on consensus on the issues raised, as follows:

a) Changes – what changes were identified in society at large over the study period
b) Issues – what issues attach themselves to these changes
c) Feelings – Differentiation of the issues by the strength of feelings attached to them
d) Attribute – What kind of attribution participants make and how strong does tourism feature in this attribution

Furthermore, four propositions (three positive and one negative evidence) were set to test how an affect (a change) is attributed, as follows:

a) (+) an affect is directly attributed to tourism or tourists,
b) (+) an affect is attributed to something that tourism is a part,
c) (+) an affect is attributed to something which is indirectly connected to tourism, and
d) (-) no evidence comes in the same forms.
Following general observations, the key to answering these propositions was firstly to ask 'what are the affects (changes) and what are the causes, and secondly to find out who they blame and see what role tourism has played in the formations of positive or negative perceptions among the host populations.

The dialogues of the six groups will be analysed and the data emerging from this analysis will be treated as one, i.e., dialogues from the different groups were not separated during the analysis of the findings.

### 6.0 LIMITATIONS AND ASSUMPTIONS

#### 6.1 Limitations

Despite the fact that the tools used to analyse the transcripts rely heavily on the judgement of the analyst, it was felt that the opportunities for subjectivity and potential bias in the approach followed were minimised.

Perhaps the most important limitation to this research is the fact that in a group there is a tendency to capture public attitudes. However, individuals who participate in these group discussions may have private attitudes, which might reveal hostility.

Another limitation is that the results of the study may be limited in generalisability only to the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus. However, it will contribute to the knowledge on the subject matter, especially with the originality of methodological approach employed.

A further limitation of the study was the fact that all Focus group discussions were conducted in Greek, which is the native language. On the other hand, however, this facilitated participants to speak in their native language thus bringing out their arguments on a much clearer manner, but on the other hand, this delayed the transcription of the recordings from the Focus group interviews and pumped up the cost of the research, because all audio-tapes were translated and transcribed into English by a professional translator. The time and cost limitations can also be attributed to the fact that no 'second round' was conducted, despite the fact that it would have been desirable. It was estimated at the time, and at the outset it proved correct, that the lapse between the first and a possible second 'round' would have been greater than 12 months. However, getting the subjects together after translating, transcribing and analysing the findings of the first 'round' would have been very difficult. In addition, and under the circumstances, the time-lapse between the two 'rounds' would have destroyed any attempt to clarify
any vague issues which might have emerged from the analysis of the findings of 'round one'. One has also to take into consideration the fact that this thesis is the product of a sole individual and not a product of group work, hence the pace of progress is by default much slower.

Finally, another limitation that is worth noting is that due to the small size of the island, and the sheer importance of tourism to the Cyprus economy, people tend to think and express themselves 'nation-wide'.

6.2 Assumptions of the Methodology

The study assumes that the instrument used to collect the information measures the salient variables for the study of factors that influence resident perception of the impacts of tourism and subsequently support for tourism. In addition, the study reflecting the ideas expressed in previous pages, assumes that:

a) Tourism will not, at this level reside in isolation. It will be part of a general level of attribution of the causes of change.

b) The deeper impacts may reside in individuals' values.

c) People don't think in 'tick in boxes'

d) The impact of tourism is somewhat cumulative

e) The impacts of tourism are perceived by residents

f) The impact of tourism is very discreet

g) Impacts are not just immediate but reside also at a deeper level of abstraction, which can be caught by reflection

h) Individuals participated in the Focus group discussions at their own will and expressed their opinion on the issues brought up for discussion, truthfully and accurately.
6.3 Avoiding common pitfalls in Qualitative data collection and transcription

Data collection and analysis of qualitative research has often come under criticism for its subjective nature. It is this subjectivity in qualitative research that necessitates scrupulous scientific methods to ensure results. By minimising potential errors that can occur when doing fieldwork, researchers can increase the trustworthiness of the study' (Easton, McComish, Greenberg, 2000).

Most authors (Bamber, 1993; Hinds, Vogel and Clarke – Steffen, 1997) in discussing the pitfalls of qualitative research agree that flexibility, patience, and attention to detail are essential from obtaining the most from the data.

Some basic guidelines adopted in this research to avoid such common pitfalls, were:

a) Equipment failure, whether or not it is related to human error or ignorance, might mean having to cancel a focus group interview. At the very least, the participants might become frustrated, and the researched could be embarrassed. To avoid this, two audiotape recorders were used during the discussions. Both recorders were checked and tested ahead of time.

b) To avoid the pitfall of environmental distractions (extraneous noises, phones ringing, doors shutting, interruptions, etc), quiet designated meeting rooms were used in most cases.

c) Several types of errors occur during the transcription process. Jargon, language barriers, slang terms or words specific to a culture can cause errors. Other errors might include inaccurate punctuation, misunderstood or mistyped words that change the entire meaning of the sentence. To avoid some of these pitfalls of transcribing, the researcher acted as the interviewer and the transcriber (in the native language). When a professional translator translated transcripts from the native language into English, the researcher re-checked them for accuracy to the best possible level, prior to beginning the analysis.
References Cited


CHAPTER 7 - Findings

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Focus Group data are subjective and difficult to interpret, however, the scope is such that no quantification and mathematical analyses are required. Thus, the nature of analysis in Focus Group discussions is determined by the research question and the purpose for which data is collected.

The output of this research is a set of six Focus group transcripts (all transcripts are appended under Appendices 7 through to 12). The transcription is detailed in nature and transcribes every word of every participant. This eases out data analysis because even unrelated information is relevant to the data analysis because it provides evidence on the amount of time spent on and off the topic. The information gathered also assists in the interpretation of the findings and provides an understanding of the effectiveness of focus groups.

The discussion in focus groups depends on both the individuals that make up the group and the dynamics of the group as a whole. It is asserted that the group, not the individual, is the fundamental unit of analysis.

While the focus groups were conducted, the moderator kept supplementary notes on non-verbal communication and gestures of participants to the key issues. The information helped with the interpretation of the findings, especially where participants made a statement with an emotional message (e.g., anger, sarcasm).

Immediately following the focus group, key ideas were summarised, however, conclusions were not drawn at that stage. The process was intended to provide initial reaction to participants' comments. It is also useful to conduct data analysis as soon as possible after the conduct of the focus groups, however, in this case, due to the fact that the original transcripts were first transcribed by the researcher in the native language, there was a delay in analysis, pending translation and transcription into English by a professional translator.

The data in the set of transcripts were interpreted through an intensive analytical technique based on the structure of the Discussion Guide (Appendix 6) and the use of quotes from the participants in support of the categories, main ideas and summary statements. Only arguments that were justified by
the groups were included in the analysis. It is sensible in reminding the reader at this point that for the purpose of the analysis that follows, groups were not separated, and data were treated as 'one'.

Section 2.0 provides a brief account of the purpose of the study as well as the composition and profile of the groups involved. The analysis of the Focus group interviews, which is presented in section 3.0, begins by making available to the reader an overall impression of the data, before entering into a more analytical discussion in the themed areas (family and marriage; morals and sexual ethics; life and quality of life in the community, nature and lifestyle; education and profession; and, tourism). Finally, general conclusions to the analysis are drawn in section 4.0.

2.0 DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE AND PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

Six Focus group interviews were conducted covering all areas of the Republic of Cyprus, for the purpose of studying the changes in family life in Cyprus in the period 1975 - 2000 and the degree to which such changes are attributed to tourism. Members of the groups were asked to discuss the broad themes of the family; morals; life in the community; and education and profession. A copy of the discussion guide is provided in Appendix 6.

2.1 Composition of the groups

2.1.1 The Sample and Sample Size

The total sample for the study comprised of 54 adults (25 males and 29 females). Out of the six focus group discussions conducted in total (one being a control group), three were with male participants and the other three with female participants. The average number of participants in each group was 9 persons, and the average duration of the group discussion was 73 minutes. The groups covered all geographical areas of the island, some of which are heavily crowded by tourists.
2.1.2 Age Distribution and Gender

The majority of participants in the sample were middle aged or older with the average age for all groups at 42.16, whereas the average age for male vs female participants was almost identical (42.20 and 42.14 respectively).

2.1.3 Employment

With the exception of Larnaka, which served as the control group, where all participants were tourism industry-related employees, all others were not directly involved in the tourism industry.

2.1.4 Family Status

Out of 54 participants, 39 were married (15 males, 24 females), 12 were single (8 males, 4 females) and 3 were divorced/separated (2 males, 1 female).

2.1.5 Level of Education and Occupation

Almost all participants attended secondary school with the exception of just three who abandoned education following the completion of the primary level. Thirteen participants attended college, 11 attended University at undergraduate level and two held a postgraduate qualification.

The vast majority of participants reported being full time employees (72%), 13% part-time employees, and only 15% of participants reported being unemployed. Out of those employed, 33% were self-employed, 12% were civil servants and the remaining 55% were employed in the private sector (18% work in trades, 11% held professional or technical positions, 8.5% worked in middle management or sales and 7.5% in clerical or secretarial positions. Of those remaining, 7.5% labelled themselves as housewives and 15% as self-employed).

Income groups/social class were also summed up. Half of the sample (50%) was in group 'C1', 15% in groups 'A-B', and 24% in group 'C2'. The remaining 11% were classified as unemployed.

Table 7.1 that follows depicts the characteristics of the sample and the demographic profile of participants.
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<th>3 Limassol (Females)</th>
<th>4 Pafos (Females)</th>
<th>5 Pafos (Males)</th>
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**Notes on Social Class**

A-B Upper Middle Class & Middle Class – doctors, business tycoons, MP’s, Ministers, Managers, Lecturers, Businessmen etc
C₁ Lower Middle Class – Office workers, bank employees (white collar workers)
C₂ Skilled working Class - police officers, builders, miners, factory workers etc (blue collar workers)
D-E Working Class & OAPs – Agriculture etc
3.0 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS – ANALYSIS

3.1 Overall impression of the data

In the light of the literature review, one could be led to believe that tourism would be at the forefront of influence in change, however, this seems not to be the case. The groups reflected upon problems of change in modern life. Tourism does not seem to get fingered at the direct level.

The general profile which can be enacted from the detailed analysis of the discussion transcripts and which describe life in Cyprus today is that of a more relaxed, more easy going, with less pressure lifestyle, however, Cypriots stress themselves out and impose pressures upon themselves because as one participant said:

'We live in a small Community and we feel like we are being watched'. (Focus group 1, Nicosia, Males)

Something, which is quite evident throughout the analysis, is the fact that Cypriots avoid blaming tourists because perhaps tourism is their ‘bread and butter’ and economic benefits outnumber socio-cultural costs. Instead there’s a tendency to blame themselves! There seems to be a lot of self-attribution with Cypriot people repeatedly blaming themselves. Perhaps this can be credited to the fact that change is inevitable and has been brought about by ‘modern lifestyle’. On the other hand, some Cypriots seem to say that may be not enough was done to resist change; that not that much of a fight has been put up against changes; and that they have simply embraced everything.

It is evident that participants believe that family bonds have disintegrated over the years. They think that young people do not respect old people nowadays and they attribute this to the wealth of people, xenomania, globalisation, the changing role of women in society, the high level of education and the mass media. The area of Ayia Napa frequently comes up as an example of a closed community, which has been transformed from a quiet fishing village and farming Community, to Europe’s prime youth holiday destination.

There is a divided opinion on morals however, the vast majority of participants feels that these have not changed to unacceptable levels. They advocate the fact that:

‘it’s just that we hear things because of the media’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)
On the other hand, there is also the extreme stand that the Cyprus Society, is called the:

'society of shame, tempted by everything which is illegal or immoral provided that nobody sees us'. (Focus group 1, Nicosia, Males)

The quote by a participant that follows, clearly points out this:

'We Cypriots are like a sponge. We absorb all the bad influences that tourists bring with them'. (Focus group 2. Larnaka, Females)

Perhaps an issue about which all groups feel strongly is that of national identity. When coupled with the influences of television, the imitating of lifestyles abroad, the copying of foreign habits and behavioural/attitudinal styles, and the general uncontrolled issue of xenomania pertaining in small and culturally weak societies, the issue becomes even stronger. Characteristic of these are two quotes depicted below:

'By watching TV and the way of life abroad, we see what foreigners have and we also want to have it too, so we copy them ..... so our life becomes a vicious circle.' (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

On the other hand, some participants acknowledge the fact that the influence of television is part of societal progress:

'Television has influenced the way we behave. I'd call this progress'. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

Perhaps there is an issue of friction between our social structure and national identity on one hand vis-à-vis our contact with tourists on the other. However, it seems that this friction is a minor one, considering the evolution of the social structure in Cyprus through time and acknowledging the fact that however bitter that might be, Cypriot national identity has never been strong.

Overcrowding also comes up, especially overcrowding of the beaches. It seems that a large majority of people, especially those who have young children, prefer to go to more secluded beaches so as not to:

'mingle with tourists who are topless and wear G-String Tanga bathing suits'. (Focus group 2, Larnaka, Females)

Foreigners, in a noting of laughter are also seen as 'making Cyprus more colourful'. In addition, despite the fact that tourists are frequently exploited, they are seen as a positive sociological phenomenon.
Finally, the Control group which was made up of participants who are directly involved and make their living from tourism, came out with more or less the same results, thus proving that the vast majority of participants feel the same way irrespective of their direct/indirect or no economic benefits from tourism.

3.2 Examination of the themed areas

For the purpose of the analysis that follows, groups were not separated and data was regarded as 'whole'. The procedure followed in analysing the set of transcripts is detailed below.

Based on the initial reading of the transcripts, major topics and issues were classified and materials in the transcripts relative to each topic were identified. All pieces of coded material were then cut out and sorted as such, so that all material relative to a particular topic were grouped together. This provided the basis for developing this chapter. Each topic is treated in turn with a description of the findings, bringing in quotations extracted from the set of transcripts, the goal being to connect the reader and the original participants through 'well chosen' quotations from the focus group discussions.

3.2.1 Family and Marriage

The subject of the evolution of 'family and marriage' over the years, initiated lengthy discussions in all groups. The general feeling, which is quite strong in nature, is that family bond has not been completely lost over the years, but weakened considerably.

'The family has grown apart; every child in the house has his own TV set in his bedroom. There's no communication. We are now alienated within our own family'.
(Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

The disintegration of the family is basically attributed by the groups to four reasons:

a) more freedom in the family:

'in the past the family was peaceful. The father was in charge and the rest used to follow. Today though, the family has disintegrated because we have been deprived of freedom, material things, of going out. We say, let's not leave our children have the same experiences, but instead of giving them the extra freedom, material things, etc., in a moderate way, we have lost control, we have overdone it now'.
(Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)
b) materialistic lifestyle:

‘People become stressed because they want to buy a bigger house, a better car. This is the age in which we live in now. Children at school see other children with designer clothes and shoes, they come home, and want the same. You can’t refuse, so it creates stress’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

c) loss of respect for each other, especially the child-father relationship, and
d) high level of education and the vast number of Cypriots who study abroad.

Another issue, which came out strongly in the discussions was the subject of the increase in divorces and how this has affected modern family structure. Official statistics on the number of divorces (Appendix 5, A), depict a different picture, showing a rapid increase in the first half of the decade, however, during the last couple of years, figures show a stability in the number of divorces.

Participants however, advocate a very high percentage of divorces to the influx of tourism and the enticement that foreigners inflict upon family bonding. A quote from a participant is extremely useful in grasping the problem associated with this phenomenon, which she basically attributes to tourism. The female participant said from bitter experience:

‘Rumanian and Russian women don’t care if they are 16-20 years old, they still go out with 45-50 year old men. When you have a 50-year-old married man whose wife is the same age and they have been married for 30 years, and then you get this 20-year-old girl coming on to him, can you blame him if he goes with this young girl and forgets that he has a house and a wife waiting for him? That’s why we have all these divorces’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

Mothers bringing up their children with the help of ‘imported’ nannies (mainly, Philippinos and Shri-Lankans), or taking their children at nursing homes is another topic that was raised repeatedly.

Both issues are attributed to the fact that women nowadays must work, but in its turn this is attributed to the demanding and materialistic lifestyle, hence the need for extra income:

‘All mothers who go out to work should stay home from now on and take care of their children until they start school… Why should we pay all this money to the kindergardens?. As a housewife, I should stay at home until my child goes to primary school and then, I can go out to work’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

Female participants felt that the contribution of the woman to the family’s income should be appreciated and respected by their husbands.

Another issue relative to marriage and divorce, is ‘interrmarriages’. Participants have mixed feelings on the issue and some claim that there are thousands of cases where Cypriots married foreigners (this is
more strongly felt in the Famagusta area) especially females who originally came to Cyprus temporarily, either as tourists or nightclub/pub/cabaret show-women, however, there are no official statistics that examine the relationship between Cypriots getting married to Cypriots or to foreigners. The Groups feel that this will eventually lead us towards a multinational society with a weaker national identity. Another group feels that intermarriages are mostly orchestrated to cover-up for women who are divorced with children (and their reputation is stained, especially in small communities), by marrying them off with foreigners (who are ignorant of their 'stained' past). It is worth noting here that similar patterns of behaviour have been identified in the study of Tozeur, Tunisia (Chapter 3, section 2.25).

'And if we have a woman with problems, or she's divorced with a couple of children, we marry her off with an Arab'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

In addition, the Famagusta group, which had stronger views on the subject, claims that families, customs and social structure have been ruined, and that children have been abandoned.

One would expect that these should have been advocated on the high influx of international tourists to the area alone, but instead there is a tendency for locals to blame themselves, claiming that the stressful lifestyle, the modernisation of society and the 'importation' of foreign customs by Cypriots who study abroad, as well as the media, have brought about the high number of divorces and the rise in the number of intermarriages. Perhaps it is worth noting here once again that whilst on one hand the number of marriages has increased by approximately 25% over the last 5 years, the number of divorces showed a tendency towards stabilisation. (Appendix 5, A). Thus the dramatic rise in the number of divorces as claimed by the groups cannot be empirically validated.

3.2.2 Morals and Sexual Ethics

The subject of morals and sexual ethics was discussed in all groups, but it was mainly the groups with female participants, which contributed most to the body of this section.

What was generally agreed upon by all groups, is that morals and sexual ethics have disintegrated only in our minds, because:

'it has been this way all along. Simply in the past it wasn't heard'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)
This is mainly advocated on the mass media, however, groups still blame themselves because of the long hours they have to work, thus not devoting as much time needed in bringing up their children ‘the right way’. Tourism came up as a negative contributor in that it was blamed for keeping people at work. Tourism is also blamed for the loss of national identity, bringing up examples of signs (including Road signs) which are in English only, restaurants where the menus are printed in English and German language only, and waiters who speak any other language but the native.

The groups did not feel that criminality has intensified over the years. One particularly said:

‘Our levels of criminality are the lowest in Europe, and they’ve been this way all along’. (Focus group 1, Nicosia, Males)

This is attributed to the fact that the mass media give wider coverage and deeper exposure to criminality nowadays than ever before making sure that we digest every last detail of what goes on in the ‘evil’ world that we live in simply because this ‘sells’ in terms of audience performance. Official figures available (Appendix 5, F) depict that the organised crime rate is on a slight up-trend, but for the time being, this should not be a cause of concern.

Sexual permissiveness, dressing styles and sexual freedom are the subjects, which come out strongest in this section. Nudity on the beaches, in hotels and in the streets is considered as a ‘natural phenomenon’ by most and once again the ‘Famagusta’ group blamed themselves for not doing enough to maintain their figure and compete with the shapely tourists. A raw example, however, came from a middle-aged woman in the Limassol Group who said:

‘If I let my boobs loose they’ll resemble a pair of fried eggs. That’s how it is. If I had a nice figure, maybe I would have done it myself’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

On the other hand, adults seem to approve of the half naked, not properly dressed tourists, but the younger generation seems to be apathetic towards nudity and do not get too excited by topless girls, perhaps because for them (due to their young age) that is what they have been seeing all along.

Others feel that the so-called ‘dress code’ adopted by tourists provokes the locals. Characteristically one participant said:

‘What you see you tend to want’. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

The groups feel that there’s a lot of temptation out there which brings about an increase in divorces and out of marriage casual relationships. This is attributed to the ‘freedom’ and permissiveness, which
embraces most young tourists as well as the phenomenon of locals wanting to show off their ‘achievements’.

Another subject, which seems to have brought about many problems is ‘drugs and alcohol’. The groups felt that drugs is an imported phenomenon together with foreign attitudes and behavioural patterns which have harmed the locals a lot. The problem with drug trafficking and use is attributed to a great extent on tourism:

> With so many foreigners coming here with drugs ....................... they have harmed us a lot’. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

There’s also, however, the perception that not everything should be blamed on tourism but the locals should be blamed as well. As a participant put it in his own words:

> ‘Tourism just gave us the push’. Other excuses are also brought up, such as ‘escape from the stress’, ‘freedom provided’ to explain the high rise in alcohol consumption and drugs. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

3.2.3 Life and Quality of Life in the Community, Nature, and Lifestyle

The major observation which came out very strongly in the groups is that participants consider life in Cyprus as stressful, demanding, constantly under pressure, materialistic, concentrating on

> ‘better houses, more ornaments, better cars’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

A few distinct statements by participants on the subject of materialism depict just that and are quoted below:

> ‘Cypriots build their homes as if they are going to live forever, and eat as if they are going to die tomorrow’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

> ‘Everybody has gone ‘stock market crazy’. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

> ‘Now it’s all gone, replaced by greed’. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

> ‘In the last years there has been a startling change from that period that we knew, that our society and life had a calm rhythm of life, whereas in today’s society you run to be on time and there’s a chance you may not even make it. Only the fact that you are in constant movement this for me constitutes a great change. You’re constantly chasing every day’s necessities: to create a family, to survive at work, so these are great changes. It’s not like our parents’ time’. (Focus group 2, Limassol, Females)
Furthermore, Cypriot's lifestyle is affected by xenomania, influenced by TV and imitated from foreigners' lifestyles. There's a tendency for Cypriots to want to 'show off' and this is attributed to the fact that:

'Cyprus is a small country and people know each other, your neighbour looks at every movement you make, whereas abroad nobody cares what his neighbour does'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

On the subject of national identity, there were very mixed opinions within the groups. A group of participants believes that our national identity has deteriorated over the years and this is due to all those conquerors and the influence that they have brought about. Tourists are lightly blamed for this as well. Others feel that our identity is strong and that we are proud of our nationality. This group claims that tourists have no effect on our national identity because of the short time they stay on the island.

'They don't leave a lasting effect. In contrast, they learn from us, that is, from our cultural point of view'. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

Another participant strongly stated:

'The Turkish invasion, the urbanisation, the stock exchange, the money, the abundance of money. This is what has affected us, not tourism'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

Another group believes that Cypriots do not feel proud of their nationality, but did not produce any arguments to back up their thought.

The character of the community as it has evolved through the years has changed a lot. A large group of participants felt that the:

'community as we knew it over the years, does not exist anymore'. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

Peacefulness and tranquillity have been affected by overcrowding, especially in the tourist areas. Culture and customs have also been affected.

The Famagusta group seems to have much stronger feelings on the negative effects on our culture and customs from the rapid growth in international tourism traffic to the island. Some distinctive statements relative to the impacts of tourism by participants in this specific group, exemplify just that.

'Our lives have changed dramatically'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)
'Total distraction. The uprooting of our society, our customs. Disastrous'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

'It has brought inhumanity, bigotry, and egoism. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

'Total distraction, nepotism. All the bad ills of humanity'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

'There have been stages when Cyprus was pure. But we gave the opportunity to the Russians and the Arabs because they had the money, to take advantage of our purity......'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

Furthermore, participants from that group attribute this to the wealth which has been brought about because of tourism; to the media, and once again, to themselves. They consider themselves fragile and susceptible to outside forces:

'If it wasn’t for tourism, things would have been better because there would be less money in circulation'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

A distinctive quote, again from the same area, says:

*Look at how Ayia Napa used to be and how it is now!* (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

Of course, one would have to explore the area from the past till today to be in a position to formulate a picture on this argument, but from the researcher’s experience, what has been one of the most tranquil fishing villages on the island in the early 1980’s, is today a rave/garage party jungle; ‘the hottest holiday resort area of the new century in Europe’, as the media claim.

In many areas, especially Famagusta, people have neglected the land because of tourism. Now they call themselves business people instead of farmers and fishermen, and they feel that this adds to their prestige and status.

On the subject of security, there’s very little mentioned, but the general feeling is that locals do not feel secure anymore either for themselves and their family, or for their property. However, no attributes are given towards this disbelief.

Jealousy and rivalness is another phenomenon, which is attributed to tourism and the wealth associated with it.
In opposition to the negative feelings that came up in this section, a considerably large group of participants (perhaps the majority, with the exception of the ‘Famagusta’ group, feel that tourism has revitalised our culture with the organisation of local and international cultural activities, the staging of plays, theatres and musicals, primarily for tourists, which locals attend as well. A more open-minded approach came from a male participant in Pafos who said:

‘Our standard of living has made immense leaps forward. From then on it is up to the individual to capitalise on the opportunities that come his way’. (Focus group 5, Pafos, Males)

Perhaps many of the comments in this section set off a momentum, away from the stereotypical society Cypriots have been embraced in so far, to a much broadly minded one where there is an admittance that the majority of changes are simply attributed to changes in society through time.

Participants believe that the ‘family is still united’, ‘it gathers together on important dates (Easter time, Christmas time)’, however their ‘liberated way of behaviour’ is attributed to the ‘influence of foreign customs’.

3.2.4 Education and Profession

Cyprus has one of the highest percentages of people worldwide who hold University degrees. The groups attribute this to the tendency of parents to want to educate their children to the highest possible level, usually sacrificing other family needs, and getting loans from financial institutions to fund tuition fees etc. Parents admit that:

‘after a certain age we have to start looking after ourselves, not pampering our children forever. Here in Cyprus our children bleed us dry until the day we die’. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

In a contrasting comment, parents in the Ayia Napa area feel very strongly on bringing up their children ‘the right way’ and admit that:

‘our youth is out of control, undisciplined and illiterate. But we acknowledge the fact that we have to help mould their way of thinking; their character. We have to point them towards the right direction’. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

Jobs which are mostly sought after are those which provide good working hours (so, one can have a second job in the afternoon), offer good salaries, offer job security, health care and medical schemes and other fringe benefits, namely those of teachers, professors, police officers, fire fighters and many
other civil servant posts. In the private sector, banks ranked first in terms of favourites for employment. The jobs of skilled employees, especially for the service sector (waiters, cooks) and travel agents, tour guides, tour operator representatives are also high in demand. Only a few people are still in agriculture basically because as a participant nicely put it:

'as parents we want to see our children in suits and ties, not working in the fields'.
(Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

On the contrary, in Pafos, unlike any other area, it seems that there's a drift of people especially young ones returning to farming and agriculture.

'Due to the temporary drought problems they can't really do much but they have the stamina and persuasion to cultivate the land'. (Focus group 5, Pafos, Males)

Tourism is seen by participants as a means of securing (directly or indirectly) a job:

'... if we didn't have tourism, we wouldn't have jobs'. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

A serious problem under this section is foreign workers and illegal immigrants, especially in hotels and hospitals. Despite the fact that the majority of participants resent their presence because they accept to work for much less and employers prefer them, there is evidence from the discussions contradicting these findings. Typically one participant said:

'foreign workers are here to do all those jobs we don't want to do'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

Why should I get my nails dirty when someone else (a foreign worker) can wash the dishes?! (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

In Pafos, unlike any other area, the problem with illegal immigrants (mostly Arabs and Greek Pontians) seems to be a serious one, and the situation for the time being seems to be out of control. People in certain neighbourhoods are afraid to walk alone at night and in some cases they are even scared to open their front door after dusk. This is partly attributed to tourism which has strained agriculture and farming from its workers who now work in the tourism industry, forcing farmers who remained in business to utilise the hands of the illegal immigrants, which for this reason, have flopped the area.

In addition, a large number of foreign workers are 'imported' to work as nannies and housemaids. Participants in Pafos claimed that the importation of housemaids is not because of shortage in domestically supplied housemaids, and not necessarily for housework, but is attributed to the need:
'to satisfy the boss's sexual needs'. (Focus group 4, Pafos, Females)

The majority of participants however, do not oppose the presence of foreign workers but they stress out the social problems associated with their influx. A characteristic example came from a participant from the Famagusta region and is quoted below:

'Some employers take advantage of them, threatening them that they will be deported back to their country so as to make them entertain clients in private set-ups'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

3.2.5 Tourism

In addition to the positive and negative contribution of tourism supported by participants in the previous sections, they also made additional comments on the subject, the most important of which are summarised below.

The groups feel that tourists flock the island:

'for our sunshine, our beaches, our sea, our hospitality, the tranquillity in the little neighbourhoods and the folkloric element'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

There's a general feeling that our youth is most susceptible (fragile) to the 'foreign habits', i.e., the way of entertainment such as 'rave and garage parties', the 'dress code with the outrageous clothes and the long hair' and that parents should acknowledge the fact that they 'have to help mould their way of thinking and their character' and 'point them towards the right direction'.

Tourists have also been praised by the groups on their way of thinking, their mindedness and their freedom of expression:

I like their way of thinking; their open mindedness. Not as far as immorality is concerned, but the freedom; the way they express themselves; their far sightedness. They are freer; more subtle; more open, whereas we are not. And they are liberated in the good sense of the word'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

It is acceptable by the groups that tourists have more liberal ideas. Perhaps they don't have as many taboos as locals still have because Cypriots are still a close and conservative group. In addition, tourists, unlike locals, are seen by the groups as not being very inquisitive:

'They don't gossip, they don't care what happens next door. What I like about the tourists is that they are not inquisitive'. (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)
The notion, which is cultivated among locals is that, they should respect and service tourists to the best of their performance because at the end of the day they should counteract the problems and benefits, and definitely the benefits outnumber the problems. Two distinctive comments made by participant were:

'It's plain maths. If we didn't have tourism, we wouldn't have jobs!' (Focus group 5, Pafos, Males)

'Basically, what you give is what you get!' (Focus group 3, Limassol, Females)

What comes out of the groups very strongly is that the influx of tourism does not make the locals feel foreigners in their own country. They rather see it as a way of life they eventually get used to.

Tourism was very often praised by the groups for its aid in financing infrastructure development projects, the revitalisation of arts and crafts, the upgrade of ancient sites and monuments and the rejuvenations of culture. Furthermore tourism was the driving force behind the preservation of some very old, beautiful and worth saving houses and the commencement of the Agrotourism project by the CTO in an attempt to rejuvenate these deprived areas and minimise migration from rural to urban areas, by injecting these projects with the necessary business so that people living in these villages can make ends meet.

A quote from one participant is distinctive of the importance of tourism for him:

'Foreigners are our bread and butter'. (Focus group 6, Famagusta, Males)

The groups acknowledge the fact that Cypriots should take a more liberal view of what tourism is and not to reiterate the stereotypical negative effects as others do. Participants do accept that there's friction between the social structure and national identity Vs contact with tourists. They also accept that the influx of tourism might sometimes make them feel as foreigners in their own country, but they go on to suggest that 'we should rather see it as a way of life which we have to get used to'.

Another group admitted that:

'we are ungrateful as far as tourists are concerned. On the one hand we accept the fact that they support us financially but on the other hand we accuse them. We have to learn to co-exist with foreigners, not to be so conservative and to control our emotions and be able to discern and choose their good points'. (Focus group 5, Pafos, Males)
Finally, there’s a call by participants to face tourism in a more professional way and not as a means of quick profit, since it is the only sector of our economy, which still has a lot to offer.

So far, the focus group interviews were treated on a ‘whole’ basis, however, the research can also be interpreted on a male/female subdivision or on a direct/indirect involvement in tourism vis-à-vis no involvement in tourism. Irrespective of the fact that the subdivision is beyond the scope of this research it is worthwhile bringing forward some characteristic findings that might be enacted from these interpretations.

In separating responses of male groups from those of female groups, there is a clear conclusion that local women (within the age bands investigated) feel they are in direct competition with foreigners of all ages, and that they will always come out as losers in such a ‘competition’, thus their families will be ruined.

Another characteristic, which came up, is that women nowadays feel independent. Before, women were dependent on their father; control was in the father’s/husband’s hands, now they are more independent; they go to College; and, they seek a career; they earn their own money.

On the subdivision of participants in those directly involved in the tourism industry to those that have no involvement in tourism there was only one group, the Larnaka Control group, which comprised of people who earn their living through tourism. The general feeling of this group as opposed to all other groups where participants were not directly involved in the tourism industry, is that despite the fact that their views are shared by all other groups, there is a more subtle understanding of the balances between positive and negative influences of tourism, where no extreme opinions prevail, and these people can clearly judge the relative merits and distinctions of this contact, because their contact is on a daily basis.

4.0 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS TO THE ANALYSIS

Members of the six groups reported their views and opinions on the issues raised under the themed areas in the Focus group discussions.

The general conclusion that can be drawn from this exploratory research is that the changes in family life in the period under study are attributed to the changes in modern life in general, not specific to
Cyprus. It seems that Cyprus is just another example of the general cases of social change and their effects on family life. At the overall level, tourism was not singled out as a cause of anything.

In the broader sense, the main conclusion is that the changes in family life in Cyprus are brought about by modern changes in modern life.

Finally, following the detailed analysis of the Focus group interviews, it would have been better if different group discussions were conducted in Ayia Napa, Protaras and Paralimni, where the most distinct criticism for tourism came from. Despite the fact that the three areas are under the same geographical region and in close proximity to one another, there seems to be great differences in how locals from the different areas perceive the effects of tourism on their area's social fabric.
CHAPTER 8 – Conclusions and Discussion

1.0 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

The present study has attempted to examine in a different approach from the norm, the social impacts of tourism inflicted upon the host population of the Island of Cyprus. The stimulus for the design of the methodological instrument employed by this study, emanated from how other researchers approached the subject to-date, and the need to attempt a different (a more humane and realistic) approach altogether in tackling the same subject area, i.e., ‘attitudes and perceptions of local residents towards tourism’. Among the important implications of this exploratory work is the establishment of an original, yet academically sound methodological foundation for the examination of resident attitudes towards tourism.

It is generally accepted that the social impacts of tourism were, until recently, a neglected area of study, since practitioners and academics have been mainly concentrated on the analysis of the positive economic effects of tourism on destination areas, perhaps because of the ease in gathering and interpreting numerical data. A number of researchers have attempted to empirically investigate resident perceptions of the impact of tourism on certain social and economic issues. Most of these studies indicated that community residents had a generally positive attitude towards tourism and tourists, perhaps because of their acceptance of the tangible economic benefits of tourism and recognised the important role of the industry in generating employment, investment, income and tax revenue for the communities. However, a thorough review of both the literature concerned with the social consequences of tourism, and the review of a quite large number of case studies in Chapters 2 and 3 respectively, revealed the existence of various negative social impacts. Admittedly, tourism is a factor of social change and as such inevitably affects the traditional norms and institutions of local communities. A number of case studies reviewed in Chapter 3 indicate that the development of tourism in destination communities has resulted in the distraction of the social structure in those areas. As reported in the literature, tourism is often responsible for occupational changes, demographic disruption, changes in daily life, and cultural debasement. However, the tendency to attribute these impacts in their entirety upon tourism is unjustified, hence academically unacceptable.

The establishment of the tourism industry in developing countries is often viewed as a form of neo-colonialism and imperialism. Furthermore, it is widely recognised that the commoditisation of tourism has led to less genuine human interaction and commercialisation of interpersonal contact between
tourists and host populations. Finally, the literature claims that tourism has also introduced phenomena of 'social pathogeny' in destination areas, the so-called tourism by-products, such as crime, prostitution and gambling. It is important however to mention that the majority of studies concerned with the social impacts of tourism, previously summarised in Chapter 3, tend to be substantially biased, and express the researchers' personal views and observations rather than stating objective facts. Another major drawback of existing research is that the parameters of the 'evolution of societies through time' and the 'modernisation of societies' are neglected altogether. Perhaps, another originality of this research is the fact that the methodological approach adopted (with the protective parameters set) has minimised any possible effects that personal opinions, beliefs, and feelings the researcher might have, on the results.

The research conducted in Cyprus, was exploratory and descriptive in nature. Perhaps the most innovative part of the research was the methodological approach, which firstly employs Focus Group discussions as a means of gathering data, as opposed to the stereotypical use of questionnaires by other researchers, and secondly, adopts an indirect approach to the subject under study by not alerting participants to its actual scope, but furnishing it as a discussion on 'social change'. In addition, the study looks at the social and cultural impacts of tourism over a wide period of time as opposed to gathering instantaneous responses to questions, which probably lead participants to the answer.

The results of this study identified that the groups had a general positive attitude towards the tourism industry. It was, therefore, once again proven that tourism is not always considered as a destructive form of development. The findings suggested that there was a consensus among respondents with regards to positive economic impacts of tourism on their area. Similarly to other studies, such impacts included employment, personal income, infrastructural project development, revitalisation of traditional forms of arts and crafts, restoration and preservation of historic monuments and archaeological sites, and development of agrotourism.

Despite their favourable disposition towards the industry, the groups recognised the existence of some adverse social impacts. More specifically, residents believe that morality, sexual permissiveness, sexual freedom, dressing styles, illegal immigrants, alcoholism and drug abuse were worsened or increased because of tourism. It is clear that residents acknowledge the existence of impacts. However, they also acknowledge that their existence cannot be solely attributed to tourism. Participants do not finger tourism as the only cause of this phenomenon. Furthermore, respondents felt that tourism had no direct impact on issues like organised crime, loss of identity, and marriages and divorces. In addition, they recognised that local hospitality towards tourists has drifted over the years, now lacking the enthusiasm in serving these foreign visitors.
Considering the aforementioned opinions, it would be logical to argue that the level of support for further tourism development and the tourism industry at large was high among residents. Although participants seemed to be well aware of the industry's negative impacts, they did not oppose to any possible expansion of tourism in the area. From this, one can safely conclude that awareness of tourism's social costs does not necessarily lead to opposition towards further development of the industry. Another important conclusion that can be drawn is that there was a great relationship between residents' demographic profile and their perceptions of the impact of tourism on socio-economic issues.

On the subject of economic dependency, the analysis of the findings suggested that direct or indirect economic dependency on the industry was not the most significant determinant of resident attitudes towards tourism. Those residents who had a main business relation (represented in this study by Focus Group 3, Larnaka, Females, which acted as a Control group) with tourism did not exert either any more positive attitudes or any more negative attitudes than those who were not involved in, or associated with the industry.

From a demographic perspective, it is evident that certain characteristics played an important role in understanding significant perceptual differences between groups of participants. This was achieved based on the supplementary notes kept by the moderator during the group discussions, which do not constitute part of the transcripts. A number of significant differences were observed between subgroups of participants with different occupational as well as marital status. Moreover, dependent profile variables (demographic characteristics) were found to be highly correlated with many independent, mainly economic related, impact variables. The most exploratory profile variables were: marital status, occupational status, education and income.

The studies which have been conducted on the grounds of the social impact of tourism, including the present one, undoubtedly point to a large single conclusion; namely that the social impacts of tourism are never universal. Clearly, the intensity and direction of the impact depend on a variety of socio-cultural and economic factors related to local areas and destination communities. Further, impacts are closely associated with the nature of tourist activities, the personal characteristics of tourists and the rapidity and intensity of tourism development in the area under study. Finally, the methodological approach and the bias associated with social surveys as well as the adjustment that people gradually have made towards 'ordinary modern life' must also be taken into consideration.
This research dealt with the examination of a phenomenon, namely social impacts, for which quite a lot of empirical evidence exists from previous case studies. However, given the different methodological approach adopted in this research, one could easily say that it was carried out largely on unknown ground.

The findings enrich the body of knowledge in the field of study and contribute to this area. In its approach, the research built on theories enacted from similar case studies around the world. One could further say that this research is multi-disciplinary in nature as it builds upon theories from three different fields: namely, sociology, psychology and tourism.

The originality is the methodological approach is threefold:

a) The use of Focus groups as a means of gathering information in opposition to research conducted so far using questionnaires as a means of gathering data.

b) Participants were not alerted to the real topic that the researcher was interested in gathering information, but instead, the group discussions were furnished as discussions on the subject of social change.

c) The study attempts to extract tourism impacts through a discussion on social change over a 25 year period, thus allowing participants to position themselves over time, as opposed to giving spontaneous responses to what is usually biased, stereotypical and repetitive questionnaires that other researchers have adopted.

2.1 Further Research

Limitations to any methodological approach are unavoidable, and this piece of research is no exception. Yet no research is terminal, thus providing one with the opportunity to build upon the limitations of existing research in an attempt to further contribute to the body of knowledge. Some initial drawbacks were identified in Chapter 6 (Methodology), under section 6.1, despite the precautionary measures that were laid out to enhance the trustworthiness of the research instrument employed.
At the closing stages, and in an attempt to provide the impetus for future research through a critique of the methodology employed for this exploratory research following the carrying out of the Focus group interviews, the researcher identified that the major drawback had been the even allocation of discussion groups to different areas, whereas it seems logical from the strength of the group discussions that the Ayia Napa, Protaras, Paralimni areas, should have been looked into separately, perhaps deeper, despite the fact that geographically they constitute one region.

In addition, it could have been appropriate if the study had set limits to the broad breadth and depth of the area under investigation by perhaps narrowing down the study to a single area (at the outset, it seems that the Ayia Napa area, which seemed to be negatively fingered at, could have constituted a case in its own body). Since however, this could not have been empirically assumed prior to the conduct of this research and since there has been no other research for the area to substantiate this finding, it is therefore suggested that perhaps, a follow-up of this study (based on its findings) could attempt to investigate and hopefully shed some light to the ‘Ayia Napa phenomenon’, in its own entity.

It is also advisable, that any future research on the grounds of the methodological instrument employed by this study, introduces a ‘second round’ of group discussions, following the translation (if the survey is to be conducted in the native language), transcription and analysis of the findings of ‘round one’. To facilitate this, the researcher should have enough assistance on hand to be able to process and analyse the data of the first round as quickly as possible. It would then be feasible to call in the subjects for a ‘second round’ within a month or so from ‘round one’ so as to clarify any vague issues which might have emerged from the analysis of the findings to that stage. If the instrument is to be adopted in the future in set-ups where the seasonality factor affects the flow of tourism to the area under investigation, it is further advisable that the two rounds of discussions are strategically arranged in such a way, that the ‘first round’ falls into the low-demand period and the other one lies in the heart of the peak season.

There is a definite contradiction between the findings of this study and other studies reported in the literature (Chapters 2 and 3). This has been brought about by the innovative, yet justified nature of the methodological approach employed in this study, coupled with the attributive nature of the enquiry.

No major conclusion can be drawn from the instrument adopted in gathering information until it has been replicated by further studies on the same subject area. Findings of any further studies using this instrument need to be submitted to confirmatory factor analysis. If further studies produce the same factor structure then it would be possible to conclude that the instrument employed here is reliable.
On the evidence presented, the issues that have been studied so far indicate a need for more explicit and comparative research on the social effects of tourism. One has to recognise that there is a need for a generally accepted theory and methodological approach to the study area and measurement of the tourism's social impacts. This will result in a more effective analysis of the social consequences of tourism and make comparative studies possible.

It was expected at the outset of this research that there would be some direct impacts of tourism. The fact is, however, that this empirical piece of research does not support the evidence, and the finger is rarely pointed directly at tourism.

Results on the basis of this kind of innovative, however reflective methodology, point to the fact that the impacts of tourism of changes in family lifestyle have neither been direct, nor great. What is clearly enacted from the study is the 'modernisation of society', with all the known elements associated with that, rather than an absolute attribution to tourism of the causes of this change.
APPENDIX 1 - MAP OF CYPRUS
APPENDIX 2 - CYPRUS - A GENERAL PROFILE

In this Appendix, an attempt is made to introduce and familiarise the island of Cyprus to the reader. Reference is made to the island’s location geographically, the population and languages spoken in the country, its physical and climatic characteristics as well as its political system. There is also a brief synopsis of Cyprus’ past, a country, which has played a very important role in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean.

Location

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia. It covers an area of 3,527 sq. miles (9,251 sq. km). Situated in the right hand corner of the Mediterranean, is also close to Europe, Asia and Africa that it rightly claims to be a stepping stone to three continents. It is 44 miles (66 km) from the coast of Turkey, 240 miles (360 km) from Egypt, 64 miles (96 km) from Syria, 240 miles from the Greek Island of Rhodes and 500 miles (800km) from the Greek mainland. The map in Appendix 1 shows the Island in its geographic positioning.

Physical Geography

The coastline of Cyprus stretches for 486 miles (720km) with the northern coast indented and often rocky, the east and south-east composed of long sandy beaches as small sandy coves while the beaches in the south and west are shingle in some places, sand in others. Two imposing mountain ranges, the northern mountain range known as the Kyrenia or Pentadaktylos mountains and the extensive mountain massif of Troodos acts as a dramatic contrast to the sweeping central fertile Mesaoria plain.

Climate

Cyprus is one of the sunniest islands in the Mediterranean and from ancient times it has been called ‘the Island of Sun’ ‘ the birthplace of Aphrodite, the Goddess of Love’ as on average the sun shines for 430 days per year providing a very pleasant climate. It has mild winters (December to February) with average temperatures of 15° C - 17° C with rain in the mountains and plains and snow on the Troodos mountains. Summers are long, hot and dry – around 35° C in Nicosia, the capital, cooler on the coasts – an average of 26° C and fresh on the mountain areas (around 20° C). Indeed as Andronikou (1987)
points out, Cyprus has one of the healthiest climates in the world and this is evidenced by its very low mortality rate, the high life expectancy and the fact that there are no predominant endemic diseases.

**Political system**

Cyprus is a democratic republic. The parliament has a single chamber, the House of Representatives and the president is chosen in a separate election. The major towns in the part of the island controlled by the government are Nicosia (which has been the capital since the 12th century), Lemesos (Limassol), Larnaka, and Pafos (Paphos). Since the Turkish invasion of 1974, Cyprus has been a divided island. The Greek Cypriot republic of Cyprus controls 62% of the island while the northern part, which includes the district of Kyrenia, most of the areas in the Famagusta district is under Turkish occupation and for the time being, the border between north and south remains closed. This study relates exclusively to the southern part of the Cyprus and the Greek Cypriots.

**A brief history of Cyprus**

Cyprus history can be traced back to the time of Neolithic man in 7000 B.C. The Greek name ‘Kypros’ probably comes from the ancient Greek word for henna (lausonia alba), a plant that flourished in early times (Triarchos, 1991). The discovery of copper (around 3000 B.C) made Cyprus very important and attracted visitors not only for trade but also to start a new life on an island blessed with commercial and cultural wealth. It was at this time that mainland Greeks settled in Cyprus and this early Hellenisation has been retained ever since; the heritage, language, traditions and way of life. Phoenicians and Assyrians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Persians all held sway over Cyprus. The Romans were in control for several centuries; the Byzantines, Lusignans and Venetians successfully took over the island up until 1517 when the Turks occupied the island and reigned for 300 years until the British took over in 1978 (Berlitz Travel Guide to Cyprus, 1998/99). In 1914 Cyprus became a British Colony. The island became independent and proclaimed a Republic (London-Zurich agreements of 1959) in 1960. Since July 1974, 31.8% of the island has been under Turkish military occupation and 200,000 Greek Cypriots have become refugees. Agreement between the two sides has not yet been reached but both communities appear willing to continue to search for a solution to the problems that have divided them for so long.
APPENDIX 3 - Cyprus Government Social Policy

Following the events of 1974, the provision of an effective social services system became especially apparent. The uprooting of a third of the population created many social problems and increased dependence of vulnerable groups on the state. Initially Government spending focused on meeting the basic survival requirements of refugees and others through cash grants and aid in kind. Since then it has gradually moved towards providing long-term housing services, free secondary education, health services, and a wage related social insurance scheme, scholarships and loans for needy students to study abroad, infrastructural buildings such as new schools and various welfare institutions such as old peoples’ homes, geriatric centres, community welfare centres, children's and youth homes, hostels and day-care centres.

The basic objectives of Government social policy are: to secure a minimum acceptable standard of living for all its citizens especially for those who do not participate, or participate to a limited extent, in the productive process; the attainment of a more equitable distribution of the national income and the tax burden, both between different income groups as well as regions; to implement and improve existing social programmes while preparing the introduction of new institutions, programmes and schemes aiming at the steady improvement of the social services so as to respond effectively to the expectations of those in real need.

Health Services

The medical needs of the Cyprus population are met through three general systems of Medical Services:

a) The Government Health Sector – health care is provided free through Government facilities to those who are eligible (civil servants, individuals earning less than £2,750 per annum, and households with more than 3 children). The range of services offered is comprehensive and includes visits to general physicians, specialist consultations, inpatients stays, medical care given abroad in specialties not offered in Cyprus and all drugs prescribed. Furthermore, medical care free of charge is provided in all cases receiving treatment at the Accident and Emergency Departments irrespective of the economic situation or the nationality of the person involved, including visitors. The Ministry of Health is currently in the process of developing a new scheme (National Medical Care System Scheme) for the entire population (similar to NHS) to be operational by year 2004. Government provision of health care is funded out of general taxation.
b) The Private Health Sector is open to all those who can afford to pay for their treatment. Private medicine is dominated by a large number of physicians in individual practice. A number of polyclinics have also been established recently in urban areas with a number of physicians offering a range of medical services.

c) A number of schemes covering specific sections of the population – these include Medical services provided by Trade-unions to the employed persons and their dependents; employer-sponsored arrangements, all of which provide free medical care mainly through public health facilities. Authorities are also concerned with the provision of preventive health services in the form of health education, inoculations, control of epidemics and infectious diseases, the disposal of sewage, the control of the quality of drinking water, food etc.

While the private sector is mainly concentrated in the urban areas, the public health services provide adequate coverage for the rural areas, ensuring accessibility through a network of rural hospitals, rural health centres, sub-centres and dispensaries. These services are staffed with doctors, dentists, pharmacists, nurses, health inspectors and health visitors who ensure the provision of adequate services.

At the end of 1988 the number of persons per doctor stood at 379 while for dentists it was 1,182. There were 51,4 general and specialised hospital beds per 10,000 people and the ratio of persons to bed was 210.

It is well known that health standards depend not only on the availability of health resources such as hospitals, doctors, nurses but also on the general environmental conditions and Cyprus has been fortunate to have a mild temperature climate while the absence of heavy industry has meant that air pollution has been limited. In addition, the standard of education and early attempts at provisions of piped water, sewage disposal and good sanitation ensure the right hygienic environment.

Indeed the standard of health of the Cypriot population can be considered quite high. Already expectancy of life at birth has reached 79.8 years for women and 75.3 years for men. Infant mortality rates have been successfully contained to 9 per thousand of population. The crude death rate stands at 7.7 per thousand of population.

Cyprus has been successfully freed of common infections and parasitic diseases and the pattern of morbidity resembles that of developed industrial nations with cardiovascular diseases, malignancies and car accidents predominating as the major causes of death. It should be pointed out that Cyprus has
eliminated malaria in the past and more recently echinococciasis through the implementation of special campaigns. Current education and preventive programmes are proving successful in almost eliminating the incidence of thalassaemia, which was a severe health problem.

**Housing**

The phenomenon of homelessness, which is known to exist in many countries of the world, both developed and developing, may be said to be completely unknown in Cyprus. According to the 1992 Census of Housing, which covered widely the living conditions of the population, not a single family or person was without permanent roof, i.e., living in the open and moving from place to place.

However, as a result of the 1974 events and the subsequent eviction of 45,000 families from their homes who became homeless overnight, the government of Cyprus has made effort and gives high priority to the temporary accommodation of displaced families under acceptable living conditions.

In order to promote the objective of improving housing conditions for the displaced people, the Government has adopted among other schemes, a low-cost housing programme, mainly in urban areas as well as a self-help housing programme on Government land, mainly in periurban and rural areas.

To finance the various schemes for the relief of the displaced, the Cyprus Government has set up the special relief fund, which draws revenue from special taxation and from foreign contributors (15% through the UN).

In addition to the housing needs of the refugees, there are those of the rest of the population and particularly for the housing of new households, the replacement of old houses and the decongestion from overcrowding under the same roof. The longer-term policy of dealing with the housing problem of the low and middle-income families has been strengthened by the Government, by initiating the establishment of the ‘Cyprus Land Development Corporation’ and the ‘Housing Finance Corporation’. The specific objectives of the two corporations are the supply of building plots or houses at reasonable prices and the provision of long-term, low interest housing loans.

It is thus, the policy objective of the Cyprus Government that every family should have the opportunity to live in decent housing conditions and efforts will continue in future to improve further the quality of life of the population in general and of those in greater need in particular.

In addition to the benefits for the Health sector and Housing, the Government provides an array of other benefits for its citizens, such as:
a) Child benefit – provision of income support to large families

b) Social pension – provision of pensions to persons who complete the age of 68 and are not entitled to a pension or other similar payment from any source

c) Social Welfare Services – the advancement of social welfare and the prevention of social problems among individual, families and communities. Administratively, social welfare programmes include four service divisions with responsibilities in: Family and Child Services (Counselling, Protective services for children who lack family support, residential care of children with special behavioural problems, day-care centres for pre-school children of working parents; Public assistance and services for the elderly (monetary support, home help provided by trained carers, day-care in some State homes for the elderly, Residential care; Community Development (provision of professional advice, through grass-roots community work, for the organisation of communities and the development of community bodies as well as technical and financial support though the Grants-in-Aid scheme, for the establishment of social welfare services and programmes on a local level; Staff Development and Programme Planning (ongoing in-service training programmes within the scope of its human resource development policy and a research evaluation programme which carries out research projects relating to existing social needs, programme evaluation and administrative activities.

d) Social Insurance Scheme – covers all employed and self-employed persons on the island (nationals and non-nationals). The scheme provides the following benefits: maternity allowance, sickness benefit, unemployment benefit, old-age pension, invalidity pension, widows pension, orphans benefit, missing persons allowance, marriage grant, maternity grant, funeral grant, and benefits for employment accidents and occupational diseases.

e) Annual Holidays with Pay Scheme – the provision of annual holidays to all persons employed under a contract of service is mandatory.

f) Termination of Employment Scheme – covers all persons employed under a contract of service. Its objectives include the protection of employees against arbitrary dismissals; the provision of redundancy payments; the provision of a minimum period of notice.
APPENDIX 4 – The Cyprus Economy

Cyprus has an open free market economy. The island is often aptly referred to as a European country in the Middle East. Per capita GNP is about £7,500, one of the highest in the Mediterranean. Considering other socio-economic indicators such as the excellent housing conditions, pollution free environment and low crime rate, one may conclude that the quality of life is better than the reflected per capita income alone. Furthermore, the cost of living is substantially lower than in most countries offering a comparable standard and quality of life. Nicosia ranks as the seventh least expensive of the leading 56 international business centres surveyed in ‘Prices and Earnings Around the Globe’, published by the Union Bank of Switzerland in August 1997.

Historically, the largest and most important industry on the island has been agriculture and up until the mid-seventies, this sector accounted for well over one third of the Cypriot economy. Following the 1974 invasion, the recovery and rapid economic growth was accompanied by considerable structural change. The share of agriculture and other primary sectors in GDP was reduced significantly (Panayiotou, 1990) with emphasis given in the eighties and early nineties to the broad services sector, with tourism taking the lead (by 1980 the service sector was already contributing just over half of the GDP. By 1998, this share had increased to 65%). The Cyprus planning bureau estimates that by the end of 2000, this would have further increased to 70.3%.

Strong tourist and service sectors and a stable export-oriented industry now drive the economy. Three of the most important sectors of the economy are: trade, restaurants and hotels; finance, insurance and business services; and manufacturing. The performance of the economy has been such that it has combined high real growth with low inflation and low unemployment. Moreover, the economy is characterised by a low external debt service to exports ratio and a high international reserves to imports ratio. Of the £2.8 billion annual gross foreign exchange earnings, 33 percent originate from tourism, 24 percent from exports, 8 percent from transportation and over 7 percent from offshore and shipping companies.

Trade, hotels and restaurants are the economy’s most important sector. In fact, earnings from tourism have, in general, grown faster than domestic exports. Over 70 percent of tourist arrivals originate from the European Union. Cyprus’ main exports are clothing, potatoes, footwear, wine and alcoholic beverages, citrus fruit as well as chemicals and toiletries. Manufactured goods and agricultural products account for 77 and 18 percent of domestic exports, respectively. With regards to imports, intermediate inputs and consumer goods are the most important categories, each accounting for more than 31
percent of total imports. Cyprus' main trading partner is the European Union accounting for about 48 percent of imports and 27 percent of exports.

The success of Cyprus in the economic sphere is attributed, among other factors, to the adoption of a market-oriented economic system, the pursuance of sound macro-economic policies by the Government as well as the existence of a dynamic and flexible entrepreneurial community and a highly educated labour force. Moreover, the economy benefited from the close cooperation between public and private sector and the social partners.

During the last decade, the Cyprus economy has intensified its links to Europe. The relations with the European Union are currently governed by a Customs Union Agreement, which basically provides from a gradual and mutual dismantling of trade barriers. In July 1990, the Government of Cyprus submitted its application to become a full member of the EU. The European Commission, in its opinion on the application of Cyprus, recognised the ability of the Cyprus economy to adapt rapidly to the Acquis Communautaire. The accession process was launched on 30 March, 1998.

**Developments in brief of the period preceding the study period (1960-1973)**

**Historical Overview**

In 1960, the newly formed Government of Cyprus inherited an economy, which exhibited most of the symptoms of underdevelopment. The production base of the country was inadequate and economic activity was dependent upon unstable factors; agriculture was the dominant sector in economic activity and accounted for 16% of GDP and 45% of gainful employment; manufacturing activity was essentially restricted to the processing of locally produced agricultural raw material; tourism had not yet taken off; exports had the characteristic structure of underdeveloped countries, with primary commodities, such as minerals constituting 53% of the total domestic exports and agricultural products, 32%; hidden unemployment and underemployment were widespread and mass emigration was taking place; financial capital was flowing out of the country, a clear indication of the existing uncertainty.

With a view to overcoming the structural weaknesses of the economy, the Government of Cyprus adopted the basic principles of indicative planning. Within this framework, private initiative remained the driving force of the economy, while the state assumed responsibility for the adoption of the overall strategy, objectives and targets, the upgrading of the physical and social infrastructure and the creation of a stable macroeconomic environment, conducive to the smooth functioning of the activities of the
private sector. The strategy, objectives, targets and economic policies/programmes were embodied in Five-Year development plans.

The primary objectives of the First Five-Year Plan, which covered the period 1961-1966, was the upgrading of the economic and social infrastructure and the restoration of confidence to the economy. Despite the intercommunal upheaval during 1963-64, most of these economic goals were accomplished and as a result an average real economic growth rate of 6.3 per cent per year was recorded in the period covered by the plan. The second Five-Year Plan, which covered the period 1966-1971, was wider in scope and attached emphasis to the improvement of the standard of living of the population and the upgrading of the social services.

The main objectives and targets of the First and the Second Five-Year Plans were achieved. The years between Independence and the Turkish invasion were characterised by sustained growth, accompanied by conditions of external and internal economic stability. GDP grew at an average annual rate of about 7% in real terms. Agricultural production doubled, while industrial production and exports of goods and services more than trebled. Tourism became the largest single foreign exchange earned. Fixed capital formation increased from 18% of GDP in 1961 to 28.5% in 1973. Investment in infrastructural projects like dams, roads, ports, airports, electricity, communications, etc., reached a very satisfactory level. Unemployment was contained at a low level and reached 1.2% in 1973. Earnings of employees more than doubled in real terms. Inflation was modest (2.4% on average per annum during 1961-1973), and the current account of the Balance of Payments was mostly kept in surplus. As a result, accumulated foreign debt in 1973 was relatively low, at a level equivalent to 7% of GNP.

The favourable results of 13 years of rapid and sustained socio-economic development were utterly disrupted by the Turkish invasion of 1974 and the occupation of about one third of the territory of the country by the Turkish army. The displacement of around one third of the population and the seizure of their property and the country’s assets inevitably shattered the economy. The area under occupation was the most productive and developed part of Cyprus, particularly for agriculture, mining and quarrying and tourism and it included the only deep water port of Famagusta, which handled more than 80% of general cargo. The closure of the Nicosia International Airport now in the buffer zone was an additional blow.

As a result of the economic dislocation, GDP dropped sharply, by 18% per annum in real terms during 1973-1975. Unemployment shot up and reached 30% of the economically active population during the
latter part of 1974. For the first time during its modern history, Cyprus experienced conditions of mass poverty and increased dependence on the state for survival, at a time when state revenues declined drastically. The dependence of the country on foreign sources for raw materials, consumer goods as well as financing increased. Shortages appeared in all sectors, particularly in housing and social infrastructure. A climate of political and economic uncertainty was created.

The Reactivation Effort (1976-1981)

Under the new conditions of mass displacement, unemployment and loss of confidence, the Government adopted a dual approach. From a short-term perspective, the first priority was the provision of temporary relief assistance for refugees. From a medium and long-term perspective, it was considered essential to arrest the economic slide, avert an imminent collapse, and lay the foundations for economic recovery and the creation of new employment opportunities. Both objectives necessitated the adoption of expansionary fiscal and monetary policies and the promotion of labour-intensive projects, in contrast to the approach prior to the Turkish invasion. Consequently the intervention of the Government in the economic sphere became more intensive. Under these circumstances, the government formulated and implemented a series of emergency economic action plans for the years 1975-76, 1977-78, 1979-81 and 1982-86.

With well-coordinated and collective action, the adverse effects of the Turkish invasion were overcome and full employment conditions were re-established by 1987. However, success has its price, since the increased dependence of the country on foreign financial resources was translated into a relatively large and growing foreign debt and inflationary pressures.

The progress of the economy is indicated by the impressive rate of growth, which over the period 1975-1981 averaged 10% per annum in real terms. This emanated primarily from the foreign demand for goods and services, which grew on average by 15% in constant prices. Referring to the production side, the leading sectors were manufacturing, construction and tourism. Cyprus invested regularly more than 30% of GDP, in an attempt to replace lost productive capacity, economic and social infrastructure, particularly in housing, as well as to expand the productive capacity. As a result, a large number of new employment opportunities were created. Gainful employment grew on average by 6% per annum and the rate of unemployment decreased to 2% by 1978. Full employment conditions continued to prevail during the early eighties. The unemployment rate in 1981 was 2.6% of the economically active population.
The impressive growth performance was based on a number of exogenous and endogenous factors. Exogenous factors, such as the booming Arab markets, the Lebanese crisis of 1975, favourable weather and high international market prices for some of the major Cyprus agricultural products, provided the impetus that lifted the economy. An additional element was foreign aid, which helped bridge the financing gap. Internally, the aggressive and expansionary fiscal and monetary policies, the entrepreneurial capabilities of Cypriots, which exploited the arising export opportunities, the acceptance by trade unions of a substantial cut in wage levels, the diligence, perseverance, self-sacrifice and hard work of people, formed the front which led the economy to the path of recovery. Furthermore, the adoption of a labour intensive strategy and the policy to encourage the temporary employment of Cypriots abroad helped ease the unemployment problem.

The rapid recovery of the economy, in conjunction with rising inflation worldwide during that period, led to overheating and huge increases of domestic prices (7.5% in 1978 and 11% in 1981). Moreover, the current account of the Balance of Payments exhibited large deficits, about 7% of GDP in 1981. The emergence of imbalances in the economy required positive action from the Government.


The rapid recovery of the economy and the attainment of full employment conditions by the end of the seventies brought to surface stability problems and structural weaknesses, which threatened, further progress. Hence, in the context of the Fourth Emergency Plan, 1982-1986, it was considered necessary to adopt a new strategy and attach emphasis on capital rather than labour intensive projects and on the restructuring of the economy, while in parallel addressing the problem of external and internal instability, mainly by pursuing a more restrictive fiscal policy.

The objectives and targets of the Fourth Emergency Plan, regarding growth and internal stability were surpassed. Moreover, the decline of oil prices in world markets, the relatively low real interest rates prevailing at that time and the partial recovery of demand in the industrialised countries, in conjunction with the stabilisation measures introduced by Government, helped ameliorate, towards the end of the planning period, the problem of external instability and improving the Balance of Payments position of the country.

GDP attained an average real rate of growth of almost 6% per annum, much higher than the planned target of 4%, basically on account of the excellent performance of tourism. Manufacturing failed to
provide the anticipated impetus to growth, due to the poor performance in the export field, growing by 3.5% per annum, compared with the planned rate of 6.3%. Gainful employment continued to rise rapidly by 2.5% per annum, far above the target. Notwithstanding the satisfactory growth performance, unemployment exhibited an upward trend and reached 3.7% in 1986, reflecting qualitative imbalances between demand and supply in the labour market and notably the oversupply of tertiary level education graduates. Inflation was restrained, from 11% in 1981 to 1.2% in 1986, due to the steep decline of oil prices in the world markets and the subsequent improvement of the terms of trade in favour of Cyprus. The progress achieved in the Balance of Payments and in the fiscal sphere was on average less favourable than expected and as a result foreign borrowing and service payments were higher than anticipated. Nevertheless, the servicing of foreign debt remained low by international standards, at 13%, and did not cause any apparent problems to the economy.

Main economic Developments during 1987-1988

The period 1987-88 was marked by the reduction in import tariffs, in the context of the implementation of the Customs Union Agreement with the E.U. During this period, the Cyprus economy experienced a rapid export-led growth, while maintaining in general conditions of economic stability. The average annual real GDP growth exceeded 7.5%, based mainly on the continuing fast increases in tourist arrivals and the resurgence of industrial exports. The rapid output growth led to the further creation of a large number of new employment opportunities and, consequently, to a decrease of unemployment to 2.8% in 1988. Inflation pressures remained moderate. The retail price index climbed from the exceptionally low level of 1.2% in 1986 to 2.8% in 1987 and 3.4% in 1988, reflecting mainly international trends. The current account of the Balance of Payments improved considerably during 1987, exhibiting a surplus for the first time since the Turkish invasion (excluding the purchase of defence equipment). Apart from the resurgence of industrial exports and the continuing increase in tourist arrivals, the substantial improvements of the Balance of Payments position in 1987 was also due to the containment of the rate of increase of imports to a level lower than that of total demand. In 1988, imports rose much faster, by more than 20%, a development, which wiped out the current account surplus achieved in 1987.
The Five year Development Plan 1989-1993

In general terms, the Development Plan 1989-93 aimed at achieving high growth, balanced sectorally and regionally, under conditions of economic stability in the price level and in the Balance of Payments. Particular emphasis was attached to social aspects. In view of the Customs Union Agreement between the European Union and Cyprus and the envisaged gradual and mutual dismantling of trade barriers, the realization of the major objectives of the Development Plan depended on this technological upgrading and the improvement of competitiveness in all sectors of the economy.

The major quantitative developmental targets set in the Development Plan 1988-93 were achieved, notwithstanding the adverse conditions faced during the first half of 1991 due to the Gulf war and the slow down of economic activity in 1993. However, deviations were observed regarding the structure and the internal stability of the economy.

The average rate of growth if the GDP during 1989-93 reached 5.5% in real terms in comparison to the 5% target set in the Plan. However, towards the end of 1992 and during 1993, economic growth slowed down substantially, reflecting the deterioration of the external environment and, in parallel, the structural weaknesses and the gradual erosion of competitiveness, particularly in manufacturing.

From the production side, the highest growth rates were achieved by the private service sectors, which are not directly linked with tourism, such as telecommunications, financial institutions, insurances, business and social services. Restaurants and hotels (tourism) exhibited successive ups and downs, underlying the volatile character of tourism. Manufacturing, and to a lesser extend agriculture, performed below expectations, mainly reflecting structural weaknesses and a deterioration of competitiveness. The sector of agriculture was in addition confronted with adverse weather conditions up to 1991.

The unemployment rate was contained at 2.3% of the economically active population on average during 1989-1993, lower than envisaged in the Plan, 2.7%. The labour shortages, which were particularly severe during 1990, in 1992 led to a radical change in the Government policy regarding the employment of foreign workers and to the granting of permits for the employment of foreign workers on a large scale, in contrast with the provisions of the Plan, which aimed at a balance between demand and indigenous sources of labour. As a result, the gainfully employed foreign workers accounted for 5% of the total in 1993, as against 1.5% in 1988.
Inflation reached 5% during 1989-93, surpassing the Plan provision, which was set at 4.3%. This development was attributed, on the demand side, to the relatively high public sector borrowing requirements and the overshooting of the target regarding money supply, and on the supply side, to the adverse weather conditions, which affected the production of domestically produced agricultural goods, as well as to labour shortages, which led to high increases of unit labour costs.

The current account of the Balance of Payments, excluding the purchase of aircraft and defence equipment, was on average balanced during 1989-93. Surpluses were observed during 1989-90, mainly due to high increases in tourism receipts and in 1993, due to the containment of imports. These surpluses were offset by the huge deficits observed in 1991, due to the adverse repercussions of the Gulf war, and in 1992, due to the overheating of the economy at that period.

The Strategic Plan 1994-1998

The Strategic Development Plan, covering the period 1994-98 aimed in general terms at supporting the efforts for the restructuring and modernisation of the Cyprus economy, with a view to successfully facing the present challenges and preparing in accession of Cyprus to the E.U.

More specifically, the philosophy of the Strategic Development Plan 1994-98, was based on three axes:

a) the preparation for the accession of Cyprus to the E.U;

b) the technological upgrading, restructuring and enhancement of competitiveness and the modernisation of the Cyprus economy and in general the creation of the necessary conditions for the achievement of a satisfactory growth rate within conditions of external and internal stability;

c) the improvement of the quality of life in Cyprus, with emphasis on the upgrading of the environment and cultural development.

In parallel, particular emphasis was attached to the social sector, with the promotion of measures, such as the introduction of a Social Pension Scheme, which covers those groups of the population which are not covered by the existing Social Insurance Scheme, the introduction of a general health Insurance Scheme, the restructuring of the educational system, the consolidation of the various housing schemes, the combating of urbanisation, etc.
Based on the developments during 1994-97 periods, the course of the Cyprus economy can be generally described as positive, despite partial deviations observed as far as some objectives of the Strategic Development Plan are concerned. The average annual rate of growth amounted to around 4% in real terms, satisfying the target set in the plan, 4%.

From the sectoral point of view, the private services sectors, beyond tourism, have constituted the main engine to growth, as provided in the Plan. In contrast, the optimistic objectives of the Plan for modernisation, qualitative upgrading and restructuring of the sectors of agriculture, manufacturing and hotels and restaurants (tourism) have not been realised to the desired extent, and as a result the rates of growth of these sectors lagged behind in comparison to the targeted ones.

The rate of unemployment was contained to 3% of the economically active population, on average, for the period 1994-97, implying an achievement of the strategic objective set in the Plan for embedding full employment conditions.

The rate of improvement of labour productivity was contained to 1.9% on average for the 1994-98 period as against the set target of 2.8%. This development reflects a deviation compared to the desired directions set in the Plan as far as the utilisation of high technology and modern methods of management, design, production and marketing are concerned, simultaneously constituting the main cause for the declining trend exhibited by the export sectors of the economy and particularly the sector of manufacturing.

The rate of inflation, excluding the impact from the increase in the VAT tax rate in October 1993 (from 5% to 8%), was at 3.2% on average during the 1994-97 period and compares favourably to the set target of 3.6%. This development reflects the very low increase in the prices of imported products and it is attributed to the pegging of the Cyprus pound vis-à-vis the ECU as from 1992, in conjunction with the fall in the average rate of inflation in the E.U. as well as the liberalisation of the regime governing imports.

The current account of the Balance of Payments exhibited a surplus during 1994 and relatively large deficits during the 1995-97 period, whereas the Plan provided for a surplus of the order of 1.5% of GDP. Deviations were observed as far as domestic exports and receipts from tourism are concerned, as well as imports, which increased their share in the domestic market.
The foreign debt continued its downward trend as a % of GDP, from 33% in 1993 to around 24.8% in 1988, mainly due to the switching of the Government towards internal borrowing for financing its deficits. This development conforms to the desired directions of the Plan.

The relatively good picture, which is generally exhibited by the Balance of Payments, is however vulnerable, taking into consideration the great dependence of the economy on tourism. A further continuation of the deficit in the current account in the magnitude observed during the last three years, will lead inevitably, in the medium-term, to an increase in foreign debt, reversing the declining trend of recent years.

In general, the targets of the Plan as far as the rate of growth of GDP, the rate of unemployment, and the rate of inflation are concerned, were realised. The main deviations concern the structure of production (particularly the declining trend in the share of the manufacturing sector to GDP), the fall in domestic savings as a % of GDP, the restrained increase in production and the decreasing trend of investment in machinery.

**Short-term Future Prospects**

The Cyprus economy has already entered into a recovery process since June 1997. The expected significant improvement in the external environment of Cyprus, in conjunction with the expansionary policy undertaken by the Government to revive economic activity, allow a certain degree of optimism, and the rate of growth of the Cyprus economy in the next ten years is forecast to accelerate to 4.5% per annum with tourism and services in general contributing significantly to growth. Unemployment is anticipated to fall to around 3% of the economically active population, whereas a preservation of conditions of internal stability is forecasted, with the rate of inflation reduced to 3%. The current account is estimated to exhibit an improvement mainly due to the expected higher rate of expansion of exports in goods and especially in services. Lastly, the fiscal deficit is expected to remain around 5% of GDP, mainly due to investment and other expenditure within the framework for the applied measures aiming at reviving economic activity; increased wages and salaries in the public sector, increased defence expenditure, etc.

Social and demographic changes underway in Cyprus (especially with the eminent entry into the EU) will have a considerable impact on the size and structure of expenditures on social services over the next 20 years. Yet, from a relatively low share of GDP at present, such expenditures can be maintained
with tolerable limits if real benefits and cost increased are constrained. Dire consequences can be expected if recent past increases coupled with the unavoidable, but high cost of harmonisation with the EU Directives, were to continue for very long. However, a continuing buoyant economy should be quite capable of absorbing increased social expenditures resulting from expected social change, provided unit benefits and cost increases are limited to the rate of increase of overall productivity. Nevertheless, a built-in momentum to expand the coverage and unit cost of such services requires innovation to raise efficiency and productivity within these core sectors.
### DEMOGRAPHY - Population

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<td>544.6</td>
<td>615.0</td>
<td>645.3</td>
<td>651.8</td>
<td>657.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>0-14 years</td>
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<td>65 years and over</td>
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<td>Share of urban population (%)</td>
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<td>Annual population growth rate (%)</td>
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<td>Natural increase rate (per 1000 population)</td>
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<td>Net migration (number)</td>
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<td>Fertility</td>
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<td>Live births (number)</td>
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<td>Crude birth rate (per 1000 population)</td>
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<td>Total fertility rate</td>
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<td>Deaths (number)</td>
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<td>Crude death rate (per 1000 population)</td>
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<td>Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)</td>
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<td>Marriages</td>
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<td>Marriages (number)</td>
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<td>6,669</td>
<td>7,671</td>
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<td>Divorces</td>
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<td>Divorces (number)</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>757</td>
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<td>851</td>
<td>852</td>
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### WOMEN IN SOCIETY

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<td>Female working population as a % of</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>46.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total female population</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>27.9</td>
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<td>39.5</td>
<td>39.5</td>
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<td>Females gainfully employed by broad sector (%)</td>
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<td>Primary</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>29.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>44.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Average female earnings as a % of average male earnings</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>56.6</td>
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### EDUCATION (figures are for the academic year ending in that year)

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<td>Literacy rates for people aged 15 years and over (%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>Females</td>
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<td>88</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>Educational attainment for persons aged 20 years and over (%)</td>
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<td>No schooling</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>40</td>
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<td>Secondary Level</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>Third Level</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Cypriot students at Universities abroad (number)</td>
<td>11770</td>
<td>12214</td>
<td>15329</td>
<td>16832</td>
<td>18087</td>
<td>19795</td>
<td>21342</td>
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<td>Public Educational expenditure as a % of GNP</td>
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<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
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<td>Private and Public Educational expenditure as a % of GNP</td>
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<td>5.4</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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### HEALTH

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<tr>
<td>Person per doctor</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>392</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>368</td>
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<td>Person per nurse</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>213</td>
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<td>Person per hospital bed</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>215</td>
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<td>Expenditure on health services (excluding capital expenditure) as % of GNP</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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### LABOUR

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<tr>
<td>Economically active population as % of total population</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>46.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gainfully employed population as % of total population (males/females)</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>61.0/39.0</td>
<td>60.5/39.5</td>
<td>60.5/39.5</td>
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<td>Economically active population as a % of economically active population</td>
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<td>92.8</td>
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<td>Economically active population as a % of population aged 15 + years</td>
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<td>57.4</td>
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<td>Registered unemployed as a % of economically active population</td>
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<td>Unemployment rate (%)</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
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<td>3.3</td>
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### APPENDIX 5E – Quality of Life (cont.)

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<td>GNP at current market prices</td>
<td>526.8</td>
<td>3,938.1</td>
<td>4,173.6</td>
<td>4,389.3</td>
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<td>Overall balance of payments</td>
<td>-9.4</td>
<td>-110.9</td>
<td>-219.5</td>
<td>-118.5</td>
<td>-189.3</td>
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### Appendix 5 - Demography, Women In Society, Education, Health, Labour, Quality of Life, Crime, Prices, Tourism.

#### Tourism

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tourist Arrivals (thousand)</strong></td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
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<td>109707</td>
<td>1087500</td>
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<td>720000</td>
<td>846309</td>
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<td>France</td>
<td>25000</td>
<td>46000</td>
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<td>58000</td>
<td>58000</td>
<td>45704</td>
<td>48213</td>
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<td>Belgium / Luxembourg</td>
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<td>38000</td>
<td>35000</td>
<td>34319</td>
<td>33744</td>
<td>37781</td>
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<td>22000</td>
<td>19593</td>
<td>21583</td>
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<td>Ireland</td>
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<td>16000</td>
<td>14500</td>
<td>20141</td>
<td>21930</td>
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<td>Greece</td>
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<td>65000</td>
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<td>67749</td>
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<td>Nordic countries</td>
<td>33997</td>
<td>33110</td>
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<td>230000</td>
<td>235000</td>
<td>225016</td>
<td>242440</td>
<td>265338</td>
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<td>Russia &amp; Ex Sov Union</td>
<td>2775</td>
<td>56000</td>
<td>130000</td>
<td>221854</td>
<td>197532</td>
<td>134339</td>
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<td>Countries in Eastern Europe</td>
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<td>56035</td>
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<td>Israel</td>
<td>33000</td>
<td>40000</td>
<td>52474</td>
<td>53597</td>
<td>61029</td>
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<td>Arab countries (incl arrivals from Lebanon, Middle East and Gulf countries)</td>
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<td>37292</td>
<td>114230</td>
<td>105000</td>
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<td>Other countries</td>
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<td>177803</td>
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<td>56666</td>
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<td><strong>Receipts from tourism (£ CYP million)</strong></td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>694.0</td>
<td>810.0</td>
<td>780.0</td>
<td>843.0</td>
<td>878.0</td>
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<td><strong>Repayment of receipts from tourism of the total receipts from exports of goods and services</strong></td>
<td>0.408</td>
<td>0.401</td>
<td>0.368</td>
<td>0.4154</td>
<td>0.3922</td>
<td>0.4374</td>
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<td><strong>People employed in the hotel industry</strong></td>
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<td>4300</td>
<td>15415</td>
<td>34100</td>
<td>36570</td>
<td>35800</td>
<td>40000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lefkosia (Nicosia) Total number of beds</td>
<td>2246</td>
<td>2416</td>
<td>2370</td>
<td>2422</td>
<td>2422</td>
<td>2484</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lemesos (Limassol) Total number of beds</td>
<td>15172</td>
<td>15801</td>
<td>16767</td>
<td>16814</td>
<td>16249</td>
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<tr>
<td>Larnaka - Total number of beds</td>
<td>8688</td>
<td>8939</td>
<td>9538</td>
<td>9314</td>
<td>8881</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pafos - Total number of beds</td>
<td>14304</td>
<td>18040</td>
<td>19770</td>
<td>20113</td>
<td>20739</td>
<td>22355</td>
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<td>Agia Napa - Total number of beds</td>
<td>15478</td>
<td>17089</td>
<td>18745</td>
<td>18882</td>
<td>19135</td>
<td>19802</td>
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<td>Paralimni - Total number of beds</td>
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<td>13773</td>
<td>15131</td>
<td>15002</td>
<td>15638</td>
<td>15232</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hill resorts - Total number of beds</td>
<td>1916</td>
<td>2296</td>
<td>2394</td>
<td>2059</td>
<td>2059</td>
<td>2165</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total bed capacity</td>
<td>6510</td>
<td>12830</td>
<td>69759</td>
<td>78427</td>
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<td>84368</td>
<td>86151</td>
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</table>

**Bed capacity - breakdown by type of establishment**

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<td>HOTEL Apartments</td>
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<td>45628</td>
<td>45950</td>
<td>47383</td>
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<td>Tourist Villages</td>
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<td>27124</td>
<td>27775</td>
<td>26715</td>
<td>26755</td>
<td>26033</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tourist Villas</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>444</td>
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<td>Tourist Apartments</td>
<td>5080</td>
<td>4408</td>
<td>8622</td>
<td>8526</td>
<td>8522</td>
<td>8616</td>
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<tr>
<td>Furnished apartments</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>666</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>480</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hotels without stars &amp; Guesthouses</td>
<td>1002</td>
<td>732</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>447</td>
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<tr>
<td>Traditional buildings</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>436</td>
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</table>

**Note:** The tourist towns of Famagusta and Kyrenia with a bed capacity of 12,227 in 1974, are at present under occupation and are not accessible.

**Distribution of tourists by location of stay (%)**

| Lefkosia (Nicosia) | 0.0167 | 0.0231 | 0.0309 |
| Lemesos (Limassol) | 0.2177 | 0.2063 | 0.2091 |
| Larnaka | 0.0996 | 0.1233 | 0.1299 |
| Pafos | 0.2359 | 0.231 | 0.2597 |
| Agia Napa | 0.2099 | 0.2123 | 0.178 |
| Paralimni | 0.1481 | 0.1258 | 0.1137 |
| Hill resorts | 0.02 | 0.0355 | 0.046 |
| Average length of stay (days) | 12.60 | 11.50 | 11.0 | 11.50 | 11.27 | 11.3 |
| Average per person expenditure (ECYP) | 369.40 | 382.70 | 381.71 | 393.52 | 380.10 | 419.8 |
# APPENDIX 5I – Notes and Sources of information for Appendices 5A through to 5H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. The Cyprus Economy in Figures, Bank of Cyprus, annual publication.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. The Cyprus Tourism Organisation, annual publication.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. The Cyprus Tourism Organisation, annual publication.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Tourism and Travel Statistics, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, Republic of Cyprus, annual publication.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Cyprus, Popular Bank, annual publication.</td>
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<td>10. Cyprus, Hellenic Bank, annual publication.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. Annual Reports, Cyprus Tourism Organisation, annual publication.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cyprus, Tourism and Travel Statistics, Department of Statistics and Research, Ministry of Finance, Republic of Cyprus, annual publication.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>13. The Cyprus Economy in Figures, Bank of Cyprus, annual publication.</td>
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</table>

Note 1: 1992 = Housing census
Note 2: All empty cells denote that accurate information could not be retrieved for those years in question
APPENDIX 6 – MODERATOR'S DISCUSSION GUIDE

Qualitative Research on Social Issues in Cyprus

Moderator's discussion guide

WELCOME RESPONDENTS ... ASK EACH ONE TO INTRODUCE HIM/HERSELF GIVING:
His/her first name

EXPLAIN THAT YOU WILL BE DISCUSSION VARIOUS SOCIAL ISSUES IN CYPRUS AND
THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

THEY SHOULD FEEL AT EASE AND EXPRESS THEIR OPINIONS IN THE DISCUSSION THAT
WILL FOLLOW...

THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS AND EVERYONE SHOULD SHARE THEIR
VIEWS WITH THE GROUP, EVEN IF THEY DISAGREE WITH THE OTHERS...

Introduction/warm-up

Let's discuss everyday life in Cyprus... How do you generally appraise the lifestyle of the typical
Cypriot?
How satisfied, in your opinion, is the typical Cypriot with the quality of life in Cyprus?
What are his or her daily concerns?

How would you appraise your own lifestyle?
What are you satisfied about?
What are you dissatisfied about?
The family

What comes to your mind when you hear the term “family” being mentioned?
What are the good things about the institution of the family?
What are the bad things about the institution of the family?

In your opinion, in what ways does the “family” in Cyprus differ to the “family” in other Western countries?
What are the advantages of the “family” in Cyprus compared to the “family” in other, Western countries?
And what are the disadvantages?

In what ways has the “family” changed in recent years in Cyprus? (let’s say compared to pre-invasion years)
What improvements have there been?
What is worse now compared to the old days?

IF NOT ALREADY MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY BY THE RESPONDENTS ASK:

Some people say that compared to the past, family ties are not as strong as they used to be: what is your opinion on this statement?

Some people say that marriage, seen as a basic factor in the concept of the “family” is not what it used to be: in what ways have people’s attitudes to marriage changed?
What is your opinion about this change in attitude? (Do you approve or disapprove?)
What factors brought these changes about, in your opinion?

Morals

What is your reaction to the statement that morals in Cyprus have deteriorated in modern times?
In your opinion, what do people who hold this view base it upon?
Which morals would they be referring to?
What factors, in your opinion, have influenced morals in Cyprus in recent times? (What were the good influences? What were the bad influences?)

What is your overall opinion about crime in Cyprus?
Is it a serious problem or not?
Has there been an increase in crime in recent years or not?
Why, in your opinion, has there been an increase in crime over recent years?
Life in the community

What does the term "community" mean for you?

In what ways, would you say, has the character of the community changed over recent years?
Which of these changes do you consider advantageous?
Which of these changes do you consider a bad thing?

Some people say that our society in Cyprus is too materialistic:
What, in your opinion, do they mean by that?
What is your opinion about this kind of comment?

How strong, or weak, do you consider the national identity of Cypriots?
Has tourism affected the national identity of Cypriots, in your opinion? In what way has the national identity been affected?

Education and profession

Today, Cyprus rates among the countries with the highest education level worldwide. Why is this so, in your opinion?

Which professions are high in demand in Cyprus?

Not many people are interested in farming and agriculture anymore. Why is that, in your opinion?

What is your opinion on the phenomenon of importing foreign workers and illegal immigrants to be employed in our industries?

Do you have anything else to add to our discussion...?
Good afternoon everybody. Let me begin by introducing myself. My name is Alexis. Thank you for participating in this discussion group which I promise you to be quite interesting in terms of the subjects you are going to discuss. I've noticed that many of you have been staring at the video camera. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said on the video and audio recorders, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying 'Andreas, said this', and 'George said that'. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities.

R: You won't use whatever will be said here for...

M: No, not at all. I can assure you that the information gathered here is for the sole use to this study only......... Now to begin, let's introduce ourselves. If you'd like to tell me your names, please.

R: Dimitris
R: Yiannos
R: Nicos
R: Giorgos
R: Marios
R: Stavros
R: Andreas
R: Marios

M: In case I forget you'll remind me, O.K? Now let me explain what we're about to do. We're going to have a general discussion about the social issues that concern Cyprus. I want to see how people face everyday life, what they think about their standard of living, about the everyday life problems we may be facing. I'd also like you to view this discussion in comparison to the older times. I want to see how life has changed in Cyprus and your opinions on that. You'll see that the questions I'll be asking will enable me to set the subject of the discussion. Each one of you is welcome to express his opinion on the point that we raise. If you disagree with the others we're very much interested in hearing about it, and the same goes if you agree. So, to begin: How do you see everyday life in Cyprus, how do you value it? The everyday life of a Cypriot, in general. If we compare it to that in other countries. Is it good, is it interesting, does it have problems?

R: It has its good points and its bad.

M: What are the good points?
R: I'd say that life is somewhat more free, relaxed.
M: Freer in what aspect?
R: Freer as far as pressure is concerned. Pressure to go to work as opposed to other big cities.
M: You believe that we're freer, more relaxed in relation to which other countries?
R: Many other countries, because I lived in Africa and there's more freedom here.
M: In relation to big cities, for example Dubai or Japan? How do you see it?
R: In comparison to life in South Africa here life is more relaxed, freer.
M: What do you think others think about us, do you believe that we Cypriots are under pressure? More pressure than in other countries?
R: This question has a lot to do with the personal life or steps of each one of us. We're going to get many different answers. If for example we take someone who's lived in a "western" country, there are some characteristics that are very obvious. For example, that there's always a personal level to everything you do even to your professional relations, whereas in the other countries you don't see this so much.
M: The relations are more impersonal.
R: It's more easily specified so that you know where you stand at any given moment in your professional...
M: Where is it easier abroad or in Cyprus?
R: It's easier as far as your position is when you're dealing with a firm or a colleague.... There are predefined frameworks inside which you operate... and this is better professionalism.
M: So, here what matters is whom you know rather than what you know. Is this what you mean?
R: In Cyprus? Yes, in Cyprus the personal relations play a great role.
R: The degree is not the same. There is a scale, let's call it, where we are high in the matter of letting our personal relations interfere with our professional ones and on the other hand, there are the big cities where everything moves at a very quick pace like in New York where you don't find this so much.
R: Speaking very objectively, the average Cypriot might meet two unknown persons a day. But the average Londoner due to the transport systems there, from the moment he leaves his house in the morning till the time he goes back home at night, visually, in his visual field he will see thousands of people in the morning when they go to work and many people who will enter the building where they work. But because this building is so big, half of the people who enter the elevator are strangers.
R: So it's a matter of size. Because Cyprus is a small country we all know each other.
R: This is another kind of pressure. In comparison, this situation is...
R: It's better.
M: Is it better this way or...?
R: Abroad there are more outside pressures. In Cyprus we're more relaxed as George said, but we have more inside pressures. Abroad you have more outside pressures like going to work on time, being more of a professional etc., but in Cyprus you impose upon yourself these pressures. That is, because we live in a small community

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and because we feel like we’re being watched, we try to behave in a certain way that the community determines for us and this is what I mean by inside pressures.

R: And outside pressures as well...
R: You’re not so free or relaxed as you’re are abroad. We’re more relaxed professionally.

M: This is very interesting. That there is a totally impersonal lifestyle and a totally personal one. On this scale, from the impersonal to the personal, do you believe that there’s been any change in recent years? The last 10 years?

R: Yes, of course.

M: Towards which have we changed? The impersonal?

R: Some things aren’t so important as they used to be. Personal relations lessen the importance of your life in general and your time and energy must be funneled in other areas and frameworks.

M: What, according to you, has brought about this change?
R: The family.
M: Meaning?
R: All the things that have been said here are the same thing. When I was living in Ayia Napa 10 years ago and people were divorced, remarried, their children living here and there, I thought to myself that the only difference was that the families were dissolved. This is what gets destroyed. Whereas now everybody divorces with almost no second thought, before it was something inconceivable. So now, things are more loose, families don’t suppress their members.

M: How did this come about? You mean that this is not a good thing, right?
R: Up to a point it was good, but when this continues and we reach their standards it will not be good anymore.

M: Whose standards?
R: Maybe things didn’t happen or maybe we didn’t hear about them or maybe they did happen and we never heard about them, but nowadays when a father hits his son, the latter can take him to court. Could we ever imagine such a thing? When I was 13 I was embarrassed to talk back to an older person. I used to look up to him and respect him.

M: Why did you mention Ayia Napa?
R: Because we were dealing with foreigners all day, such as the British.
M: You mean tourists?
R: Yes. When I was working there I used to watch the relationship between parents and children. For instance if a father told his son something and the son answered rudely I’d wonder how could this be possible.
R: I believe that it’s something of a myth. The myth in which the Cypriot believes that as far as the foreigners are concerned, they have a sort of “unethical” behavior and in everything there is a kind of “anarchy” and that all children can do whatever they like without being obliged to listen to their parents and so on...
All these things are pure fiction.
R: I believe that he’s right, yes.
R: The urban (middle) class everywhere has many common characteristics.
R: When you compare the Welsh with the English the difference is immense. They are like us, yes, but a big percentage of............

M: Okay, how do the others...

R: You find good families and bad ones everywhere, don't you?
R: I don't think that we can say that one country is good and the other is not...
R: It's difficult to compare countries because each country has its own codes of conduct.
R: There is a certain system. For instance the English father tells something to his son and if his son tells him that he doesn't want to do it, we may consider it as lack of respect. But, the respect the child shows towards his parents can be interpreted in different ways. Some youths want to express themselves by destroying things and causing damage... I think that the young ones today can do worse things than what we did at their age, but we used to do things too that were considered unethical for the older ones. The point is, to break the structure of the society...
R: .... It's a matter of generations. It's a game. It's an incorporated sociological game.

M: So you consider it as an evolutionary...

R: It's called rite of passage. It has a title and a term in sociology and psychology that in all cultures, part of the adolescents are expected to do something. In Africa someone may go in the jungle and kill a lion, in Spain a girl may have to go and weave a red piece of cloth.
R: I know that there have been changes in the Cypriot society because I grew up in Nicosia. Sometime ago you could not fill the stadium with all the cars that could be found in Nicosia. Other times you could fill it and have cars waiting outside. I believe that the most important thing in Cyprus culture is that - although I didn't live in the very old days when a family couldn't show off its wealth- In the traditional societies you could not show what you had. Let's say somebody had 7 cows and somebody else only had one donkey. In the village dance one lady could have two sets of gold pounds and another lady none. The Cyprus society incorporated a great percentage of matter, which is not something that you can easily understand.

M: What interests me is, what factors brought about these things. Nicos told us that tourism affected...

R: ...the economy, instead of being based on the exchange of goods etc., now it is based on the financial transactions, which brought about a wealth that was divided in a way... as far as economics are concerned.
R: As Dimitris said, about globalization, the frontiers are not so strong as they were 30 years ago. Where is Cyprus, where is Greece, where is England...
R: There is a Jewish sect and all its members because they belong to this Jewish sect are dressed in black like you are. That is to say, someone may have 5 million pounds in the bank and someone may have 2 million or someone may have no money in the bank, but they all look alike. Cyprus society once had some cultural parameters and you couldn't distinguish between people. This thing has now changed.

M: Yes, but why do they want to differ...

R: What I'm trying to say is how it's changed. Other generations, older generations, the parents believed that even if they made money they shouldn't flaunt it. They believed that it wasn't right. And they would say "I told my daughter not to build a big house, but my son in law wanted a big one. They want two garages." Now, this phase has disappeared completely and we've come to the other extreme, which is completely roman, classic, which says "I have it, I show it, if you don't want to see it, leave." This is exhibitionism.
M: Yes. Now about the life style in Cyprus. What do you have to say about this? Is it bad...?

R: We don’t know.

R: In general. If you were abroad and somebody asked you if the life style in Cyprus is good, should I come live in Cyprus? What would you answer?

R: What do you mean by “life style”?

M: The way of living. Is it interesting, is it ungrateful...

R: I think it’s very miserly.

R: I don’t agree with that.

R: Neither do I.

M: Tell us why you find it miserly.

R: Basically, because we go back to what I said before: there is a lot of pressure, inside pressure, and due to this and the relationships that you have to have with the social surroundings...

R: When you say pressure you mean that they don’t let you do what you like...?

R: No, it’s not a matter of others letting you do what you like...

M: There are some ethical limits.

R: ...Due to the quality of life, the times... if you disassociate yourself from these things and you relax...

M: In relation to the life style of 20 or 30 years ago, do you find the way of living in Cyprus better or worse now?

R: I was very young back then.

M: O.K. from what you’ve heard, you must have some idea.

R: Ten years ago...

R: Do you believe that they used to have a better time or worse?

R: Our parents would throw a party every weekend.

R: Every weekend they’d throw a party and we were supposed to sleep, but we used to get up and watch them... with their hair combed in buns, with the nice furniture of the 60s that I’m trying to find now and can’t, with their cocktails and so on.

M: So how has it changed now?

R: I personally don’t believe that we’re in a worse situation or that we’re miserly like you said.

R: No, I didn’t say that life is more miserly, just that it’s miserly.

R: I’ll tell you something: why don’t they do these things now? And I got the answer from one of you a while back. Because, in order for them to have all those cocktails and for you to go and watch them, it means that your mother and aunt would start cooking from the previous day and clean the whole house on the day of the party. Nowadays women are not prepared to play the role of servants.

R: And now I can imagine why it’s so much trouble to give a party at your house every Saturday...

R: It’s a matter of progress, basically.

R: So what has changed is the women.

M: So, we raised the question of what the role of the woman is, and what she is prepared to do... and how the world sees women. Do you agree?

R: It’s because they go to work now.
M: O.K., one reason is because they go to work now. Other reasons? Tell us other factors that have brought about this change in the role of women.

R: One reason is that women nowadays are educated.
R: Or distorted you might say.
R: The financial independence of women.

M: What has brought about this financial independence of women?

R: There is a difference in the economy. I mean that service economy is more important than manual labour and this is a worldwide phenomenon.
It's more important for women to work in offices, which is the traditional place for her to work in.

M: Nicos raised the subject of the tourists... as a factor, has tourism affected the role of women?

R: To begin with, tourism has affected men and then the places.

M: How has it affected men?

R: Men have gone crazy.
R: If you take Ayia Napa after 1980: the society was a very closed one.
R: They were agricultural people.
R: No. If you take the language. The language was different in those areas of Cyprus.
R: You can tell the origins of a person. But in Nicosia, you can not. The society was very closed. The daughter, the woman could not get out of the house. Even today, when student-girls come to Nicosia, they find it hard to readjust when they go back. But when they remain in these closed societies they can live.
R: The same goes for men. What did men have? They also lived in this society...
But when suddenly the man sees all these women tourists and has to work around them and do what it is that he does, he suddenly says to himself "Never mind if I don't go to my wife today, never mind if I don't do this or the other"... They have also been affected, plus they get lots of money... But this is not what really affected them in general. O.K. they were affected by the money they made, blah blah blah but they remained in the same position in which they were before. But tourism has really affected some areas. Nicosia was spared.

M: So only the places where women tourists go were affected. Is this what you mean?

R: I'm not talking just about women tourists, but all people. People who used to grow potatoes now are hotel owners, restaurant owners, they have adjusted, they mingle with many more people.
R: You're wondering what has changed in the Cyprus society after the problems in 1974? One third of the population have become proletarians. They didn't own one lemon tree and didn't have one lemon to squeeze in their soup. They work for cash economy. The economic miracle of Cyprus is based on a proletarian movement by one third of the population. But, I believe that the change in the Cyprus society, the stress that we live in, is caused by lack of stability in the standard of living. That is to say there is multiple –not multiple reality - but a multiple choice.
R: In the old days people understood one thing: you went to elementary school then you went to High School and after that, you started working. Nowadays there are more options.
M: Where did these options come from? Which factor created these options?
R: The urban people in Cyprus always had the option to live outside the fringes of Cyprus society.
R: You said that we have more options. A person who is 20 years old today has more options than what he had in 1960.

R: No, I'm talking about the source of stress.

R: A 50 year old woman today can't say that, "My children are married, I'm staying home, I put up my curtains and I'm at peace." We have the creation of the word "consumption". She wonders whether she should change her curtains, redecorate her house, things that didn't exist in the old days. It isn't just the consumption, people could have lots of money...

R: And the question is, what caused the breaking of these structures, this predefined course that a person should have.

R: But, first of all, the purchase of things is the purchase of things. In the past, you could buy a car that at least theoretically, it was manufactured in England or Germany with the sole purpose to last 50 years.

M: Let's talk a little bit about the family, because once more Nicos brought up the subject. Family. When you hear the word "family, the family institution" what does it mean for you? What does the family in Cyprus mean?

R: It means many divorced people.

M: How do you see...

R: It's something sacred for me.

M: How is it in Cyprus? Is family exactly as you feel about it? Not in general. Not for everybody...

R: In general it's fraying.

R: I personally think of family as a refuge. And because I have my own family, as a personal choice. It is a matter of personal choice to have a family. This goes for Cyprus and everywhere else. I think of my personal family as a personal choice and the family of my parents as a refuge. If I want something, I go there, sit with them and feel comfortable.

R: This is what helps in all other matters. In the past you had a family, whereas nowadays one member of it goes this way and the other member the other. Instead of getting together, they just pick up the phone and call twice a month and that's it.

R: I will disagree here because my aunts and uncles... I'm sure that in my family you could find such examples. My auntie told me that she first met her older brother when she was 18 years old and he was living in Africa.

R: I'm talking about brothers and sisters in our day. One lives in Nicosia and the other lives in Limassol.

R: I'm old now but every weekend -or at least every weekend- families, get together, all of them, and go places. That's what I'd do.

M: So, you feel that this has changed.

R: It doesn't happen any more!

M: Why?

R: Because on Sunday they go to the racecourse.

R: This is not it.

R: On Sunday they have other activities.

R: This is not it. We have become more individualists because it's part of the economy. We've neared a capitalistic economy, we have the 1974 problem and thereby each of us is concerned about himself and his family first. These are our priorities. We move away from the rural society which was: family, brothers, cousins, best-men...It was useful to know these people as well because if you needed help in building your house they'd be there.
R: I personally believe that if you’re from a village of Paphos and you go open a shop in Paphos, all the villagers will come shop from your shop.

R: They believe that they should support the family. Of course this, slowly wears out, but there are still residues.

R: Could I make a suggestion? I believe that family in Cyprus has suffered two blows: first from the state, which took advantage of the family for purely political reasons which for me reach the limits of fascism, ethnofascism.

M: You mean that each one helped his relative or friend?

R: No. The state of Cyprus exploited the structure of the family in order to follow what the political parties wanted and through genocracy they destroyed the family. They make the people who feel wrong, want to break this phenomenon. The second blow, I believe is purely personal. It’s the historical evolution. It’s the blow to the family by persons in a historical process. These persons interpreted the term “family” —like the patriarchs— out of personal experience. It was therefore bound to happen, not by chance, but culturally. He was financially independent, he had his own cars, his own business... and he saw it as the end of the evolution, he didn’t feel obligated to do what he didn’t want, but could do what he wanted and the result of all these could be just about anything. Divorces, separations, etc.

M: How did this development come about? Why?

R: First by the men because men in Cyprus wanted their independence.
R: Listen, women are now doing the same thing, women also feel independent.

M: Yes, but why are these things happening?

R: Because whereas a woman in the past was responsible to her father, was under her father’s control, they could marry her off and then come under the control of her husband and never in her life was she an independent person, only typically they were independent, now women are independent because they go to college, they work and live independently and realize —not all of them, but a great percentage— that they are independent human beings, so if one day in the future they feel the need to tie the knot, they get married and if again one day they feel the need to be independent, they untie the knot.

M: Do you believe that the institution of marriage is as important as it was in the past? Has anything changed?

R: It is important, but for different reasons. In the past it was also a matter of money, and by this I mean also for the family surrounding the newly married couple. Now, it’s a matter of worthiness it’s like an award. Marriage is a way of entering the... society...
R: Marriage is very important as a meaning, it has implications and that’s why we see that there are still many marriages.
R: Worldwide, we’re not only talking about Cyprus now.
R: I’m talking about Cyprus. Worldwide, marriage is declining. In the Western countries.
R: Yes, but it’s still a serious matter and you enter the...
R: No, it’s not so serious. Having a child is a serious matter abroad, but not getting married. Cypriot women don’t have children without getting married. Statistically speaking, Cypriots don’t have children out of wedlock. But if we take Denmark which is a very developed country, at least 60% of the children born there, are out of wedlock.
R: Yes, but so as not to confuse things, it just means that a man and a woman choose to live together, to have children...
R: Yes, but not out of wedlock.
R: In Cyprus this thing doesn’t happen.
R: May I say something? We haven't changed, but I believe that especially in Sweden and Denmark... do you know that they give them a house, bed linen, food and money when they...
R: This is irrelevant.
R: They gave them houses before they even had children, they just suffered more.
R: If you suffer more, you don't do it, but if you suffer less you do it.
R: They experimented and they tried not giving them money, but they still had children.
R: Mothers there have rights, whereas mothers in Cyprus have nothing.
R: But marriage in Cyprus hasn't changed because you find people who divorce and remarry. In this aspect, we're all human beings. Usually, the psychological tendency is to get married again.
R: Marriage is more important to women. They feel like they've accomplished something by getting married.
R: Even now.
R: Yes.
M: So, there's not been a great change. It was always like that.
R: There have been changes, but as far as marriage is concerned, it can be summarized in all the things we've just said.
M: Some say that morals in Cyprus are on the wane these last few years. What do you have to say about this?
R: I disagree.
R: The morals in Cyprus?
R: Yes. I disagree because maybe you didn't hear anything about it in the past. They did everything in secret.
R: Nowadays we hear about these things due to the mass media.
R: Explain what you mean by morals and then we can continue.
M: What do you understand when you hear this term?
R: It can be the woman who is not married and has many bed partners, or the police that gives visas to foreign women...
R: Or the thefts.
R: As far as the first example is concerned, that we have a looser love life, it's true, but I don't believe that this is immoral. But we'll go back to the matter of thefts and how much more we take advantage of the state. Maybe it's always been like that, but now the society has matured and won't accept it any more. I don't know.
M: What do the others have to say on this?
R: I believe that in Cyprus there was always the issue of the "mask". That is to say, you could wear the mask and make the others believe that you're O.K., but behind the mask, underneath it, you could be worthless. This still applies up to one point. Of course now, you can be more easily unmasked, or let the masks drop.
R: The thing that you're describing in sociology is called "the society of shame". You're absolutely right. Cyprus society is classified as a society of shame which is the middle-east zone and the Christian, Protestant and the rest societies are the societies of guilt. What is the difference? The Protestant learns how he's supposed to live and as a human being takes responsibility of his actions and also learns his Bible and when he does a wrongful deed he can never rest. Guilt is something you feel alone, in the elevator, in the toilet or in the street because you breached a rule, which you digested in your mind as being correct. We are completely like the Arabs, we are 'assholes'! We are a society of shame: you poke your nose, it's not bad as long nobody sees you! You go to bed with your neighbor's wife, it's fine as long as nobody sees you! Therefore, a problem is created in the society, when our society is supposed to be evolving and we're supposed to be maturing and feeling a sense of guilt. We should say "No, I'm not going to feel any shame, why should I feel any
shame towards somebody else when it is with myself that I have to come to terms with”. We’re still in the phase of shame. If you’re caught in public, you cry, if you’re not, then everything is O.K.

M: Which factors affect this...? Do you believe that tourism has affected morals in Cyprus?

R: When the Archbishop of Cyprus says that “It is not consistent to be a Christian and a freemason,” you must analyze this statement. What does the Church in Cyprus do? When the Archbishop says this thing, he doesn’t mean, “Listen, messrs freemasons, leave your robes and come to church on Sunday.” He means, “You ‘assholes’, you animals, that you are frightened by me, I’m barking, so feel a little bit more fear.” It’s the church that educates people...

M: Do you believe that the Church affects the people? Which is the role of the Church...

R: In recent years the Church has helped a lot...
R: Who?
R: Especially Chrysanthos has helped a lot in Limassol, the other one in Paphos...

M: In relation to the past. Does the Church affect Cyprus today?

R: Church in the past was better than it is these days, because today, you see the priest and you...
R: I disagree. There is a big percentage of people who when they’re lost in their own personal despair, they try to grab on to something.
R: When I said previously that we’re miserly, a phenomenon of this misery is Church itself.
R: I want to say something here...When you have problems, and you’re over the age of 65, 70...
R: What 65? I know people who are 25 years old who go to church everyday, all day.

M: In relation to the past, do you think it’s the same...

R: For those who go to church it’s a personal matter.
R: Whereas in the past they’d go mechanically.
R: Now, when someone goes to church maybe it’s because of what Marios said, out of desperation.

M: So it’s more personal now. George said before that we think that there is more criminality because we have the means to hear about it. Does everybody agree that the rate of criminality is the same as before or do you think that there is more of it today?

R: There are more things happening today. The more possessions and wealth there is, the more crimes are being committed.

M: When you hear the word “crime” in Cyprus, what do you think?

R: Against a person, against property? These are categorized.

M: In your opinion, what is the most serious crime?

R: Tax evasion.
R: Shall I tell you why I say “tax evasion”? Because tax evasion is the crime with the lowest realization. I ask you if you commit crimes and you say no. Then I ask you if you omit to declare something in your tax declaration and you say “Yes, everybody does it.”
M: Fine. But which do you think is the most worrying crime?

R: I believe it's corruption in the state and the different factors and institutions. This for me undermines everything as well as the trust of a person in the society. So, it's "grab what you can, because we all do the same thing."

M: So, do you believe that all this corruption is a phenomenon of our times as Dimitris said before? Or do you think that there is more of it now?

R: It has to do with the fact that... let's take the Ministry of Defense. By buying millions' and millions worth of equipment, something will be left over so that they can pocket some. They build huge roads, again something will be left over to put in their pockets.

R: You have the masterminds and the people you voted for, expecting to represent you and do what's right, but when they do these things then you say to yourself, "If they can do it, then I can do it too."

M: Somebody who lived in Cyprus in the 50s, do you think that he was safer in relation to the crime than...

R: Which crime? Here we go again.

R: In the 50s the only crime you could commit, was murder somebody, steal a cow or a goat.

R: This is not at all reassuring, is it...

R: Whereas today criminal acts are more...

R: He's right. When you stole a goat in the 50s it was like stealing the Bank of Cyprus today.

R: My grandfather went to prison! Yes! He was a shepherd and with a friend of his, because they wanted to play the toughies, they stole a sheep from another shepherd, they celebrated it with drinks and toasts, they were reported to the British and were sent to prison. But it was a crime of caning. It was something completely different. It was a different concept.

R: Whereas today if your grandfather was a young man, what would he have stolen?

R: What canning thing would he do to prove that he was a toughie?

R: He'd find a Russian dancer, a girlfriend and take her places.

R: My grandfather once went to Marseilles just for fun. He left behind a wife, 7 children, his herd and went to Marseilles. But he did it to prove a point.

M: If his grandfather was a gentleman with 7 children today, how old was he...?

R: When he did that? He was over 30. A 30 year old gentleman with 7 children, what would he have done today?

R: It's very rare to have 7 children today. It's unlikely for someone who is 30 years old today, to have 7 children.

M: So today it would have to be a 30 year old gentleman with two children.

R: If he were 30 years old today, he'd still be unmarried.

R: I imagine that what Marios said about these bachelors' parties that they give today with Rumanian cabaret artists on boats...then, they'd just have to have a party and just show off...

R: This is very characteristic of men. I was reading the other day something about marriage. It said that when women think about marriage, they think about the ceremony. But when men think of marriage, they think of the bachelor party.

M: Let's proceed to another subject because we're running out of time. When you hear the word "community". What comes to mind?

R: Rags. Dirty old rags.

R: Nothing.
R: The Greek-Cypriot community?
R: The neighborhood.
R: Our community.
R: You mean as a place?
M: I want to know what the word "community" means to you. When we say my community I mean the people...
R: It means nothing.
R: Community is the place where you're born and grow up and whether you consider it your community...
R: In the communities you don't find a place to park your car. In Cyprus, the way the suburbs are expanding they're always full of holes.
R: This is from a geographical point of view.
R: There are communities.
R: A miniature.
R: There are some people who are more involved in the community.
M: We understand the part of a village or a town as our community.
R: My father and my mother have their community but to them their relatives are their community.
R: The place where you're born is your community. When you move to another area, it ceases to be your community.
R: Yes. I was born in the community of Ayia Varvara. I have absolutely nothing to do with that area.
R: Because you left.
R: The people who lived in Strovolos would never give a house or a plot of land to people who didn't belong in that community. In 1978 I was studying architecture in the University in England and they introduced me to another student who was studying medicine. We exchanged hellos and I asked him where he was from and he said "Strovolos". I asked where exactly and he said in Kampanarka and I said "And you consider yourself a resident of Strovolos?" He said "Not exactly. I'm from Psimolophou" and I said "so why are you pulling my leg"? The residents of Strovolos don't accept foreigners in their area." The plots of land are for their kids and from a certain non fertile part, they sold to foreigners.
R: It's true. My mother is from Kaimakli and I know very well what the residents of Kaimakli do.
R: The Bank of Cyprus is building a Sports and Culture Centre which is a modern development. People work in the different branches of the bank for 8 hours and they tell them "When you get married, come here for your wedding party, or come here and play tennis."
M: So, the community has evolved from a geographical one to an organic one.
R: I accept this, but when you live in a community, what have you got in common with that community?
M: So, the role of the community...
R: So, if you're born in a community and you live and pay taxes in another... you have nothing to do with the second community, you just live there. But you can be part of a working community or a group...
M: You're absolutely right. So, in what other way has the role of the community changed. In the past they protected their own.
R: But for you to be able to protect yourself you had to know what was going on in the community. If you didn't know and the water pipes broke, you were left without water
R: If you didn't know what was going on in the community you could not drink, eat, work, live. Today everybody is autonomous.

R: Whereas today, you can go any place you like.

R: Today, your neighborhood may burn down, and you'll go for shopping to Charalambides Hypermarket.

R: I live in Dasoupolis, but if I go to Agios Andreas I'll feel as comfortable as in Dasoupolis.

R: The residents of a building don't bother to go to the meetings. They don't care about the building they live in, so why should they care about the community.

R: I believe that if somebody who wanted to issue a passport didn't have to go to the president of the community council for his signature, he wouldn't even know who this person was.

R: Why, do you know him?

R: Yes, because I wanted to have a passport issued.

R: And where do you think that he was? In the coffee house of ‘DIKO’.

M: What do us Cypriots, think about our ethnic identity. Do you believe that we have an ethnic identity?

R: Cyprus identity, Greek identity?

M: Let's have a look at Cyprus 20 years ago as far as the ethnic identity is concerned.

R: We never had one... If we had we wouldn't be divided now. That's what I believe. If we had, they wouldn't be able to divide us.

R: What do you believe?

R: People were classified as Christians and Turks.

M: So this is how they defined somebody's identity?

R: Yes, but the others, were calling us "Room", which means Romios-Greeks. We say "Romios" but they called us all "Room" in the sense that Byzantium belonged to the Roman Empire.

M: Yes, but 20-30 years ago, do you think that there was an ethnic identity?

R: Cyprus ethnic identity?

R: You mean if we belonged to something on which we attached a label? If all the people felt that way? No, I don't think so. Because there were no means with which such a thing could be created. The cultural standard of the Cypriot 40-50 years ago was so low and the use of printed matter was again so low by the masses, that it was fairly difficult to promote the idea. Of course, if it was done through schooling, education and religion, which was the main way of doing it, then they'd be able to impress upon the people that we're talking about Greeks.

M: Stavros said that the identity based on Christianity...

R: You said ethnic identity. The ethnic identity and the identity are two separate things.

R: From what I gathered, Stavros meant that people thought of themselves as far as ethnic identity is concerned that they were Christians.

R: No.

M: I know that if we analyze it we'll say that this is not ethnic identity

R: No, it's not like that at all.

R: In 1945 1950, this word was not even known. Nobody knew what "ethnic identity" was.

R: Yes, but as a meaning, what did they believe it was?
R: But then all those people who lived on this island, had something in common. The language. Language was common between them, wasn't it? What language did they speak? A dialect of the Greek language. So, they had something in common.

R: So, what was basically needed was for someone to tell you what you are?

R: Yes, because when someone asks you what your ethnic identity is, you know that you speak a little bit of Greek...

R: And during those times they didn't know that they spoke Greek with a Cyprus dialect?

M: Let's say that we go someplace and there's an Englishman, a German, a French and a Cypriot. And we ask each one of them what nationality they are. What is the Cypriot going to say?

R: Today?

R: Today, in contrast to the threats he feels, he believes that it's safe for him, he feels more secure to say that he's Greek. It's a protective mechanism: knowing that the other is German and the other is French he is Greek and because on top of everything else he's being threatened by the Turks, he wants to feel he is Greek.

R: Following this reasoning, if these eight people got together 50 years ago, what would the Cypriot have said?

R: He would have been told by the Englishman not to say that he's Greek.

R: If you asked him, he would have said that he's Cypriot.

R: It's a matter of geography.

R: He knows that he's Cypriot. As far as the ethnic identity is concerned, it's an academic subject. It's not by accident that the first people who said that we have an ethnic identity are the cultured people. And it's not by accident that during the Greek Revolution in 1821, the first who said, and introduced the idea of the ethnic identity was Fereos. Do you know where these people lived? They didn't live in Greece. They lived in Rumania, but they spoke Greek, plus they were cultured, and they came in contact with the ideas of the French Revolution that said that you can belong to an independent state and have at the same time an ethnic identity. They introduced this institution in Greece and through other institutions they passed the idea that they have an ethnic identity which is Greek.

R: So, we're not Cypriots.

R: You are what you feel. If you feel that you're Greek, you are. If you are a Turk but you speak Greek and in the end you want to believe that you are Greek, then you are Greek.

R: I'm not even a Greek-Cypriot.

R: It depends on what you feel you are.

M: You said that nowadays people are more educated and cultured... and we find in many statistical studies that Cyprus has the biggest percentage of literacy in the world.

R: Yes, but Cyprus is over-qualified and totally under-experienced.

M: Yes, anyway, but these people went to Universities. Why do we have so many educated people in Cyprus? Why do parents send their children for studies instead of something else, equally useful in life?

R: The main incentive is not, I believe, the education as such, but...

R: Because if the neighbor has one car, we must have two.

R: This happens worldwide.

R: I believe that education, as opposed to culture, offers more financial security. The truth is, that you try to get a degree so that you can come back and find a better job and your status is better. So, without appreciating your education as such, your diploma offers you better things.

M: What jobs offer more opportunities?

R: Management, business administration.
R: What other professions are in demand?
M: Whatever has to do with the economy; the service industry for example.
R: Hotel Management, Business Administration are more in demand.
M: You believe that tourism affects the demand... do you believe that people study subjects that have to do with tourism?
R: When I was working in the public statistics service, wherever there was a waterfront, many households had one or two members in the service industry. In the pizza houses, the restaurants, chambermaids, gardeners, swimming pool maintenance, people whose educational level was very low, they barely finished elementary school. And for these families the return is very good, they have a permanent salary without having invested anything. But their problem is that...
M: You mean that chambermaids have a good salary?
R: Listen: when you have invested nothing in studies you'd either be unemployed or you'd have a low salary.
M: By investment you mean money spent on studies?
R: Yes. Whereas her daughter goes abroad to study for three years but she doesn't get her money's worth because she can't find a job when she comes back.
R: Now there's a great risk. I don't know if it can be scientifically proven, but Cypriots invest a lot of money on things like cars and there's no return. For example they can do the same job with a 5,000 pounds worth of car, but instead, they spend an extra 25,000 pounds to buy a Mercedes. Others, instead of studying a subject that will enable them to find a job, they spend great amounts of money to study something out of sheer interest but would not secure them a job.
M: If you were to decide now a subject of study. What would you have chosen?
R: It depends on the criteria. Before the revolution or after?
R: I believe that you should study a subject that interests you. And then it's almost sure that you'll find a job.
M: What is your opinion about these foreigners that come to Cyprus and work?
R: Are you talking about the foreigners themselves or about the phenomenon?
M: The phenomenon.
R: Very nice. It makes Cyprus more colourful.
M: The fact that they bring them over and have them work in farms and factories...
R: I find that there is a great exploitation going on, which was bound to happen because it happens everywhere. But as a sociological phenomenon, it's very positive.
M: Positive?
R: Yes.
R: I'm against it.
M: What are the advantages?
R: I now see Chinese, Blacks...
R: The colour and origin of these people has nothing to do it.
M: How do they affect us?
R: How do they really affect us, or how do we think they affect us?
R: I believe that they've made many people express their racism. I meet many young people who won't go to a specific confectionery, because the owners hired colored employees.
M: So, in your opinion, Cypriots are racists?
R: In what degree?
R: In the degree of the ignorant. They say to the Greek that he's a racist and he says, "Me, a racist?! Me?! When did I ever say something bad about the bloody-niggers?"
R: But I'll tell you something else. I don't know if there are many who think... intellectually, I'm against it. I had a room-mate from Shri-Lanka and it's something rare in Cyprus, but we were room-mates and he was much older than me. I am against the phenomenon, basically for personal reasons. I believe that they are very unhappy in their country and they're trying to make an internal revolution. I don't agree with people who get up and abandon their country.
M: And now I'd like you to tell me how you feel when you go to the sea in the summer...
R: And there are blonds there!
M: ...and the beach is crowded. You go to Ayia Napa for swimming and...
R: I don't go to Ayia Napa.
M: Why, because it's crowded?
R: Yes, of course.
R: We prefer to go to more secluded beaches. We don't like very crowded places. We want to get away from the dedicated tourist areas.
M: We're now finished. Our discussion has been very interesting and we have by no means exhausted all issues that were brought up... however, we have to stop here. Thank you all for your patience. I believe that you would agree with me that this has been a lively discussion. Once again, thank you.
APPENDIX 8 - FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

Group: 2 (Control Group)
Sex: Females
Location: Larnaka
Moderator: Alexis Saveriades
Number of participants: 10
Date: 19/11/99
Duration: 88 minutes

M: Good afternoon everybody. Let me begin by introducing myself. My name is Alexis. I'd like to thank you for accepting to participate in this discussion group this afternoon. The discussion that will follow revolves around life in Cyprus, your views on how our lifestyle has changed over the years etc etc. There are no correct or false answers. The subjects which I will bring up will be of general interest and everyone of you will give his or her views. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying 'Marina, said this', and 'Natasha said that'. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities. Let us begin by introducing ourselves. If you'd like to say your names please.

R: Dina
R: Yianna
R: Andri
R: Antigoni
R: Chryso
R: Marinella
R: Katerina
R: Andia
R: Maro
R: Myranda

M: I'm very pleased to meet you. You'll forgive me if I don't always remember your names, it's only natural. As a starting point, how do you view life in Cyprus. Is it pleasant, bearable, bad, how do you find its people... are there any problems? What do you have to say?

R: With today's criteria?
M: Yes, with today's.
R: -There are certainly a lot of problems.
M: What is the main problem facing today's Cypriot?
R: In my opinion, first is the financial problem, followed by crime and the political problems.
M: Anybody else?
R: The hotel industry constantly faces so many problems: sacking people. We hear lately the words "hotel problems". We see that hoteliers are facing some problems, so for them to remain at a certain level they are having a difficult time as their customers are more...
A. Saverides Appendix 8 - Focus Group Transcript Group 2 (Lamaka Females - Control Group)

demanding, so in order for the hotels to remain at a certain level they are forced — pressured I might say — to maintain a very different attitude due to the competition maybe?

R: I believe, without wanting to enter straight into the area of discussion of the previous speaker, that we have problems in Cyprus. In the last years there has been a startling change from that period that we knew, that our society and life had a calm rhythm of life, whereas in today's society you run to be on time and there's a chance you may not even make it. Only the fact that you are in constant movement this for me constitutes a great change. You're constantly chasing every day's necessities: to create a family, to survive at work so there are great changes. It's not like our parents' time.

M: What are the main factors that have brought about these changes?

R: Cyprus started to move away from isolation. It's an island, people did not travel often, now with the means of transport, the airplanes, the ships etc., people go abroad, others come to Cyprus, blend with our culture. I think it's normal that at this level there are problems. We should also bear in mind that since we also want to become members of the European Union, this should have been expected, we can't have everything.

M: How about the rest of you? Could you give us your opinion as well?

R: I also think that this pseudo-prosperity that's prevailing these last few years...

R: The banks are dishing out lots of money. You the average person being able to make expensive purchases. He can buy whatever he wants whereas in reality he hasn't got this money. There lies the problem. If I compare it with other countries it's difficult for everyone to get a loan. Here, everybody can get a loan to buy anything he wants.

M: Why?

R: Here, we have is this opulence (prosperity) which is phenomenal.

M: Why do you think the banks give...

R: Give? Because I think we are a small country, the money is also available...

R: We have the money, the society is over consuming...

M: Why do you think it's over consuming, what makes it so?

R: We got used to this system.

R: How did we get used to it?

R: When a family has means by which they can get money, a lot of money, it's obvious that as a consequence they will spend money. It will buy one, two, three T.V. sets for a family of four.

R: Instead of depending on one set.

R: We have more demands.

R: Yes, exactly.

M: In your opinion, as you are in the tourist industry, how do you think tourism affects...........

R: In my opinion, our tourism, let's say five years ago, at least in Larnaka, from what I know, was much better, at least as far as quality tourism was concerned.

M: In what way, do you mean that the tourists then, were good people?

R: Not in the sense of good people and bad people. There was more foreign currency coming in than today...

R: ... people were spending more money. A couple coming from Sweden for example, would have gone to a good restaurant to eat, whereas today they will sustain on a portion of kebab or a burger from McDonald's.

M: Yes. How does that affect us?

R: There's no income where there should be one for every working man or restaurant owner.
A crisis will inevitably fall upon us.

Yes, it is affected because regardless of the restaurant where someone goes to eat, whereas someone could go to a restaurant and spend 10 Cy Pounds for Cyprus dishes, now he will go out and spend less money for food, so, the restaurant owner will be directly affected and so will his employees. The same applies to the supermarkets—the tourist will simply buy a loaf of bread.

M: In general terms, how does tourism affect the Cypriot?

R: In every aspect.

M: Meaning?

R: For example these that are already here and the ones that will come here and the ones that stay here, have changed our society, our behaviour, our mentality.

R: It has affected us. We see how they live.

R: Men and women coming over here, getting married, having children, it has changed a great deal.

R: Our customs have loosened, are more relaxed.

M: Give me an example.

R: For example the institution of marriage has loosened a lot. A Cypriot now thinks nothing of it, in fact he considers it a necessity to have a girlfriend, preferably a foreigner.

R: Yesterday I heard a true incident. Because the man told her, "You did not bring the water on the table" all hell broke loose in the house and the couple is in the process of divorce. You might think it's funny, but it's so easy, so easy...

R: I don't think that from the first time...

R: It's extremely easy.

R: Our society has played a part in it.

R: In the old days, our mothers may also have had their problems...

R: I personally think that the 80% of our economy depends on tourism, the service that we offer now, except that it lacks in quality, it's also very expensive. As far as weddings are concerned, the Church has also moved in and cancelled the engagement process, pushing and helping our young ones towards civil wedding that doesn't mean anything towards marrying a foreigner.

R: But, the Church did this in order to reduce divorces.

R: It's a mistake, that increases the percentage of divorces.

R: I agree.

R: We're half a million people and we accept more than two million tourists every year. It's unavoidable that everything has been affected after so many years.

R: Apart from our morals and customs that have changed, it's also the way we follow them, imitate them. We used to be a closed society and this big flow of thousands of people arriving in Cyprus... suddenly this closed society was faced with other peoples' customs, which of course were different from ours and we started to follow them.

R: But in the wrong way.

R: Not only in the wrong way, but with the wrong criteria. Everything they imitated was wrong.

M: Did they accept anything positive?

R: Positive? I don't know about anything positive, only about a lot of negative. If for example you take a young man, from top to bottom, the way he speaks, the way he dresses, the mannerisms, the earrings, the hard drugs...

R: Most importantly, the drugs.

R: I believe that all these originate from abroad. They did not exist in Cyprus.

M: Any other negative aspects?
R. The consumption of alcohol, I believe has gone out of proportions. In Cyprus a small bottle of whisky can be purchased by any 13 year old youngster in any discotheque. It's so easy for him to have access to it.

R. Apart from this, as far as I know, in Europe if you're under 16 and the door bouncer thinks that you're not 16 or older, he'll require identification.

R. And the sex change? The first time that I saw this was with foreigners.

(Ordering of beverages – 2 minute break)

M. So, let us continue. We were discussing tourism and how it has affected Cyprus in general, and till now we've discovered many bad points... for example: people drink more, get married more easily — other effects? There are only negative ones?

R. The way people entertain themselves, I think...

M. Meaning?

R. I mean that in the old days people had fun in different ways. You can't have fun and be quiet. They were more conservative, more quiet, whereas now in these “rave” parties they are having drugs and what have you.

R. In any event, it's a fact that the old ways would have changed. At some point they would have changed. Things happened suddenly and caught the Cypriot unprepared. Whether things caught the Cypriot by surprise or whether he wanted to be caught, it makes no difference. At some point it would have happened. It was simply very sudden, very rapid.

R. The same with criminality, I think.

R. To day there is so much action in our news bulletins i.e. a bomb was planted here, someone did one violent act there, the other did something else... Gangster like “productions”. Foreign standards.

M. Does all this have any direct connection to tourism, in your opinion?

R. There have been stages where Cyprus was pure. Tourists arrived and they got to know Cyprus. The good tourist loved it and kept coming back for more than 20 years, because Cyprus is a nice island, but on the other hand you have the other tourist who arrived and took advantage of it. We have to separate the two.

R. But we gave them the opportunity. To the Russians the Arabs, because they had the money to take advantage of us like in Limassol, Pafos and whatever other places they flopped, and now we’re complaining. But it was our responsibility.

R. But we wanted them to take advantage of us because we make our living from the tourists.

R. Yes, but there are two sides to it.

R. Yes, but without the tourists half of us will have no jobs. I would not have gone to work on 200 Cyprus pounds a month.

M. This foreign currency therefore contributed to the growth, the development of tourism.

R. Yes, but it also gave us a kind of freedom.

M. In what respect?

R. No. As far as morals and customs are concerned, you can go out with a girl without any difficulty these days... I believe that there comes some kind of freedom... generally, men also go out with different partners, so do women...

R. But you can not blame tourism for issues of principle. It's up to the people to think and decide in a mature manner which direction they want to follow.

R. Yes, but they're imitating this freedom.

R. Yes, but in imitating, it's up to the individual's personality to choose.

R. There is no personality in 50 year old people who suddenly get the urge to...

R. So the problem does not start with tourism but before that. At the time when they're forming their own personality, during all those years.

R. There wasn't any liberation then.
Yes, but why wasn’t there?

All these Cypriots who went abroad and came back after so many years... It’s not the tourist who changed our customs and morals.

Yes, but the Cypriot who left all those years ago and came back, still has the mentality of the past.

There are many youngsters who go abroad and when they return they’re changed.

Something else that concerns the tourist and the European in general, is that the European will go out and buy exactly what he needs, whereas the Cypriot will stock goods, will literally squirrel away as if there’s going to be a world war. He will not only buy things for his house but also for his son and his grandson and it goes on and on...

Yes, but I think that all this has changed. You can see it in the big stores, the chain stores. Fresh goods are packed in small boxes nowadays. The modern Cypriot couple will go buy his 5 packed apples and go back again for them.

Yianna said that the typical Cypriot buys in bulks.

It was a custom that you could see abroad. I remember the first time I saw something like this, was with the watermelon. It was cut in quarters and sold per piece. It really made a big impression on me.

We, on the other hand must have a number of whole watermelons and other vegetables like cucumbers and stuff, at home.

It’s a good thing we haven’t yet reached the point of buying half a cucumber.

But even so... from the moment that you see in the market that goods are sold pre-packed and in small numbers, it means that big stores got the message that today there are also conservative customers.

I believe that... due to the crisis that may exist in Cyprus, the Cypriot may have come to his senses, but when you compare him to a European he still buys in bulks.

Correct.

You will see this when you go to a restaurant. Many times we order our ‘meze’ for two persons and our table is full of plates, whereas next to us, there could be a tourist couple and in front of them could be a portion of chicken, a salad, O.K?

Maybe that’s how they were brought up.

O.K., now let’s examine in a more specific way the subject family, how tourism has affected the family in Cyprus, how family life was then and how it is now, in your opinion. Any opinions?

Do you see any changes? In relation to the past.

Our family at present is practically split up. My children have to be away from me. I was always at home. Now I work until 11.00pm, it’s difficult with two children.

Therefore the women work...

Whereas in the past the family was a family.

In the past it was a closed society, there was more togetherness and subsequently the family was also more closed, bonded.

They had no outside connections.

Everybody knew his place in the family.

A man was a man, a woman a woman. Whereas now, apart from the fact that the roles can be reversed, most of the times without wanting to be... the woman has the reins, both the man’s and the woman’s.

The educational standards have risen in relation to the past. Greatly.

The woman’s and the man’s.

In the past a woman was told to sit and she sat.

Because now, ¾ of the Cypriot population has studied abroad, if not half, for example. So it’s only natural that the family has changed.

From the beginning, if he had the means to go and study in the last ten years... I on the other hand in the last ten years, could not bring my boyfriend to my mother and tell her that I brought him home for coffee, whereas now 15-16 year olds take them home and tell their parents, come and meet my boyfriend. And they dine and drink together.

Not all of them are like that.

The majority.

Yes, the majority.
A family starts in the morning for work, the man towards a different direction, his wife towards another and the children towards another and the Shri-Lankan cleaner towards another direction. So, is this the family that our parents created? Our parents were different. Mother had her own role. When today a child of 18 goes to the army then goes to study abroad and comes back with a different attitude and mentality, he will not listen to his father.

R: He's liberated, independent.
R: Correct, he will not listen to his father. He will listen to his mother. His mother has her own wallet and that's where I want to conclude: the separate wallet or financial means, I believe has changed the family.
R: It's a different transaction?
R: It's the separate wallet because tourism has also brought money, it's shared...
R: Also, tourists have separate wallets.
R: Maybe this has brought about the many divorces because the woman makes her own money now.
R: Of course.
R: Maybe not.
R: I think it matters a great deal.
R: If only the man had the wallet, things would have been different, she could have been scared to do anything like in the old days. You could say she was frightened. Now she's more independent and it's much nicer.

M: So you consider it as something positive.
R: Yes, we have equality.
R: We are trying to copy the European and we have not kept our personal style, something we offered the tourists in the past. That's why we had better quality in the past, whereas now it's all quantity and no quality. Now we have mostly Scandinavians, at least those on the chartered flights and you see the idlers spending all day at the beach and in the discotheques swinging and what have you, and that's why now you see the quality tourists who will go to the mountains for holidays, who will visit our museums, our churches and learn our history, whereas the 20-30 year olds will come for the alcohol and the fun.
R: Only the fun.
M: How do these idlers affect us negatively?
R: If you look at the Internet you will see how Cyprus is advertised.
R: Negatively.
R: Many tourists will not go to Ayia Napa because it's like home for them. Instead, they prefer Pafos that is yet quite virgin.
R: My brother has apartments and a pub in Ayia Napa and he placed a sign advertising that he accepts persons between the ages of 25 and 31.
M: Why?
R: Because he knows that there will be a lot of noise, but he won't have any problems.
R: But if you have a 50 year old, he'll demand a less noisy environment.
R: When I am 15-16 years old and my mother lets me go out and I come face to face with long haired people, sometimes with longer hair than mine- and suddenly they take their top off and start swinging loaded with earrings, even on their belly button, I will say to myself "Look at the European way, I'll do it too."
R: This type of tourists and age group will bring drugs with them, whereas older, qualitative tourists will not bring drugs with them. Apart from the drugs, they all walk naked, with nothing but their bathing suits on and you might even see them naked sometimes.
R: In Paphos you will not see many young people, the majority are old.
R: They have been separated... the youngsters here and the older ones there.
R: I don't want to bring down the young tourists, but somewhere along the line they have gone over board. They seem to bring something with them... for example, this summer, I went to serve a couple of customers. They did not wear the usual earrings on their eyebrows and belly buttons, but on their tongues and without feeling any embarrassment, I asked them how
they manage to eat. He then showed me the screws and all and said that it doesn’t bother them at all. But with this attitude they lose whatever they’re searching for and this is coming to Cyprus and when our own 15-16 year olds see this, they’ll copy it. Now, we have our girls in Ayia Napa, acquaintances of mine, who walk about bare-chested and wearing tanga.

R: Nudism, yes.
R: Yes, I remember nudism. Some 18 years ago in Makronissos, Ayia Nappa. They used to say “Makronissos, A! That’s where you have nudists!” Now it’s everywhere.

(REFRESHMENTS are here!!)

R: You know that there are people that don’t know what Cyprus is and who believe that we’re part of Greece. I had a customer asking me how many drachmas he should pay.
R: And from “quality” tourists like the Germans, the 50-60 year olds...
R: If we are part of Greece, if our currency is drachmas...
R: And others go to the Turkish side...
R: A very frequent question.
R: When I was studying in Athens of all places! I was asked what language we speak in Cyprus!
R: That’s even worse.
R: Well, this is a natural follow-up...
R: “What language do you speak?” he asked me, and I said “Greek”.
R: Well, this is a natural follow-up. How do you expect from someone to know about a nation of half a million people, to know its language, its history... When we go to Thailand, a nation of 70 million people we don’t know anything about them either.
R: Yes, but if you go to Thailand won’t you first read some basic things? The fact that you go visit a country...
R: Of course I’ll read if I want to go visit the museum of the King of Thailand.
R: Let me tell you something else: if you see three posters and one of these depicts a figure with the traditional clothes, you will immediately think that it originates from one of these Asian countries, if not from Thailand.
R: I won’t know for sure.
R: Yes, but more or less.
R: Especially the Cyprus traditional costumes.
R: Not to mention our people who go to exhibitions like the one in Berlin and are represented by some ignorant, slovenly people who can’t put one and one together, not to mention that they also spend a bucket full of money in order to promote Cyprus to foreign travel agents and in the end they come back and talk a lot of gibberish.

M: What where you going to say?

R: Another basic issue that is represented inadequately: we are not represented in enough countries. If Cyprus was promoted in more countries, people would at least know where Cyprus is, something about Cyprus...

M: O.K. Now, has tourism had any positive effect on...

R: The economic development is one positive effect. 800 million to 1 billion pounds a year is a substantial amount not to be taken lightly.
R: Let’s talk about your town.
R: Dead as far as I know.
M: Did you have any infrastructure work done there?
R: None at all.
R: Nothing, nothing at all.
R: Larnaka today is the most underdeveloped tourist area in Cyprus. Pafos is the centre of tourism.
R: Pafos is top priority.
R: In Larnaka the last years, the people in the tourist industry have suffered such a great blow! People in hotels, restaurants, tourist shops, people have closed their shops, declared bankruptcy, Larnaka especially.
Was “Palm Tree Avenue” developed for the tourists or the locals?

For the locals.

Let me tell you, at this time...

Does it represent you?

No, it doesn’t.

For the families, yes. On Sundays they take their children for a stroll there.

Tourism in Larnaca is only the “Palm Tree Avenue”? Is it the only place for a tourist to visit?

No. It’s a centre that was developed in the last years, very quickly and in a very weird way.

By creating a sidewalk, nothing else.

No, it took thirteen years of studying, this I know as a fact from the municipality. It could not be done under any circumstances – the money was given- they had committed themselves. We were either going to do it or we were going to upgrade the standard or we were going to renovate it. It was a complete mess. The marina, one of the oldest, the only marina... they had plans to renovate or upgrade the marina for the last 13 years and it was done in the last 3 years after great pressures and when people reached the end of their tether.

May I say something... In Larnaca, the last 6-7 years, there were built one 3 star hotel and two two star hotels. I can name them if you like. “The Heniba” 3 stars, “Lenios” 2 or 3 stars and “The Princess” 3 or 4 stars.

So, we have only 3 new hotels.

The last hotel was built in 1993.

Where?

In Larnaka.

It’s “The Princess” in ’90-’91, a 4 star hotel. So, we’re talking about hotels of which only one is of any importance, whereas in Pafos you have a lot of 5 or 4 star hotels.

Also in Limassol.

Every year.

All the time.

And in Nicosia.

If you had a choice for tourism either to stay as it is or to double, what would you choose?

It has to double.

From the 20th of January and after.

If you go to Paphos during winter time it’s something else. Where we are now they close at 3.00 in the afternoon and there’s no soul in sight, not even any civil works or pavements, nothing, not to mention that in the last two years they dug up the roads at least a hundred times and they keep closing them, opening them up, closing them... honestly, for the last two years, in front of my door they keep on digging in and out the street.

In Limassol they had the same problem and their tourism was affected.

Not so. In Larnaka there are only two roads...

Just a minute... do you know how many accidents we’ve had? I had a customer who’d just bought a small vase for a present and as soon as she stepped out of the shop, I heard a loud bang and she was dead. There are no pavements, no proper lights and the zebra crossings are so far apart that it’s a nightmare to cross to the other side of the street.

Basically, the road leading to the tourist area is like a graveyard. A lot of people have died there.

That’s a fact.

Do you know how many people have died?

In which road?

The Larnaka-Dhekelia avenue. If you walk on either side of the road you will see a lot of crosses that were put there by the families of the victims.

Tourists come and they are really scared of that road especially at night. They are forced to use by-roads.

So, where do all these millions of tourists go?
R: To the Stock Exchange!

R: The Stock Exchange is new.

R: To Paphos, Protaras, Ayia Napa in the summer. Protaras and Ayia Napa where they work for six months and are content with this until the next season. In Paphos it's practically the whole year round. It's Larnaca that suffers.

R: It's very important what the lady is saying, if you think that in Ayia Napa people got out of their houses turned them into shops and they are privately owned. In Larnaka the lowest rent is 800 pounds on the Larnaka Road. For a person to be able to write off, he has to pay someone, rent and he can't close for six months because there are no tourists, so his contract still runs, all the year round. Larnaka has a problem.

R: When I went to Palm Tree Avenue, I bought a small bottle of water and was charged 40 cents. I said to the girl in one of the kiosk, "could you not charge me at least 30 cents?" She said that the municipality won't let them. She was absolutely right of course. For a small kiosk, 2 by 3 m² that sells only refreshments, ice cream and water she was charged 600 pounds rent a month so she had no option to sell for any less, as she only sells a couple of items- so I said to her that she was right and I left.

R: Cypriots are to blame as well. We have free trade, competition, when a Cypriot sees that his neighbour has a kiosk and is making money, he will go and open one right next to him. Larnaka works with this system. There were 10 shops on the Larnaka-Dhekelia Road, now I don't know how many there are for tourist purposes that don't cover the needs...

R: ... and without any substructure - I want to emphasize this.

R: That golf course in Oroklini they were going to build, they kept saying...

R: There is nothing to attract the tourist.

R: There is nothing in Larnaka.

R: I, that I live in Larnaka, will go once to the beach and once to the mosque in Tekke and that's it. In Pafos where I went for a month I hardly got tired from feasting my eyes. All over, the greenery, nice colours...

R: Archaeological sites...

R: In Larnaca there is no green, not to mention the environment, the sea that is black...

R: It's the Municipality's fault.

R: At the Palm Tree Avenue there is a flag that when it's up, swimming is not allowed. The area there is so dirty, not to mention that school-kids that use the beach, break out in rashes and have to see a dermatologist - now there's a flag that's up all the time and comes down in the winter. They are entering the European Union and they forced the municipality to place it. Swimming is not allowed at times, but this flag warns you that if you swim you may come out and break out in a rash.

R: You may have a problem.

R: The inhabitants of Larnaka know that the area where the palm trees are is not good for swimming.

R: Only tourists use it, they just enjoy the sun there.

R: And they are a few.

R: Apart from Ayios Lazaros which they are now trying to renovate, you take a tourist a small trip and that's it, it's finished.

R: The only time I like Larnaka is when I have guests from abroad. In two minutes I've shown them around my town. There is nothing to see there.

R: Larnaka is a transit place.

R: For entertainment there's nothing.

R: Pubs, pubs and nothing but pubs.

M: Hoes it done us any good that there are tourists? When they opened all these pubs, did it do us any good?

R: Yes, something happened.

R: No. This year something else happened which really affected all the shops, all the groceries, everybody. This year in order to keep their customers in the hotels and to attract more tourists they created the bracelet. People would just come to the shop, look but would not buy. It had me puzzled, I was wondering, what's happening? What's happening? I asked what that bracelet meant: a group of people came into the shop with a plastic fluorescent bracelet. By wearing this bracelet, a family of say 5 people can order as much food and as many drinks as they like, any time they like without paying anything. It's all prepaid before
they come to the country they're visiting. Everything is ‘free’ so they will not go out to shop or eat. They do all that at the hotel they're staying.

R: This happened in Larnaka?
R: Of course, with most hotels.
R: I don’t know, but this year it was the first time that we worked so well. It was a very good year for the hotels and the guides.
R: I’m talking about the guides now: in the past we had to go to Pafos and Limassol to find customers whereas Larnaka and Nicosia were dead. This year we’ve worked very well.

M: How many years have you been doing this?
R: Five years.
R: In Larnaka?
M: No, everywhere.
R: Yes, but not in Larnaka.
R: Generally they’d call me from Limassol or Paphos. This year they called from Larnaka.
R: This is the first year that there was an increase in tourism.
R: We had a better quality of tourists this year in Larnaka.
R: During the end of July beginning of August I was driving along, listening to the radio and the D.J. was saying a lot of rubbish, but he said a great and true statement: that there was such a great increase of tourism that even Larnaka was full. That's indeed a great true statement.
R: Why do we hear that it wasn't such a great year for the tourist industry?
R: We’re still licking our wounds. I mean we’re not saying we did not have tourists because there was such a bad downfall in the previous years that we’re still trying to recover. We are still dizzy – even if people came, we still haven’t recovered financially from when there were no tourists. For example, if Mimi had a shop or whoever had a shop and got some money this year, the banks are there waiting for the money that he did not give the previous years due to the fact that there were no tourists. So we cannot say that today we have tourism when it’s something that will show after five years.
R: I believe there is tourism, but we have such an increase, especially in these hotel apartments...
R: Not in Larnaca. All the hotels you can find in Larnaka, comprise the 5 star hotels you find in Limassol.
R: Look, there is tourism.
M: If they build more hotels would it help?
R: Limassol was full, Pafos was full.
R: This year, if we had more hotels we could have had...
R: It's like what the lady said: it's not this year but in the future.
R: The increase that is anticipated next year, about which everybody is talking, this year we had 2,800 and everybody is expecting a big increase. Surely these people won’t come to Larnaka. This increase will help Limassol where this year there were so many people and still had empty hotels.
R: And in Ayia Napa.
R: We also had the situation with the police commandos in Chloraka.
R: Then, we had the improper incident with Isaac and our tourism went downhill for one or two years. Then we had the situation in the Gulf. It's quite dangerous to talk about tourism for next year.
R: Yes, but now there was the war in Yugoslavia and Cyprus wasn’t affected which means that...
R: It’s not the same as the Gulf War or the gunshots in Famagusta.
R: What do you mean?
M: What else do you think affects...
R: The manipulation.
R: If you come every Monday outside the Princess Hotel and sit outside and observe the tourists from opposite where we keep a shop, and it's something we do everyday, we practically get to know their faces during those seven-fifteen days that they're here. On Mondays they come after 8 or 9 o'clock in the morning because there are exhibitions. A lot should be blamed on these exhibitions. It doesn't matter what exhibitions, whether they are of jewelry or something else. You see them coming out to these...

R: There is a tendency to keep the people in the hotels.
R: And they also buy, which means that the shops suffer.
R: Or they take them to the harbour and then to Cairo and we don't even see them. This is the "inclusive Louis tours". They come from abroad, Louis Tours picks them up at the airport, puts them in his hotels, the next day without even giving them the chance to see the Cyprus sun, they take them away for cruising.
R: They prepay.
R: They take them only for one day to Lefkara where Loui's people will sell them the local lace and then to Oroklini for the local traditional dance. Everything is inclusive, organized and then they're gone.

M: Yianna, you were going to say something...

R: Let me just say something else. When a tourist comes here and sits at the hotel bar to have a drink and he's served by a Russian or Shri-Lankan girl and she says "da" or "niet", won't he wonder what the hell is happening here? If I go to the Philippines and see a Scandinavian serving me, won't I say that something is wrong? I believe that this is a very negative aspect.

R: Yes.
R: There are Cypriots who can work there.
R: Will the Cypriot go, though?
R: And the reason we do this, is because I won't pay 300 pounds but 100.

M: This situation... how does it affect Cypriots, how does it affect us?

R: We are losing our jobs. Personally... three or four months ago I went with my husband to a hotel in Pafos and the only person I could speak to in Greek was the maid. Nobody else spoke Greek. The receptionist was Bulgarian or Rumanian, I don't know... the waiters were Philippino or... there wasn't a person... it was a 4 star hotel not an apartment complex which we might let's say employ foreigners. It was a 4 star hotel.

R: If on the other hand you had a Cypriot waiter, he could have suggested a Cyprus wine, make a sale or say something in Greek. But how can a foreigner translate or help the customer with an inquiry?

R: Do you think that this is happening because some Cypriots or rather the majority of them will not undertake some jobs?
R: Let me tell you something: I was unemployed for 9 months and I went to hotels where I'd worked before -bear in mind that I speak fluent German and French- and they told me "Sorry, there are no jobs, I have the Russian girl who speaks Russian". O.K. I happened to go to a hotel where they employed mostly Russians, but there is a great number of Swiss and German tourists in Cyprus, but because I would have asked 300 pounds and the Russian 250 and also work more hours, he preferred her.

R: So the point is that they don't care about service or quantity, but how to save money.
R: Sure.
R: Look at the strikes in Lordos Hotel.
R: Why did they strike?
R: I think that the hotels are under pressure. There is this international rivalry which forces the hotels to offer to the demanding customers something more.
R: You mean to say that we the workers have not overdone it?
R: Meaning?
R: Let me give you an example. At a hotel the maid has a fixed timetable. Her employer tells her, "This is your job: housekeeping." If water spills from a flower pot and she is asked to clean it, she refuses saying it's not her job. Do they keep her on the job? No! That's what the situation's reduced to.

R: Or she'll say that it's not her floor.
R: Let me answer this.
R: You're going to say that the Russian will immediately get the mop and clean it after of course she wears her hot pants!
R: You got my blood boiling now...
R: A Cypriot maid will go in her uniform, do her duty and leave, whereas the foreigner will do extra duty and overtime so she will make more money and accommodate herself and the company she's working for.
R: You are forgetting something: if a hotel has to work with fifty people, in Cyprus it will make do with only 30 people and this is a proven fact. Every hotel owner saves money any way he can. Instead of working with 50 people he does so with 30. That's why a Cypriot worker refuses to do it, because it's back breaking, I believe, especially in the summer period...
R: No. I think that the unions are forcing situations. I heard of an incident at the Palm Beach Hotel where a maid or housekeeper had to clean five rooms in a specified time. She cleaned the rooms much earlier and she was sitting around waiting for her shift to be over so she could go home. Then the owner asked her to go help the kitchen staff that was very busy and she refused saying that she was employed to do the housekeeping. Doesn't this make the owner feel angry and bitter?
R: Who told you this?
R: Wait a minute...
R: If she went to help that day when they were having problems...
R: If somebody was digging the road outside your shop and asked you to go help him seeing that you are not busy, would you go?
R: He wouldn't ask me because I am not working there. I'm talking about a person who works and gets paid there.
R: She is a maid, why should she go to the kitchen?
R: The most unfairly treated person in a hotel is the maid.
R: I agree.
R: I won't disagree as I don't know.
R: She has to clean 14 rooms.
R: Forgive me, but where did you see 14 rooms? It's a luxury nowadays.
R: When she has to clean 15-16 rooms with two beds in each room, that makes it 32 beds. She has to change the sheets, the pillow-cases, clean 16 bathrooms, clean the carpets...
M: Do you think that generally, due to tourism, Cypriots are under pressure?
R: Now, yes.
M: Or is he in a much better situation...
R: Not now. Before.
R: In the past we had some very good times.
R: I have been working for 20 years in hotels and we had really good times.
M: What were the differences?
R: As soon as a maid came, she was employed whether she was good or not. She would have been employed. I remember when I started, 20 years ago at the Nissi Beach Hotel, they used to clean 13 rooms and by 1.30 p.m. their work was finished and they waited in the office till 4.00 p.m. for the bus to take them home. And they were making good money as well. At the Palm Beach Hotel there was a maid who was cleaning six rooms all day. She was also a permanent employee and then the number of the rooms was increased at a slow pace until they were 13, whereas now, apart from the fact that she is a daily employee, she is also worked to the ground.
M: Let's move away from the maids for a while. In Cyprus we have an airport in Larnaka and another (smaller one) in Pafos, and we don't turn to our advantage the space. Not even the lounges. I am not talking about the installations, whether they are luxurious or not.
A tourist can be in transit for half an hour and during that time he will get all the impressions there are, for that country and get some information about it. It's not like he will wait outside for a relative to pick him up and have a look around. There's a coffee shop on top and a road on the other side and that's it. And these are supposed to be major airports.

R: I think that we take advantage of our customers.

R: Yesterday I came out of the harbor in Limassol and was charged 75 cents. I believe that we are really robbing our customers.

R: In Larnaka, if you have anything less that 1 pound and you need some water you will die of thirst.

R: It's Loui's fault.

R: It's not. It's those people that charge him 2 million pounds annual rent.

R: If you go upstairs to have some pizza for 2-3 persons, you will pay through the nose. On the other hand, because I went to Bahrain and other airports abroad I noticed that prices were much higher so we must accept that and not turn and say "Cypriots will not go get..."

R: Yes, but quite naturally airports could be subsidized. In Athens a bottle of water at the airport costs 100 drachmas. Outside, at the kiosk it costs the same, and so does at the grocery. This means that somebody gives money or has a more loose system or that somebody puts money down to subsidize these items or essentials, let's say a refreshment, water, orange juice...

R: I don't think it's by chance that we all say "Every past year was a better year" when it comes to tourism.

R: Yes.

R: No, this year we didn't say it, thank God.

R: But we did because we knew that there were all these thousands of people and we kept wondering "where are they". They were either going on cruises and we didn't see them or they were all in the hotels with those damn bracelets. This year we didn't have people.

R: Let me also say that we all became professionals as far as tourism is concerned. Everybody buys 5-6 boats, makes them into jet-skis or whatever and takes whomever he sees lying in the beach for parachuting.

R: And these people only work for six months.

R: Further down you find within a kilometer 5-6 boats or whatever. I ask for a single room and they charge me 40 pounds a day, whereas they charge a European couple 20 pounds full board.

M: In five years' time how do you see Cyprus in relation to tourism?

R: In five years, tourists are going to be an extinct species.

R: -Assuming that we'll be members of the EU, or be the same way as we're today?

R: The same way I believe.

R: Like Greece that went into shock, lost its tourism, entered the European Union, the multinationals arrived, they created organized enterprises even for tourism. If you go to Skopelos, Sporades, etc., you don't see any Greeks working there. If you do, he'll be working for the French.

R: I absolutely agree. What I want to say is that not only hotel owners and tourist complexes belong to the foreigners, but the workers there will also be foreigners. Two weeks ago we went to a hotel in Troodos. Note that there are only a couple of hotels there. Anyway, we went to this hotel and the first person we met at the reception was a Cypriot. All others were Pakistanis. You can verify it if you want. We went to eat at the hotel restaurant and if let's say a foreigner wanted to inquire about Troodos or the mountains, he wouldn't be able to do so, as all the members of the staff were dark.

R: What I want to emphasize is that tourists, at least 80% of them will not come back to Cyprus. They will choose another country, I believe, because owners and workers, the majority of them will be foreigners.

R: It's not our culture, our traditions or our hospitality that will attract the tourists to Cyprus, but the simple way we used to have for communicating. Now we have also become suspicious of them, and this brings them face to face with some negativity.

R: For 300 pounds a month they go to Northern Cyprus. I saw a prospectus when I was in Wales in the summer, which I brought with me and everybody was surprised. You could go at
the Dome Hotel in Famagusta, for 300 pounds and you can spend 15-20 days, eat and drink and be satisfied, they say, from the hospitality.

R: Yes, at our own kiosks they advertise tourism in Northern Cyprus.

R: They advertise Kyrenia and we had no idea.

R: And the tourists that used to come here for so many years, don't like this new trend with the Russians, they keep saying "the mafia" and they don't like it.

R: They say that it's too expensive.

R: I too discuss with my customers. It's very expensive they say.

R: They prefer to go to Spain they say.

R: They can't justify it when in the hotel a small beer costs 1.50 or a bottle of wine 10.00 Cyprus pounds and at the supermarket he finds a beer for 45 cents. He thinks that's daylight robbery.

R: You see them going to the supermarket and shop their beers, their bread, their refreshment.

R: Especially some hotels that have the mini-bar in the rooms. That's real robbery!

R: That's always been there.

R: A small bottle of water costs 75 – 80 cents.

R: In Limassol, a colleague of mine stayed at the Amathus Hotel. She paid more than what they charge for a room, for items consumed from the mini-bar.

R: The customer may not see the leaflet that's next to the mini-bar.

R: It was always there.

R: Well, O.K., she got thirsty during the night and didn't want to go downstairs.

R: The tourists are organized in these matters, they know about these things.

R: They are thirsty for knowledge. They want to learn about the country that they visit. Maybe we don't have this tendency to learn about the country that we visit, but they come prepared and they're psychologically ready to learn about the country they visit. Once I was asked what the Turkish delights are. I was angry, I didn't hide the fact that I was offended and told them that we don't have Turkish delights, but Greek delights. And when I explained to them they seemed surprised and very pleased to have learned something before leaving.

R: I will ask you a question: does anybody know if we have a church that has an icon where Jesus wears an earring?

R: Yes.

R: Did you know that?

R: Yes, we do. We have a church where Jesus is depicted wearing an earring. One moment...

R: And now UNESCO does not allow us to take the tourists inside the place so that you can explain to them. Explain about something that belongs to you.

R: I don't understand what UNESCO has to do with this.

R: That church is protected by UNESCO and they don't allow us to go inside.

R: I understand.

R: You're not allowed to enter or visit any church that is protected by UNESCO.

R: Well, they don't allow us to enter when we want to show the tourists around.

R: Maybe because you are a guide.

R: No, nobody is allowed to enter.

R: Where is this, in God's name?

R: As a guide I guarantee you that you can enter any church that is protected by UNESCO.

R: UNESCO simply maintains and protects them.

R: The Churches of Assinou, of Ayios Nicolaos.

R: But they don't belong to UNESCO.

R: From being protected to being owned there is a great difference.

R: They belong to the Republic of Cyprus.

R: And to Galata.

R: Let me get this straight... the church of Arakapa has the icon with the earring?

R: In Galata, that's what I know.

R: Sorry, no, in Lagouthera.

R: Think of yourselves as people that work directly or indirectly for the tourist industry.

R: For the last 50 minutes we concentrated on the negative points, do you think that the positive point, basically the money that has come in the country, balances with the negative aspects that we have till today? That is would you say, "the hell with the tourists, I don't want any of them and let's go back to what we were 15 years ago"?

R: We would not have had the negative points if we did not have tourists. There would be no negative points.

R: We would not have had the financial prosperity and therefore all these negative points...
R: There are more positive points.
R: Is there prosperity when you think of all that you’ve lost or that you think is negative?
R: Yes, I think the negative points can be remedied, but without the positive ones you have nothing. I would not have had either the one or the other.
R: I would also prefer quality than quantity.
R: We accept the negatives because the positives are useful.
R: Basically there is only one positive point to start with. Another positive is that the Cyprus Problem has changed the ideas of a lot of people in Europe. By coming here and learning a few things and even visiting the barbed wire and is given prospectuses by the mothers of the missing persons, the tourist is enlightened about Cyprus and this has changed a lot of minds in Europe where they had the wrong ideas, apart from the fact that one positive point is that most of you here make your living from tourism, therefore you only mentioned the positive points so, how would you have made your living without tourism...
R: It's a link.
R: Yes, but Alexis’s question was specific, you have negative points and positive ones.
R: We have many negative points and one positive.
R: What do you say, will you turn the clock back?
R: I said that I prefer quality than quantity.
R: If today you had the choice to work in the tourist industry, to come in contact with the tourists or do something that has absolutely no connection with tourists, what would you have chosen?
R: To work with tourists.
M: Why, what do you find, what do you like...
R: I would also choose the tourists.
R: The communication we have with these people...At the reception, you improve the foreign languages that you know and you don’t have to go to Holland to learn something about it. You speak with a foreigner, you learn something more...
R: Why did the man that had a field and was producing potatoes today decides to open a pub or a restaurant and abandons that kind of economic activity, and chooses , let’s say, the easy money?
R: Exactly because it’s easy.
R: Why does the trader leave his job and enters the stock-exchange? Why? Because of the money.
R: A garbage collector, I saw him with my own eyes, while he was collecting the garbage bags he was on the phone with his stockbroker telling him to sell his shares.
M: Is there anybody that would have liked to do something that did not have any connection with tourism?
R: No.
R: If I had the financial security I would have left Cyprus for ever.
R: Really?
R: But you would have found a job that has to do with tourists...
R: No, every country depends on its own economy. Personally I would have gone to Germany that does not depend on tourism. They have nothing to do with tourism.
R: I was abroad and I came back to Cyprus for Cyprus. I was in Greece. I lived abroad and I saw how many good things we have here. Now, if we changed and if we are not like our mothers who used to wash in basins and now we have washing machines... alas if we are to go backwards. For sure this was coming, it simply came too fast. I wouldn’t change Cyprus for any other country nor can I raise a family in another country.
R: Where do you want to go, ....... to Germany?
R: Didn't Cyprus always have tourism? I remember in Famagusta, it was full of hotels, tourists...
R: Nothing has changed.
R: Then, it wasn’t the numbers that mattered, but the quality.
R: We simply have to understand that things have become more difficult and everywhere there will be competition. The professionals will stay, we have to understand that. Like the lady said, in the past they employed maids all the time, now there are courses to be had, there are people with diplomas, there are girls arriving from England who studied housekeeping. When
they go for an interview, don’t expect that they will employ many people uncontrollably. Things have changed. If you send your own daughter to study housekeeping and comes back educated, she will claim your own position. It’s natural, things have changed.

R: O.K., let me tell you something else.

R: So, let’s consider that this is a natural progress of life.

R: In a sense, yes, it might have bothered us, but it’s natural to change. There are seminars now in housekeeping on how to knock a customer’s door.

R: Lately, I saw in television adverts promoting young people to follow careers in the hotel industry at HHI (Higher Hotel Institute).

R: They tell them, become cooks, waiters, hotel managers. Where will these people be employed when there is so much unemployment in the hotel industry?

M: Do you think that there is more unemployment in the hotel industry than in other fields?

R: Very much so. If you go now to the Unemployment Service, you’ll see how many hotel employees are on the dole.

R: Do you think that maybe people just call themselves hotel employees without having the qualifications, so that they will become one?

R: No, I will give you a personal example. My husband graduated from the Hotel Academy and worked for many years as a cook and when we moved to Larnaka he could not find a job. So he had to go work in Dhekelia, in a completely different kind of job.

R: Maybe this is because Larnaka doesn’t have so many tourists.

R: Exactly. Lately we were thinking of moving to Protaras so he could get a job.

R: If there were more hotels, he wouldn’t have a problem.

R: In Larnaca there are three hotels. If you leave from one... you don’t have the choice to go to another hotel. All of them are the same.

R: If there was a 5 star hotel, maybe you could have had...

R: In Aya Napa, Protaras, the situation is completely different. You have many more hotels and many more tourists.

R: Why, do you think that in Pafos there is a problem? You have a problem you go there. I was at the Palm Beach Hotel and they fired us because our salary was going up. I had to go to Protaras for 2.5 years and at a lower salary. I went because I had to work.

R: The hotel salary scales, for the employees of the Hotel Industry, I don’t know if you agree, instead of going up they’re going down.

R: Before long they’ll have to thank their boss for giving them a job.

R: If you change hotel and move to another one, they employ you at a lower rate or you have to change profession completely.

R: And if you find a job with a higher rate, because like I said instead of employing 50 people they employ 40 people.

R: The costs have to be cut back.

R: But at the expense of the quality of work.

R: When they can go somewhere else for 100 pounds for a period of 15 days, in better hotels and with better service, why should they come to Cyprus for 300 pounds? So the hotel owner in order to cut back his costs, will have to look at the maid and the receptionist, that’s the problem.

R: And the other point is that, if you are a shop owner, he is a business man. The same way that you suffered a blow in Larnaka, so did he. He also has to pay and keep the hotel –not that I am on his side mind you– but he has his problems too.

R: Not to mention that from England you can go to Tenerife for 72 pounds.

R: He can go to Greece where he can still see the traditional house. Where would you take him here, to Mouttayiaka?!

R: It’s a fact that we Cypriots brought Europe here, before it arrived.

R: I think that it’s time to come to an end. Do you think that tourists provoke?

R: I don’t think so.

R: If we’re talking about the women, yes, I think so.

R: Males and females. You may see a couple in the street expressing themselves freely without caring if people are dying or being stabbed next to them, and the Cypriot sees that and says that he’ll do the same. We Cypriots are like a sponge. They show us the water and we absorb it. Then you squeeze it until it all dries up.

R: Do we have to copy whatever we see?
R: Yes, in order to be Europeans, yes.
R: The 50 year olds and older ones.
R: The younger generation today has concluded and decided what they want, they are not all in the same boat.
R: It's what we said in the beginning about the principle of marriage.
R: There are young people who know what they want. Like young people, 19 year olds who go for studies, go overseas and come back and get jobs. We still have ideals. We're not lost in space. We're educated and our kids that go overseas are more successful and that's why in Greece they're always a few years behind us. But now that Greece has entered the European Union, we are 20 years behind them.
R: Then why in these parts of Cyprus without wanting to offend anybody, they are all long haired, stoned, they spend all their days in pubs hanging out with Swedish girls...
R: It's like a role model.
R: Show me a couple of these in Pafos with long hair and earrings.
R: I believe that from one end of Cyprus to the other it's the same.
R: I don't believe that the earring is something that you can use to label somebody. Let's not clutch on straws...
R: We should not penalize young people because of their earrings or looks. I have seen quite a few kids that are quite decent. On the contrary he may wear it when he's 20 instead of 15, because maybe his mother would not let him.
R: Why should he not wear it?
M: Did you ever feel like a foreigner in your own country?
R: Yes.
R: Yes.
R: Yes, in the hotel where I work.
R: I felt it in the street where you may not see a Cypriot.
R: Do you feel in your own environment that the tourists assert themselves?
R: Yes, in Ayia Napa.
R: I was in Ayia Napa Square and I felt completely out of place.
R: At my age, I am 44 years old, I once went to Ayia Napa with a girl friend of mine and I was afraid to get around. All around us there were 5-6 men and I was really terrified.
R: O.K., let's take me for example: I am young and could be like any young European. I tried to enter a place in Ayia Napa and was told that they don't allow Cypriots in, not to mention that the D.J.'s are brought over from England because he is known there and the English tourists will go to that particular disco. The same happens with the barmen. The "Scandinavian Pub" does not allow Cypriots in.
R: And somebody has to do something, take charge of the situation. British tourists, who one might say that they were drunk, but it's unacceptable that right in front of you, they urinate on the cars, on the rubbish bins.
R: They are from the British Bases, from Dhekelia, because they only go out once a week and they do their crazy stuff.
R: They were probably drunk.
R: They do it in England too.
R: And we dare not tell them anything.
R: So you want to go back to the old ways?
R: No, of course not.
R: Only our friend there wants to go back...
M: I think that this is the right point in time to hault this discussion. Despite the fact that we can continue our discussion for hours, we have to bring an end to it. Thank you very much for participating in this, I should admit, very interesting discussion. Once again, many thanks.
APPENDIX 9 - FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

Group: 3
Sex: Females
Location: Limassol
Moderator: Alexis Saveriades
Number of participants: 9
Date: 30/11/99
Duration: 65 minutes

M: Good evening everybody and thank you all for coming. I am, Alexis. Let me first apologise for the delay. I know you have other commitments ahead, however there was a huge pile-up on the highway from Nicosia, and that is to be blamed for my delay. I'm sorry. The subject of our discussion will revolve around life in Cyprus today as opposed to the past. There are no correct or false answers. It's an open discussion and each of you have an opinion. If somebody doesn't have an opinion, it makes no difference. If you agree or disagree it's something that interests us. I just want us to have a discussion. I will bring up the issues that are to be discussed and I will coordinate the process. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said on the recorder, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying 'Maria, said this', and 'Georgia said that'. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities. Now to begin, let's introduce ourselves. If you'd like to say your names, please.

R: Christina
R: Savoulla
R: Maria
R: Myranda
R: Sophia
R: Katerina
R: Anna
R: Antigoni
R: Koulla

M: To start off, how do you judge life in Cyprus.

R: Yes, life in Cyprus. What do we have, stress, more stress than any other country in the world.
R: Yes, give us an issue and I will tell you.

M: Generally, how does the average Cypriot see his life. Do they have serious problems in relation to the past, what do you think?

R: It wasn't so demanding, so materialistic.
R: The more we have the more we want. Whereas in the past people were satisfied with less.

M: Give me an example. What has changed in relation to the old days?

R: Better houses, more ornaments, better cars.
R: In the past they used donkeys and if they didn't own one, they were still happy to walk. Now every member of a family wants a car.

M: In your opinion, why is this great change taking place?
R: Basically, we ourselves create this stress by wanting more, by never being satisfied with what we have...

M: What has made us want more? Why are we not happy with what we have?

R: The society in Cyprus forces you to...
R: The xenomania in Cyprus. By watching TV. and the way of life abroad, we see, what the foreigners have, and we also want to have them too, so we copy them so our life becomes a vicious circle.

M: Do the rest of you see anything good, compared to the past?

R: Nothing worth mentioning.
R: People were happier in the past.

M: What is this stress you're talking about. Why do we have it?

R: People want to show-off to one another. If we have 10 pounds, we spend 20. We try to look better than our neighbour does.
R: We are exhibitionists basically.

M: Why does this exhibitionism exist?

R: Because it's a small country and people know each other; your neighbour looks at every movement you make, whereas abroad nobody cares what his neighbor does.
R: Whereas here your neighbour wants to know what car you drive, what clothes you wear, if yours are better than his and there exists this mentality.
R: I tend to disagree.
R: Me too.
R: I think it's up to the individual. The majority doesn't care.
R: You mean, exhibitionists are according to their character. Some care and some don't.
R: Yes, of course, if he has an expensive car does it mean that I have to have one too?

M: O.K., let's take one by one the characteristics of society. For example the institution of family. What has changed from the past till now?

R: In the past, the family was peaceful. The father was in charge and the rest used to follow. Today, though, the family has disintegrated because we were deprived of freedom, material things, of going out. We say, "let's not leave our children have the same experiences", but instead of giving them the extra freedom, material things etc., in a moderate way, we lost control, we have overdone it now.
R: There's more freedom in the family now.
R: Yes, but more freedom has its drawbacks. So if one child does not listen to his mother, the other won't listen to his. If he has a motorbike he wants one too. If he drives without a licence, he'll drive without a licence too. We have reached a point where all you hear is, "I want, I want, I want". They grow up with the attitude of 'I want' without realizing that they also have responsibilities.
M: Tell me something positive.

R: They're all negative.

R: If you try and scold your children and try to show them the right way, you have the Ministry of Education, the justice system telling you not to cause your children psychological problems and as a result, we are raising a society full of people with psychological problems.

R: Yes.

R: But this is not absolute. There are good children out there.

R: I agree. In one family the problem may be minor in another major. It depends on the family (parents).

R: Sometimes the parent reaches a point of despair and he doesn't know what to do.

M: What else has changed?

R: Apart from all these, the Cypriot family is still united. We are proud of this. From the rest of the world. And this is due to our traditions, our roots.

R: Do we still have traditions? Roots?

R: Did we ever serve “tsoureki” at the Easter table? Or “Mageiritsa” for Easter? Now the housewife puts these on the table every Easter. We brought the customs from abroad.

R: We still cook for Easter at least. The family will sit around the Easter table to eat.

R: Yes, but for how many years will we be still doing this?

R: We are discussing the present.

R: Tell me then, when the kids grow up do you think that they'll be coming home at all? For Easter?

R: So, as somebody said, one of the reasons these changes were brought about, was because you realized that you were deprived and we were deprived when we were children, so...

R: Correct.

R: It's our fault.

M: What else has affected today's family?

R: The easy divorce. Everywhere you go today, in every 10 couples, I believe that 7 are divorced. Only 3 couples are left with the family bond, the mother, the father, the grandfather. Where is the tradition, when the children were being brought up by grandma and grandpa? There was a kind of warmth for them. Now, they are brought up by the Shri-Lankan, the Philippino, the Bulgarian, -if of course your husband doesn't sleep with her... - or in the state or private kindergartens. In every 10 women here you might find 1 or 2 that brought up their children themselves. 1, 2, 3, only. I was brought up in a kindergarten, I imagine it's the same with you.

R: Yes.

R: You see, the one situation is the aftereffect of the other.

R: I think everything started when women went to work. From there start all the bad repercussions for the kids.

R: Correct.

R: You see kids that grow up with their mother and they are calmer. Their character is calmer. Our children, because we're working mothers, are full of nerves and stress because they miss us and then we do what they want because of our own guilt. When I go home they ask what have I brought them. I always take something home. Not for her but to ease my guilt. I buy off my guilt. It doesn't solve anything.

R: Wrong method.

R: Yes. I see this with my daughter. She goes to a kindergarten. She feels bad because her friend's mother is a housewife who stays home and she rubs it in constantly. It’s as if she hates me because I work and she doesn't understand that we need the money and that's why I work. I also see the difference with my son with whom I had spent more time. He went to kindergarten at 3. Even with this little time the difference became apparent.

M: What have all these changes created in our life style?

R: Life's demands. The financial problems.
R: It's the Government's fault. If the Government said "All mothers who go out to work, should stay home from now on and take care of their children until they start school..." Why should we be paying all this money to the kindergartens? As a housewife, I should stay home until my child goes to primary school and then, I can go out to work.

M: In which country does this happen?

R: In many countries of the world, not like us that are left at life's mercy!
I have four kids, another 3 or 2... so then wife and husband have to work. Of course you might say, "Why did you have these children in the first place?" It all starts at the top.

R: You can smell a fish that's gone bad from its head.

M: What else has affected our life?

R: All these divorces?
R: Immaturity, irresponsibility.
R: In the past there were more pressures for women.
R: In the past... it was a question of society.
R: Whereas now a woman has her own money, she has financial freedom, and she doesn't depend so much on her husband. She has more freedom. It's easier.

M: How did women acquire all this freedom?

R: Because of the oppression.
R: Because of the equality. A man and a woman are the same.
R: Only in words. I'd like you to come and tell my husband that I'm going out with a couple of girlfriends and boyfriends tonight for some fun... Then we'll see how equal we are.
R: But you don't feel equal because you go or don't go out.

M: What does equality mean for you?

R: I would have preferred life without equality so I could stay home and feel warm and comfortable.

R: So when we say that we want equality; what do we compare it with: the past... other countries?
R: Not with the past. I don't want to go back to ploughing the field and working so hard as our grandmothers did.

M: What, in relation to the past?

R: No, in professions that were basically male dominated, where now a woman can compete.
R: In the wage scale, where we do equal work. Woman's labour should be appreciated. Like we respect our husbands, we want them to respect us. To be made feel useful, to be wanted in the house, not because we're supposedly the weaker sex we must...
R: First there must be recognition from our home, our family, then from the outside world. When we have this from our home, then it comes naturally from outside the family.
R: If we raise our children properly I think that the next generation will be better.
R: That's why I said that it depends on the parents, that if we raise them properly they have a chance.
R: If I teach my son to help me in the house, then in turn he will help his own wife and they'll share the housework.
R: My daughter is 20 years old. When I tell her that I can't afford this or that she won't go into tantrums demanding this or the other. She will say "It's O.K. mother." It's the same with my son. Of course, I pay 'college' tuition, but if it's Christmas or Easter they save their pocket-money and we chip in too. But they're not demanding children.

M: O.K., let's discuss 'morals'. It's been said that lately we have lost our morality. That it's become very loose in relation to the past. What do you think?
The issue is not that morally we are looser than in the past. In the past people didn’t talk about it. When you meet young people today who are open and they talk, it doesn’t mean that they are not moral. We have many youngsters today who are much more moral than in the past. They have opportunities now. But because of the mass media, it’s all over the place. If they do something bad, you hear about it immediately. Whereas in the past, they were in the back alleys, in the back streets. Generally, because there’s some easing off in morals, they accuse us, the parents as well. I think this is wrong. Simply in the past it wasn’t heard. People did not talk about it. They did not have T.V., newspapers, magazines. It wasn’t like today where you see everything on the T.V.

I can tell you that now, the middle aged people are worse that the young ones. The middle aged people have more loose morals than the young ones.

Why?

Because when they were young, they were more controlled and deprived. Basically they were deprived. And our youngsters are not all loose. We have lots of kids that are very well brought up.

What does in your opinion affect the morals in Cyprus? Where is it based?

It depends on what you mean. Do you mean the person who is honest in sex matters, the one that goes to church? Because if you judge according to those who go to church, I doubt whether...

What comes to mind when you hear that a person has morals?

A person that has principles. Correct. For a child to respect first of all his family, his parents, his friends, his teachers, his neighbours. Of course we had these incidents in Limassol with some students, but basically, it all starts from the family. If a child has morals, he is taught by his parents to respect first of all himself, then his family, his brothers, sisters, friends, grandparents... and then of course, he’ll respect his classmate, his teacher, the society.

What does in your opinion affect the morals in Cyprus?

Maybe the fact that parents work long hours and they don’t have time to spend with their children and teach them...

Do you think that the other countries have any effect?

Yes. They bring their bad habits with them. The tourists bring with them the: discos, drugs, alcohol, and smoking. They are all imported. Our kids see this and they try to imitate. But man is a creature that imitates. The television for example.

Tourism perhaps?

It must have had an impact. Also the invasion in ’74 brought about many bad things. There are bad points too.

Like what?

The fact that tourism brought a lot of people in Cyprus. Tourism brought many problems.

What happened when all these people came over?
R: The misery at the time, the way they were brought up at the time. All this had an effect. Plus tourism, I think.

M: What else has tourism done to Cyprus? How else did it affect it? Let's take Limassol for example that receives at least 200,000 tourists a year. How did this affect you, you who live in the city and mingle with all these foreigners everyday?

R: It has its good points and its bad points.

M: Tell us some good points.

R: It keeps many people at work.

R: Personally, tourism hasn't affected me at all. Let them come and enjoy what Cypriots have to offer, but as an island, what has Cyprus got to offer? Nothing. First of all, we lost our identity as Cypriots. Everywhere you look, the signs are in English. The road signs are in English. Not even one is in Greek. Did anybody ask my grandmother if she can read English?

M: Have we lost our identity in our effort to satisfy all these foreigners?

R: Yes, of course.

M: You mean that we go to a restaurant and all we hear is English?

R: Yes. We have lost our identity. But we have to speak English in order to serve them.

R: Why? They should learn Greek.

R: No, that's an extreme. Everywhere in the world you go, people speak English in order to be understood.

R: The French are so self-centered that they won't speak to you in any other language.

R: The reason they come here is to visit and see the Cyprus traditions. Taste local dishes, see local dances, folklore. If the reason is to go to Ayia Napa and experience what he experiences at home, he won't come to Cyprus.

R: So you think that we have failed?

R: By offering Cyprus food or Cyprus dances, don't you think that we're selling our identity?

R: No, we promote our identity. This is what we are. I am not ashamed to say that I am a Cypriot, a Greek Cypriot.

R: When they go to Lefkara to buy our traditional lace and they're made in India...

R: Well no, that's cheating. Plain daylight robbery.

R: What are we offering our tourists?

R: Nothing. All the things we offer them are imported. We are not offering local culture.

M: Did you ever ask the tourists why they come to Cyprus? What do you think about that?

R: For our sunshine, our beaches, our sea, our hospitality. The nice things they don't have in their own country. If you fall down, how many people will come to help you? Nobody. We have lost our warmth, our hospitality. The "good morning" is lost. They used to sit outside their houses, on the pavement and talk and drink coffee. The neighbourhoods, the folkloric element.

R: Somewhere along the line we started copying the foreigners, the Greeks from the mainland, and we don't care about our neighbors. We like to pretend that we don't care, but we still peep through the shutters to see what are neighbours are doing to the extent that some could use binoculars in order to see what his neighbours are doing inside their house.

R: Some, do. I know a specific person that has binoculars and checks the whole neighbourhood.

M: Do you think that this is a new phenomenon in our society? This meanness, the lack of interest...?

R: We always had this tendency, but on a smaller scale.
R: The eras don't change, people are the same...

M: What changes?

R: Our attitude, our way of thinking.

R: The family has grown apart, every child in the house has his own T.V. set in his bedroom. We have no control when they go to bed. There's no communication. All this starts with the family. We come home from work, we eat and then we switch on the T.V. and that's it. End of communication. We are alienated now. There's no dialogue any more.

R: Try it! It's a tried formula. If you have a family of six and you switch off the T.V. suddenly you'll have absolute silence and an awkwardness. If you tell them that you want to have a conversation, that you want to talk, they'll say, "Oh, come on now! Switch it on, I want to see what happens next."

M: What do you think of criminality in Cyprus, in relation to other countries?

R: In relation to other countries or to the past?

R: Rubbish! There's no criminality.

M: Yes, but you live in a town (Limassol) where there's plenty of it.

R: Since the beginning of time, Limassol was rich in crimes. People used to carry guns all the time. My own grandfather carried his gun with him at all times. If somebody did something to him, he would shoot him.

R: Nothing has changed.

M: There was no crime in the old days?

R: Of course there was. You had the Zacharias, the Hassambouli families. Now we have the gangs of organized crime - Aeroporos family, the Fanieros family and after a while some other family will show up...

R: I believe you will always have them.

R: And that the police don't know about it, is something that I don't believe.

R: The drugs are our new menace.

M: You mean that crime is not something new to Limassol, but it has maintained the same rhythm over the years.

R: Precisely. The drugs are the new thing in our small Cyprus.

R: They are imported.

R: I also think that now, there is a lot of alcohol consumption. In the past, people would drink their wine, whereas now they consume harmful drinks and in great quantities, uncontrollably. They have to get drunk before they stop drinking. They are ruining their health.

M: How did this come about, by imitating the tourists or did it start from the family?

R: Out of necessity; to escape from the stress.

R: Too many outings, too much freedom.

R: They have so many materialistic goods, that freedom maybe drives them to excessive use of alcohol or drugs. Rich kids, poor kids, some problem usually drives them to these things. Maybe it's due to the alienation from the family.

R: I don't believe that a child that's brought up rightly would...

R: Where there is no problem, they create one by themselves.

R: I believe that we already had drugs, but people did not talk about them as much as they do now.

R: They were not so widespread.

R: Yes, but they, existed. When I was young I remember a neighbour of ours that used to plant and cultivate 'hashish'. I remember when I was 6 or 7 she used to wrap it up in newspapers in her back garden and kept looking suspiciously all over the place and I always wondered what she was doing.
R: ...Much later, I learned what she was up to.
R: I believe that our young ones have no dreams, no goals, no ideals and they try to create false ones...
R: ...There is no happiness in them, there is nothing in them, so they try to create an illusionary world by taking drugs.
R: Either they're rich or poor.
R: I mean generally. Sometimes rich kids have more problems.
R: The young are not satisfied with what they have.
R: Wrong, it's very wrong.
R: When we wanted to play, we used to create games out of nothing.
R: Nowadays, kids have a roomful of toys and they play by themselves in their own world.
R: Then we used to play in the neighborhood, in the alleys with other neighbors. Now people live in apartment buildings, they have a roomful of toys, computers, the Internet and they are still not happy.

M: You said earlier that we used to meet with our girlfriends, our neighbors. That was our community. What else has changed this unity, this idea of the community which you feel part of?
R: We don't really feel this, as we come from a village. We didn't see any great difference.
R: I live in Limassol, but I still go home to the village.
M: Therefore that's where your community is.
R: Yes.
R: I'm quite happy with the way I grew up, regardless of the situations. What I miss today is the trust we had in others. You say sometimes "thank God I can choose my friends because my relatives are imposed upon me."
R: You can find understanding, some kind of response from your friends.
M: So your friends are your community.
R: Yes. They are the people that were there when I needed them. I chose them and I believe that at any difficult time in my life they will be there for me again.
M: In relation to the past how do you see their community, did they choose their friends?
R: They were more united.
M: Meaning?
R: They were all together. The whole community was united. They all knew each other, their problems...In 1964 I was watching the film "Astero" on the T.V, I remember there was one T.V set in the community and everybody would gather around and watch and hear all the gossip: Who had a baby, if the delivery was normal, if people had flour or bread, whose son or daughter was in trouble, everything.
R: Today, I don't know our community.
R: No, it's on the individual. My community, my village. Everything is fine.
R: Even if you want today, it's not easy. Everybody works, comes home late. You have no time even if you want to do it.
R: To have coffee or gossip.
R: Now they're individualists.
M: Do you socialize with tourists?
R: A little.
M: Is it because of your line of work or do you pursue it because you want to learn?
R: If I knew someone that keeps coming back year after year, why not keep company with him or her.

R: I have a lot of them due to my line of work, I’m a hairdresser and the ones that keep coming every year. Basically what you give is what you get.

R: Yes, life is a mirror. I don’t have any problems with them.

R: Basically, you take from the tourist what you want.

R: Even to my children I keep telling them “who-ever you meet, try and take or learn from the positive points that people have, not the negatives.” Even I do this. If I see something good, I say to myself, “Why don’t I do the same.”

M: Do you have an example to give us? A relationship let’s say?

R: From my experience, what I like about the tourists is that they are not inquisitive. The hair-saloon is in the centre of the community and I find inquisitiveness very wrong. I am in this business 15-16 years now and I never allowed gossip in the shop.

R: Because you are working only with tourists?

R: No, I also have many Cypriot clients but I never like gossip. And why should I? A lot of them were also my friends and not because I get money from them. Would it be nice to gossip about my friend? And it’s not because of the money, it’s just not nice.

M: What else do you like about the tourists?

R: I like their way of thinking. Their open-mindedness. Not as far as immorality is concerned, but the freedom, the way they express themselves, their far-sightedness. They are freer, more subtle, more open, whereas we are not. And they’re liberated in the good sense of the word, not the bad.

R: Yes, today’s psychologists tell us, “Give more freedom to your children. Let them try their own wings. They don’t belong to you, to start with.”

R: So, what do we do? If we could, we’d go live with them in the army camp. They call us asking for food and we run to them. If we could, we’d chew their food for them.

R: I never went to my son’s army camp and nor will I ever. That’s my character, I won’t be running after my son.

R: The foreigners don’t do this.

R: All the kids that are liable for military service are the same. They all have families. When some soldiers are from Nicosia and they are based far away in other towns and their parents can’t and don’t visit them, why should I go visit my son who is in Nicosia?

R: I have a friend who used to go to Lefka and carry with her whole crates of food stuff for her son.

R: Somewhere I heard that a foreigner said once: “Cypriots build their houses as if they’re going to live forever and eat as if they are going to die tomorrow.”

R: A very wise statement.

R: Whereas foreigners live for the day without thinking about tomorrow.

R: And they do notice the way that we shop and eat.

R: They are also very close with their families. At least the ones that I know.

R: The way they get dressed also, is much better. You see an old lady dressed in bright colors, whereas our old ladies don’t.

M: The fact that they walk topless on the beach, that they dress so liberally, how do these things affect us?

R: On the beach it doesn’t bother me at all.

R: Does it affect you the fact that they are half naked? That they are not properly dressed and walk about in the hotels half naked?

R: Maybe, because they are jealous of them. If I let my boobs loose they’ll resemble a pair of fried eggs. That’s how it is. If I had a nice figure, maybe I would have done it myself.

R: I worked for 14 years for a psychiatrist. Do you know how many women customers we had from Paralimni and Ayia Napa because their husbands went mad over some tourist girls?

R: And they had to see a psychiatrist?

R: Yes. The situation caused them psychological problems.
M: So, because tourists are more liberal than we are...
R: They create relations with Cypriots, the family is neglected, the wife is neglected, yes, they see a woman with a nice body...
M: Has tourism contributed to the increase of divorces; the immoral relationships so that one could get a girlfriend and abandon his family?
R: Of course.
R: You mean the nudity on the beaches?
R: No, I mean tourism in general. The source could be...
R: No. The source is not the topless women. It's the Cypriots' lack of brains.
R: I will disagree here. What you don't see, you don't want. When you see all these things, they affect you.
M: Maybe when he sees this topless girl he is tempted and his thoughts travel elsewhere instead of just looking at a beautiful girl...
R: There is a lot of temptation out there now.
R: Yes, but the new generation does not get too excited by topless girls. Let's not get it out of proportions.
R: So what if I see a topless girl; if that's the way she feels, good for her. Here, if I see a man with his genitals hanging out I don't know how I'd react. The female body doesn't bother me at all. Generally, the female naked body doesn't bother me at all.
R: I see naked girls everyday in magazines and on television.
R: Yes. What about the children. I wonder what your 8 year old son would say if he saw this...
R: He'd say...
R: You're making a big mistake.
R: It didn't happen to me.
R: You'll immediately see how crafty he is.
R: I didn't come across this.
R: Of course it affects you.
R: Freedom in tourism... I believe there are a lot of young girls and our boys want to play the macho-man. If his friend has a girlfriend he must have one too. You have the gigolos. One thing leads to the other.
M: They say that in Cyprus we have one of the highest percentages of people with University degrees.
R: Since when?
R: Our educational standard.
R: It's the three things a Cypriot wants: a nice house, a nice car and to educate his children.
R: There is the stress that consumes the Cypriot.
M: Do you also think that they also do it for showing off?
R: Of course they do it, because we're a small community. It's showing off as well.
R: And if somebody's child tries to go to work they ask for all kinds of degrees.
R: Again here, the government is at fault.
R: If a young man graduates from the local high-school, what kind of work will he find?
R: In the old days, when a child graduated from primary school, he was considered literate and everybody looked up to him! If he went on to high-school he was considered more educated and if he graduated high-school it was a great achievement. Now, you graduate from a university and it means nothing. You have to do a Master's Degree or a Doctorate to be worth something.
M: Why did this happen?
R: Again this is due to our Government, our society.
Because there is no meritocracy so that a person can be judged according to his degrees or his capabilities. We also have the key-people, the buddies. Most jobs are dependent upon who you know and not upon what you know. Tell me of one job where these key-people were not used in order for somebody to get a job. There's no use lying about it.

In the public sector yes, but in the private sector, they find the people that suit them best. If you are good, you get a job. If not, you don't. In the Government and semi-Governmental sectors, yes, I agree. The utmost importance is who you are, and whom you know.

I agree. I know a lot of people that have only a high-school diploma and have very good positions in the government and there are people with University degrees that can't find a job despite the fact that they passed the required exams.

If we take for example the Eastern countries, everybody has the chance to study for free and they still can't survive properly... whereas here, we are doing all right. Whereas the standard of our educational system is very limited, very poor.

What professions do you think have a greater demand in Cyprus?

Teachers.

They are the most sought after jobs, because they are appointed as soon as they graduate, they don't have a lot of preparation for the next day.

Especially for girls; it's considered the ideal job.

Something that is very bad with us, is that we try to impose our dreams and ambitions on our children and if they are somewhat weak, they are in trouble; we will call them stupid or this or that, because they are not like we dreamt they will be, or the way that we wanted ourselves to be.

You mean that we seek professions that ensure security or that are more easy to get into today, that are more fashionable today?

The first.

For example, they become teachers because they get off work early?

No, it's because of the security the job offers.

Both.

If it's a Government job, I will be employed faster, I will have security, so is a teacher's job.

Other professions that are ideal?

If there is a job where you do nothing and you get paid for doing nothing...

The fire-fighters and the police officers.

Correct.

Generally in the public sector.

Apart from this? In the private sector?

Mostly waiters, cooks, the hotel industry, economics, tourism.

Why don't the young people today work in the agricultural sector?

What agriculture! It doesn't exist.

Whereas in the past we had mostly everything, nowadays we have to import most things.

It's undermined.

Does everybody have to work in an office?

Yes, because we want them to look smart. We want to see them in suits and ties.

Like my son, I keep telling him to study, to do his home-work so as not to suffer like his mother.

And we don't even have land to cultivate anymore.
R: My father was a farmer. A small time farmer. For someone to go into agriculture he must do it in a dynamic way. The simple traditional agriculture is ineffective. There is no money to be made in this kind of work.

R: As an idea it's very nice, but you must also love what you do.

M: So the result is that we employ lots of foreign workers that do the work we don't want to do.

R: Yes.
R: And we also complain that too many foreigners come to Cyprus.
R: And if you have a woman with problems, or she's divorced with a couple of children, we marry her off with an Arab so he can also get a Cyprus nationality.

M: What's your opinion about the illegal workers in Cyprus?

R: If I could get my way, I'd get a gun and shoot them all tomorrow morning.
R: It's our own fault, because we put up with them, because we know a lot of people who employ illegal workers and we do nothing about it.
R: We will also call them if we have an odd job to be done, we'll give them 10 pounds and our garden for example, will be clean.
R: Again it's our fault because we all want to educate our children. You can't find people do certain jobs. And if you do, he will ask for 50 pounds, whereas these people will do it for just 20 pounds per day.
R: They get paid much less. That's why people prefer them.
R: And why not pay less to dig out potatoes?
R: Take for example my line of work. I work in a dry-cleaner and when we ask for girls to operate the hand-press, when they come and see that it's not an easy job they leave. Only a foreigner will stay and do the work because she needs the money.
R: If we follow this reasoning, we are helping out the situation with the illegal workers. What we don't like...
R: Yes; we are responsible for all this. Why should I get my nails dirty when someone else can wash the dishes?
R: Yes, we make room for them.
R: Most of them also have visas.
R: I mean illegal people and foreign workers.
R: They work in farms, clinics, old peoples' homes.
R: But even if they are legal...
R: In most hotels the majority of the workers are illegal.
R: When I was young in the village, I remember a lot of young girls that used to work as maids, and we used to call them "slaves".
R: Today's girls work for around 18 pounds a day, whereas the foreigners, illegal or not, work for 10 pounds a day.
R: Like the doctors: why shouldn't they employ Cypriot girls as nurses who are educated, but instead they employ foreigners... our girls can do the same work as them, if not better.
R: First of all they won't even understand what you're asking them. You ask for your pills and they bring you food.
R: Come on now...
R: No, I'm not lying.
R: We've been through these things.
R: Yes, but on the other hand, we want to have jobs but also want the easy life.
R: My grandfather used to say: "You can't have your cake and eat it" but we want to eat it and have it at the same time.
R: We must be prepared to pay up the consequences.

M: What do you mean?
R: The employers. There will come a time -no matter how much they're trying to cut down on their costs when their work will not be as good as it's required because we are a demanding nation. We are hard working people in some respects. They are experimenting now and I believe that in a few years they will stop this.
R: I don't think so.
If there's anybody left, because they keep marrying all the Philippino, and Shri-Lankan women and like an acquaintance of mine, he married a Philippino girl so she'd bring more of them here, to work in his cabaret. Yes! And on top of everything else, he says that he's legal!

She's right.

At the place where I work, there was one illegal worker and slowly slowly, because the illegal worker came from a different culture, and he was not working as he should so they fired him.

That's an exception.

I also know of an illegal immigrant that came to Cyprus. He was also good looking and started to work in a hotel. In the end, he married the owner's daughter and now he is the big boss. At some point he'll kick them out altogether and deservedly so. What they did to the foreigners, it's now happening to them. Not to mention that most of the employees in that hotel are foreigners and illegal. But because he is well connected, the police turns a blind eye. Many times the police came to arrest him, but he offers them a couple of drinks and all is fine. And all this is happening because he has all the right connections. This is our corrupted society.

Do you know how many times I think of Solomos who was shot and killed for nothing! Absolutely no reason! Not to mention all those people that fought and died for our independence in 1955 - 1959. For what reason? So that we'd bring over here half the Philippine nation, the Syrians and the Shri-Lankans?

It makes me sad when I see people selling their land and houses to them.

But we, Cypriots like to get paid, but we don't like to work.

I have my own business, work twice as much as my employees, but today they're tired and tomorrow they won't have slept well. If there's work to be done that's a little difficult, you think twice before giving it to them, because you know that it won't be done.

I believe we can put a stop to our discussion at this point. It's getting very late and you all have to get back to your families. I'd like to thank you all for participating in this discussion.

It was very nice. The discussion was very nice.

We enjoyed it.

Thank you all very much for your patience.
APPENDIX 10 - FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

Group: 4
Sex: Females
Location: Pafos
Moderator: Alexis Saveriades
Number of participants: 10
Date: 03/12/99
Duration: 68 minutes

M: Good afternoon everybody. Let me begin by introducing myself. My name is Alexis. Thank you for accepting to participate in this discussion group which I promise you to be quite interesting in terms of the subjects you are going to discuss. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said on the audio recorder, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying 'Maria, said this', and 'Elena said that'. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities. There are no correct or wrong answers in the discussion we are about to have. I'd like you to speak out freely on all subjects that will be brought up, irrespective of the fact that you might not agree with whatever has been said by other participants. So, let us begin by introducing ourselves. If you'd like to tell me your names please.

R: Maroulla
R: Elena
R: Evgenia
R: Constantina
R: Maria
R: Androulla
R: Dimitra
R: Tasoulla
R: Marianna
R: Toulla (late comer)

M: So, let's talk about everyday life in Cyprus. The common Cypriot, how does he view life today? Does he have problems? Big problems? Is life difficult?

R: Yes, it's difficult.

M: In comparison to other, past times?

R: Yes.

M: What has changed?

R: It's very expensive. Everything is getting more expensive. We have new taxes in our life without any salary increases so that we can cope in life.

M: Like what?

R: Like the sewage system in Limassol, Pafos and in other towns which is a considerable amount, and now we have the V.A.T.

R: We never had V.A.T.
R: And our salary has remained the same. For example, 10% is for V.A.T., plus 20% for taxes which makes it a 30% increase whereas salaries haven't even gone up by 10% in recent years in comparison to all the taxes that have gone up.

M: Any other changes in relation to the past?

R: Having one job is not enough. You have to have 2 or 3 jobs.
R: I completely agree.
R: Both wife and husband have to work.
R: Unfortunately, both have to work.
R: It's difficult.
R: I believe that we have accepted a lot of foreign influences in the Cypriot family life and these have brought about not only the financial problems but lots of others too.

M: Give us an example of the foreign influences.

R: With so many foreigners that come here with drugs, foreign attitudes, foreign ways, I believe that they have harmed us a lot.

M: You mean the tourists?

R: Them too, but mainly it's all these outsiders that have settled here.
R: They have brought with them their own customs, their own way of living, their culture.
R: Tourists come and go.

M: Give us an example.

R: In Pafos we have all kinds: Arabs, Pontians...
R: Yes, we have lots of them.
R: Especially Pontians.
R: We are not racists.
R: Of course not. Especially to our Greek brethren. They have no country so we should let them live here and we should accept them, but we should be more careful as far as whom we are accepting. They should be only the ones with Greek heritage. Now, only a tenth of them are true Greeks. The rest have paid money and got a piece of paper that makes them Greek. They should have gone to their own countries. They could be Muslims.
R: It's too late now.
R: It should be done again. From the beginning.
R: Most of the Pontians that are here are illegal.

M: You mean that all these foreigners are illegal?

R: Yes, most of them are.

M: How does this affect us?

R: It affects us because in any form of work you can get an illegal that will work for less money than the Cypriot. The foreigner will work for as little as 8 Cyprus pounds per day without shift work and will work from dawn to dusk whereas the Cypriot will not. Automatically, this ruins all the Trade Union agreements.

M: Anything else that they influence?

R: They also engage in criminal acts like stealing.
R: Slowly slowly, they befriend our young, they steal and eventually they will teach our children to do the same and one thing leads to another.
R: Let me interrupt the lady, please. I have children at school and they have picked up very bad habits like their language which is very vulgar.
M: You mean that they have children at school too.

R: Of course. In the school that my kids go to, more than 50% of the children are foreigners. It’s unacceptable. We had a “war”, we had intense arguments and only Mr. Pittokopitis (MP) supported us and now they are boycotting him. No wonder he keeps his mouth shut. He’s the only one that told the truth.

M: Half the kids are Pontians?

R: To be quite honest not half, but for every 10 of ours 8 are Pontians.

R: In the 6th Elementary School it’s even worse. For every 12 Pontian children there are 8 Greek. There are more Pontians than locals.

R: But how many are there?

R: In Kato Pafos, thousands.

R: To be precise, I live in Exo Vríssi. If I tell you that I am scared to open my front door you won’t believe me. Go for a walk downtown overnight and you’ll see what I mean. You’ll see what’s happening.

R: They are out in the streets.

R: You are scared to walk. There are 50-100 foreigners. If they were Greeks I wouldn’t have a problem, I wouldn’t be scared.

R: They just got a passport from somewhere...

R: You’re scared to walk.

R: They are in groups everywhere.

R: You feel insecure. You worry about your children playing there.

A: Did you have any experiences with them?

R: They start fights, they break windows, and in Dimitra’s neighbourhood there was a big fight.

R: My father witnessed it. He was sitting on his veranda.

M: Do they fight amongst themselves?

R: Usually, yes.

R: But sometimes there are incidents with our boys. Down town, in the tourist area, during weekends, they clash with our young boys.

R: As a matter of fact there are two roads that we avoid using.

R: Really?

R: One of them is ‘Agapinoros’.

R: They drive drunk. Even my daughter had an accident one Sunday lunchtime.

R: And they leave the scene most of the times.

R: No, my daughter caught him.

R: I was a witness when they left the scene.

M: Generally, how do you compare the quality of your life now with the past? Are there any better things?

R: As far as luxury is concerned, yes, sure there are.

R: If I had to choose I would have preferred to live 50 years ago if not more.

R: No, not that much back.

R: I believe that it’s this affluence that’s ruined us.

R: O.K. Affluence to this extent yes. To have lived 15 years ago, yes, but 50 years is too much.

R: One example: my grandmother and my aunts that are quite old. They are full of life, full of energy because they worked and had an honest and full life.

R: Our daily bread, even now we earn it honestly.

R: You can say that it was produced honestly and now it’s not.

R: O.K., maybe I used the wrong word, but we might have a lot of luxuries now, but I’d like to see how things will be 10 years from now, how the grandmothers are going to be.
**M:** What do you think will be wrong then?

**R:** A lot of things. A lot of bad things. Take my son for instance. It will take a great effort to value, moral in order to be able to make something of his life.

**R:** It all depends on the family.

**R:** Just one moment, I disagree. When I go to work early in the morning and come home at lunch time for an hour and then I leave again for work and return after 1.00 a.m. how can I advise and help my son?

**R:** I agree, you’re right.

**R:** How can I!

**R:** We shouldn’t have to offer them everything they ask for, expensive things as well so that we can spend more time with our children.

**R:** Let me interrupt: do you think that people worked less 50 years ago?

**R:** No. In fact more. All the wife had to do...

**R:** She just had the burden of the housekeeping, but we didn’t have today’s distractions.

**M:** One minute: tell us what morals, ideals are missing today.

**R:** I am not saying that we are missing anything. Every mother and father will give the basic ideals.

**M:** Yes, but what will the next generation not have?

**R:** Parents will guide their children to the right path.

**R:** When a father comes home and all he does is change his clothes and go out again, the mother comes home and does not give the proper attention to the children. I think that this plays a major role in the life and upbringing of the children.

**R:** Of course it does.

**R:** Let me tell you something else. If a highly paid parent comes home he has time to play with his children and has time for his wife, but when someone is a labourer with a low income and to be able to meet all his financial demands he will have to hold 2 and 3 jobs, so his time with his family is very limited.

**R:** Your name, please?

**R:** Elena.

**R:** My dear Elena, it’s not the time that counts but the connection you have with your children. Half an hour of quality time can produce more results than ten hours of non-quality time. It’s the understanding you have with your children.

**R:** I would like to touch another subject. Mrs. X makes a lot of money or Mrs. X makes less money. I believe that it plays a major role when a child asks for 50 Pounds. Because I have the ability to give him the money I shouldn’t say “Here take it” without asking what he needs this money for, whether the sum is big or small.

**M:** Let's welcome the newcomer. Could you introduce yourself please? We are discuss about life in Cyprus. Whether it’s better now than it was in the past.

**R:** Hi, I’m Toulla.

**R:** We are better off now than 10 years ago. But a parent, a mother must know how to guide her child on the right path. To know when he may go out, when to study and when to play. That’s what counts.

**M:** Now that we are discussing the family, parenthood, can you tell me if the family bond has changed in relation to the past?

**R:** Yes. It has.

**M:** How?
R: Parents today have more obligations so they don't have enough time to look after their children the way they should.

R: Yes, it's what we were discussing before.

R: We want today's luxuries, that's why we rush from one place to the other, whereas in the past our elders, our parents did not want all these things that we seem to want now. They used to eat from one plate.

R: What made us change like that?

R: In the old days when the man of the house said, "That's the way things are going to be done", that was it. There was no questioning him, whereas now, we have equal rights and I could say to my husband "You will do it my way", so when a child hears his parents talking like that, he can say to himself "I'll do things my way too."

R: It all originates from the fact that we have so many jobs, we have become a "consumer's machine", we all want to become rich.

M: Why has this change come about when life was so peaceful?

R: It's the new technology. There wasn't all this new technology 30 years ago like the Mass Media, the T.V. Electricity arrived in Cyprus in the '60s and now we suddenly have all these.

R: I believe that the institution of marriage still exists in Cyprus. It's one thing if we work and live in luxury and another thing the family bond.

R: We still favour the family.

R: It still exists.

R: Let me say something: it exists but not as strongly as before. Nowadays the children are disobedient and there's also no respect towards the parents.

R: In Cyprus we still care strongly about our family not like in other countries, for example the European countries.

R: In Cyprus parents take care of their children until they die.

R: And their grandchildren too.

R: In Europe, they reach the age of 16 and parents turn round and tell their children "there's the door." That's how I see it.

R: That's how it is.

R: Only in Cyprus we take care of our children from cradle to the grave.

R: But we have this in Cyprus and let them be jealous.

R: We've been overseas when our children were studying and we saw how they behave there.

M: How do you see the effects of tourism on our population? On our youth mostly.

R: It's getting worse.

R: We try to copy their ways, mostly our young ones.

M: Give us some examples.

R: The way they entertain themselves, the outrageous clothes, the long hair. It's all out of proportion.

R: The earrings, the complete freedom from their family when they turn 16. They don't have to answer to anybody about their comings and goings, whereas we, want to know everything about what our children do.

R: Even if they stay at home.

R: That is if they stay at home.

R: But if we didn't have tourism we wouldn't have jobs. There wouldn't be any hotels for people to work in. Not all tourists come from bad backgrounds. We have good people that come here.

M: Let me hear something from the rest of the group. Does tourism have any good points?

R: The financial factor.

M: O.K. One is that. They could have good customs to offer.
R: Good customs? I doubt it, no.
R: Naturally, we in Pafos also have the permanent ones, the ones that bought houses and live here. They are practically Cypriots.

M: How do these people influence life in Pafos?
R: These people are usually old people, pensioners. They are easy going people. They stay home and they are of a higher class.

M: Do you associate with these people?
R: We do. As a family we have personal friends with whom we socialize.

M: So what do these people offer to Cyprus?
R: Their money mostly.
R: Except that.
R: We watch their way of life, how they behave, how they communicate.

M: How would you describe their behaviour?
R: I thing that they are docile people, they behave well.
R: There is something that we could copy from these people. When their children settle down and make their own families they accept it and stay away from them, unlike us that we keep taking care of our children even when we become pensioners. We keep giving them money to the point of starving and not being able to look after ourselves. This has to stop. After a certain age we have to start to look after ourselves, we have to have a decent life with our partner. These people have this and we should imitate them. We don't have it in Cyprus where our children bleed us dry until the day we die.
R: Because they want to build the best house!
R: And only for that!

M: Do you think that these people, apart from the financial aspect, they contribute anything towards the social structure of Pafos?
R: Yes, they help a great deal.
M: So we can imitate these people.
R: Yes, of course.
R: There are groups of English women that regularly visit houses and help.
R: They even bought equipment for the hospital.
R: They do make an example for us to copy.

M: So they differ from the tourists.
R: Of course.
R: We also respect the tourists, but let's face it: it's the ones that come to work that create the bad influences. The tourist that comes for a week cannot create any bad influences, nearly all countries have tourists.

M: What you said earlier about the way they influence our young ones, the way they entertain themselves...
R: That's why we said that on the background there's the family.
R: It depends on the family.
R: When your child reaches that dangerous age where he starts to imitate, then you must be more protective, more observant.
R: Yes, but it doesn't depend on the family 100%, but also on the child. You can't confine your child or chain him to bed. You can only advise him.
R: You have to watch who he associates with, who his friends are.

R: It's the institution of family. As the child grows up and the family environment is healthy, there's understanding between his parents and no friction, it's almost impossible for this child to grow up and be easily influenced by the wrong people. A lot depends on the foundation of his upbringing.

R: Yes, but how do you explain the phenomenon of two brothers differing so much? Did they not have the same upbringing? The same family foundations?

R: Every rule has its exceptions.

R: It's not only that.

R: Sometimes the bad people that somebody hangs out with are to blame.

R: It's all in their character, I believe.

R: Maybe the parents did not pay enough attention to one of the two children.

R: It's neither case. It's their upbringing. Simply, one of the children's character was stronger and he followed the right path, unlike the other. I'm saying this because I know of a specific example. Although the parents were of some stature, they were never interested in their children and one of the children using his own means and with the friends he associated with, is on the right path. Basically, it's the parents that should give children the correct beginning.

M: It's been said that our morals, our values have deteriorated.

R: Our principles.

R: Maybe in the past, people were hiding their dirty work.

R: It's better to meet and go out with a man before getting married, than get married, have a couple of children and then discover that you're not suited to each other and divorce. It existed in the past as well, but people were more conservative.

R: More strict.

R: Why were they more strict?

R: Because they had more taboos then.

R: It was a closer society.

R: And there were fewer people. Now we have double the number of people if not more, not to mention the tourists as well.

R: And with the displacement of our people, we all occupy half of the island.

R: I also think that tourism plays a part as well. We have adopted some of their morals.

M: For example?

R: They have more liberal ideas. We used to live in a more conservative society whereas now...

R: It's not only tourism. It's television as well. We see how other societies live.

R: It's progress. Surely, we have to evolve. We can't remain stagnant.

R: But the evolution doesn't apply only on the young or the unmarried people. Because even when you are divorced or old you don't stop evolving.

R: No, of course not. This is even better.

M: How do you see it now? Are there more divorces today?

R: Yes, there are lots of them.

M: Why?

R: A woman today has more demands from life. It's not like in the past where a woman was more conservative.

R: And this is due to the foreign dancers that come here, the Rumanians, the Russians, and there are quite a few of them too...

R: I can tell you from bitter experience that, Rumanian women especially, don't care if they are 16 or 20 years old, they still go out with 45-50 year old men. When you have a 50 year old married man whose wife is the same age and they've married for 30 years, and then you get this 20 year old girl coming on to him, can you blame him if...
he goes with this young girl and forget that he has a house and a wife waiting for him? That's why we have all these divorces.

R: But that's her job.
R: I think that this is the reason they come here.
R: Most of them come here to get married to an older Cypriot, so they can get a Cyprus passport (Cyprus nationality).
R: But they are brought here for another purpose and they make them suffer.
R: Don't you believe it. They usually come from similar places in Europe.
R: We just like to believe that they suffer.

M: Generally, do you think that in relation to the past, there's more criminality in Cyprus now?

R: Of course.
R: I don't think so. The difference now, is that there's more exposure due to the Mass Media.
R: There was always a modest level of criminality in Cyprus, but they just couldn't publicise every single crime that was being committed, whereas now, the smallest robbery or crime will be reported on T.V.
R: We always had crimes here.

M: Of the same level though?

R: More or less.
R: There's more of us now.
R: Now, you have gangs that control things, situations. It's more organized now whereas before they were individuals.
R: Whereas before it wasn't like that.
R: And I think that now the crimes are committed mostly by foreigners.
R: Yes, but the problem starts with us. You have the vendettas, the local family crime, take the 'Barons' for example.
R: We had them in the past too, in Kolossi, the Zacharias family etc.
R: We always had the crime families.
R: But no the organized ones.

M: Generally, if you hear the word "community", what comes to mind? If they said that to me, I'd think of my neighbourhood, my colleagues.

R: It doesn't exist anymore.
R: What do we have now?
R: Now everybody goes to work, comes home...
R: Total strangers.
R: You don't even know your neighbours. In the villages it may be different.
R: Whereas in the towns, I could be from Nicosia, my neighbour could be from Larnaka and so on, whereas in a village you know everybody from childhood. But in the cities you don't know where they come from, their background. You may say "hello, how are you" but that's it, you tend to keep your distance.

M: The rest of you? What are your views on this?

R: Yesterday, a girl was telling us that she only feels comfortable in her village, even though she lives in Limassol. If you asked her where her community is, she'd answer, "In my village."
R: So would we.
R: We feel the same.
R: The place where you were born, your old friends, neighbours.
R: In the village they are more united whereas in the towns they are more alienated.

M: You mean that they love each other when you say "united".
R: They care about each other. They socialize with each other.
R: I also feel the same. When I go to my village it's as if I'm reborn, whereas here, I am consumed by stress.
R: Everybody cares about each other, we love each other, whereas in the town...
R: Here, you tend to have thoughts like, "Does he love me, is he nice to me because he is jealous, or maybe he wants something from me?"

M: Do you trust people here?
R: No, no. They are superficial because you don't know them.
R: Whereas in the village you know everybody since childhood, you trust them.
R: Yes, us, because we experienced life in the village. My children don't want to go to the village. Their community is Pafos, here is their neighbourhood, here are their friends.

M: Do you find anything wrong in the fact that we are more isolated now than in the past.
R: No, I don't find anything good in being isolated. Human beings were born to be with other people, not live in isolation. If somebody spends his time alone, it's not logical.
M: Does time play a part in being alone?
R: Of course it does. All this running around deprives you of time.
R: Taking the children to afternoon classes, the financial burden...

M: Some say that life in Cyprus is very focused on material things. What are your thoughts on this?
R: It's very true.
R: It's very true.
R: When a child in Elementary school comes home and he wants -demands- a pair of shoes that costs 70 pounds, think of the way he was brought up.
R: It's not the child's fault.
R: Maybe it's not my child's fault, but when he goes to school and hears his friends boasting about the things their parents bought for them.
R: It's still the parents' fault.
R: I can still control mine, because they are young. I am talking about older children.

M: As Cypriots how do you feel about our identity? Do you feel strongly about it, or not you?
R: We do.
R: It has deteriorated. We had so many conquerors, so many influences, we have also been divided, where's our strong identity?
R: We are strong.
R: Were we not this strong we would not be in the position that we are now.
R: If we were not strong we would have been stuck with the label of the "refugee". That's what I think.
R: All this prosperity, all this financial improvement...
R: We've been flooded in money and been "blindfolded" as they say.
R: I think that we are strong and in fact very strong.

M: In what?
R: When I arrived in Pafos I had only a knife and a spoon...
R: Not even that. You were given them.
R: And my husband who had his own shop, who was his own boss had to start from scratch and go to work for 55 pounds a week... How do you think he felt? But because we are strong we managed and now we have our own shop, our own car and our own house. Were we not strong, how do you think we have achieved all this?

R: O.K., my husband also was a refugee, we got on our own feet too, but that's not what I'm referring to. I'm wondering whether we are strong as a team, as a nation.

R: Because we depend on others.

R: I disagree; wherever a Cypriot goes, people are envious of us.

R: That's how I see it too.

R: Even overseas it shows.

R: As individuals, yes, we have successful Cypriots abroad. We have scientists, but a nation, as a group of people we are weak. If we could, we would have had our freedom first of all.

R: That's a political issue.

M: When a Cypriot goes abroad does he feel proud of his national identity?

R: No, no.

R: He doesn't hide at all.

R: And all the other nations know about us.

R: For what?

R: For our cleverness, our family ways, our hospitality. They envy us. We have lots of virtues in comparison to them.

R: Our sun, our sea.

M: The fact that all these foreigners come to Cyprus; the tourists, the Pontians, the Rumanians, the Russians, what effects do these people have on our national identity?

R: If this situation continues, slowly, gradually, we will disappear. I mean eventually there will be more foreigners than us locals.

R: We will be a mixture of nationalities. Our children will grow up with their children, they'll intermarry, there will be a different society.

R: Maybe in time these Pontians could form groups, get organized, elect a mayor. Anything can happen and this is against us.

R: They will intermarry, fall in love, children will be born here.

M: So you think that this will be harmful to Cyprus?

R: Certainly. We will not be pure Cypriots. People will come to Cyprus and will find a multinational society.

M: Do tourists have an effect on our identity?

R: No, tourists come for a week ten days and leave. They don't leave a lasting effect.

R: It's the big powers.

R: Due to our climate, I don't think we will have a problem with tourists.

R: Also, according to the seasons we have different kinds of tourists. Different age groups. For example now, we have groups of older people, older couples come, spend some time and leave.

R: They spend their money and go.

R: But this situation with the Pontians and the fights they engage themselves in with the Cypriots... it's obvious that Pontians at the end will have an adverse effect on tourism. Nobody wants to go on holiday and come across situations like these.

M: Are we trying to be like the tourists or are they trying to get some things from us? This is what I'm trying to say.

R: We certainly learn from them and they learn from us, from a cultural point of view.

R: It's the ones that stay that are making our life difficult.
M: It's been said that here, in Cyprus we have an extremely high percentage of highly educated people. In your opinion, how did this come about?

R: I believe that, because our parents were not given any opportunities to get educated, they are trying to give them to us. And the 1974 war contributed to that. It became quite clear that people with university degrees were able to find employment in a very short time or they had the option to emigrate and find employment abroad, because of their education. I think that this had a great effect on families. Today, nobody wants his children to face a similar situation again.

R: No. Everybody wants his child to get a degree, to have a better life. What is he going to do if he becomes a labourer?

R: Even them need a diploma.

M: Which jobs are the most sought after?

R: Jobs in the Government.

M: Why is this?

R: Because we are the only country in the world where Government employees get more money than in the private sector. And also, because of their working hours.

R: Teachers, professors.

R: And bank employees.

R: Basically, people in the educational sector.

R: Government employees are not only teachers...

R: And their working hours are continuous. They leave at 2.30 and go home, whereas in the private sector the working hours are spread until 8.00 p.m. The salaries are very low and the working conditions difficult, so everybody prefers to work for the Government.

M: It seems that everybody is leaving the private sector...

R: Sure. They are quite difficult jobs.

R: It's the Government's policy to make people leave these jobs in the private sector since it (the Government) finances you in order to stop cultivating vines, to stop collecting olives. It compensates you to stop. It's their policy. That's how I see it.

R: They give you money to up-root the vineyards.

R: I think that this is wrong.

R: The reason is that they don't make any money. They can't pay the labourers, you also have the expenses of the fertilizers, the water, the pesticides. They don't make enough.

R: Since they import from overseas, what did you expect? If you take your produce to the market to sell to the wholesalers, they say that they don't want it because they have a consignment from overseas.

R: At half the price.

R: What can one do?

M: You mean that they are allowed to import?

R: Yes. Since that's the policy. That's where we are heading.

R: It's the EEC policy: open markets. Since we are entering Europe, we have to endure all this.

M: I think that there's a plan about this from the EU.

R: Yes. They will take subsidies and grants from the EEC.

R: But there are people that don't want to...
R: If there are enough incentives. The right ones. If they give loans without interest. If they are given land, tax incentives.
R: Yes. Sometime ago this scheme was implemented in Greece.
R: And in Cyprus they did this.
R: They gave them interest free loans to repatriate. To come back to their villages.
R: It was peanuts.
R: If the incentives were the right ones, they would have gone.
R: If you visit Northern Greece where they have no shortage of water, people are well off.
R: In Greece, because everybody went to live in the capital, in Athens.
R: People living in villages are well off too, with their mansions and fields.
R: In Greece though, they have abundant water, but they don't know how to utilize it.
R: Whereas we, know...
R: They left, they immigrated to big cities like Athens and Salonica.
R: They did not stay in the villages. The ones that stayed behind took advantage of the Government grants and the land that was allocated to them. They are all well off.
R: The same will happen to Cyprus. When they allocate free land, low taxation, grants and a Government guarantee for their produce, the young people will stay.
R: But we have no water.
R: Whereas in the Pelloponese Peninsula you find plenty of water.
R: Dimitra, may I ask you something? If they gave you the right incentives, would you go back to growing potatoes and cucumbers?
R: He does love the land.
R: I would have gone as well. My daughter is studying agriculture and I would have gone with her. She'd love that and she's only 18.
R: And my son would have gone.
R: I don't believe that a young man who goes overseas, spends the best part of his youth studying will come back and go work in the fields. I just can't picture it.
R: In my village we have quite a few that did.
R: I can name quite a few. Professors, policemen...
R: But it's against the law. They're not allowed to have two jobs.
R: But it's his choice. It's family land. It's a second job.
R: No, he inherited the land.
R: If he did not love the land, he could have abandoned it. That's how I see it.
R: And in my village as well. They do take care of our land.
R: From the way society functions today, you can tell everybody's "status", his social standard. If for example you tell somebody that you are a farmer, he will look down on you, but if on the other hand you say that you are a Government employee, he will look up to you. On the other hand, you see farmers, shepherds, who are quite young and they earn lots of money. They are cultivating everything: from carrots to vineyards. And then you have the Government stating that they are paying farmers to do nothing.
R: Dimitra, that cousin of yours who studied in England, is she not cultivating a banana grove?
R: Yes.
R: And she's only 22 years old.
M: So, you are saying that here in Pafos there's a drift of people returning to the land.
R: Yes, of course.
R: But, due to the drought they can't really do too much.
R: But if you go higher in the mountain villages where there's water, people do plant and cultivate the land.
R: You have the Peyia Dam. There, people cultivate because they have water.
R: And they have bored holes.
R: And the young cultivate as well.
R: It's not really them. They have the family's support.
R: My brother is 40 and he does this. He cultivates his land together with his wife.
R: I know of another 40 year old couple that also cultivate.
R: O.K., I'm talking about the new generation; we should preserve this for the young.
R: I think it's the Government's fault because they compensate and urge people to leave
the villages without creating an infrastructure like roads, schools, hospitals so the
young could stay and look after their land and build their own houses, so they are
forced to move to the big towns.

M: If they had improved the road leading to your village, would you have stayed?
R: When I got married, I even had plans for a house, but the road was delayed by 10
years and then I got married and had to move to Paphos.
R: So the deciding factor was the road.
R: Yes.

M: Do you think that the Government has changed its stance, its policy as far as Paphos
is concerned?
R: Yes, it has.
R: First of all, there's the airport.
R: The new road system.
R: The dams.
R: Why do you think they did?
R: They realized their mistake.
R: Because after the war in 1974, with the refugees arriving here, the population
expanded and whereas before, the tourist board favoured areas like Nicosia,
Famagusta, Kyrenia, now they have to send them here.
R: Because today those areas are occupied by the Turks, Pafos has progressed.
R: And then Leptos Estates arrived, bought "everything" and made roads as well.

M: Do you think that the building of roads and other infrastructure projects in general,
has an effect on tourism?
R: Of course.
R: As well as the airport.
R: The reason that we have an airport is because the one in Nicosia is closed.
R: Now, we even have agrotourism.
R: We're always last.
R: I don't think that Pafos progressed because of the tourism, but because of the
refugees.
R: Yes.
R: The population was divided.
R: I remember when I moved here in '74, it was just a small village.
R: After a war there's always an upheaval.
R: Of course.
R: Yes, but Pafos's expansion isn't due to tourism, but to the refugees.
R: Yes.

M: Do you feel, as Pafians, that Pafos has been neglected?
R: Yes, it has.
R: In comparison to other towns, yes.
R: It has.
R: But we have progressed now.
R: But in comparison to other towns 20 years ago, we were 50 years behind.
R: Yes, but we used to be a village, whereas now...

M: Where else would you like to see improvement; in which areas?
R: We want a University in Pafos.
R: No, there's not enough people.
R: They could come here from other towns.
R: It's not possible to move it from the capital and bring it here.
R: They could improve our schools.
R: This can be done.
R: What are you saying; we have an airport and there are no flights scheduled to and from Greece where our children study and we have to go to Larnaka to pick them up.
R: From Salonica, there's not even one flight.
R: 80% of our children study in Salonica. You know how difficult it is to go from Pyrgos to Larnaka to pick up your children? And if you have two kids that arrive at different times, different dates, then it gets even worse. It's an insult to have an airport right next to you and not be able to use it.
R: For this, of course, we don't know who's to blame.

M: If you had the opportunity to suggest something to the Government, would you suggest that they improve the airport?
R: Not really. There's a lot of areas, lot's of others areas that need programming.

M: Which other area has been neglected in Pafos? Tourism, maybe?
R: No. For tourism they're doing enough.
R: Roads, we need more, so they've started so that's going all right.
R: When that's over, it will be all right.
R: There's also the Troodos road.
R: They've also started work on that road so it's O.K.
R: A desalination plant. We need a desalination plant. We still get rationed water. That will solve a lot of problems.

M: How many times a week do you get water?
R: Three times a week.
R: Every other day.
R: I get water every day.
R: I have water on Saturday night. It stops on Sunday and again I have it on Tuesday.
R: The village of Chloaraka faces the biggest problem.

M: I think that this is the right point in time to bring an end to our discussion. Thank you all very much for your time.
APPENDIX 11 - FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

Group: 5
Sex: Males
Location: Pafos
Moderator: Alexis Saveriades
Number of participants: 8
Date: 03/12/99
Duration: 66 minutes

M: Good evening everybody. Let me begin by introducing myself. My name is Alexis. Thank you for participating in this discussion group which I promise you to be quite interesting in terms of the subjects you are going to discuss. This will be an open discussion whereabout there are no right or wrong answers. Our theme topic is 'Life in Cyprus today as opposed to the old days'. We just want to listen to your views, opinions. It doesn't matter if you agree or disagree. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said on the audio recorder, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying 'Andreas, said this', and 'George said that'. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities. So, let us begin by introducing ourselves. First names only please.

R: Christakis
R: Nicos
R: Andreas
R: Neophytos
R: Sophocles
R: Takis
R: Petros
R: Demetris

M: Nice to meet you all. So, as a starting point, I'd like your opinion on life in Cyprus. The quality of life as you see it today. At the present time.

R: We are one of the better nations at the moment. As far as quality is concerned, I mean.

M: The rest of you?

R: Prosperity, stressful, under pressure.

M: For the average Cypriot, is life easy or does he face many problems? How do you evaluate it?

R: Financially, Cypriots are doing well and because they have money they don't care about our problem.

M: For example?

R: For subjects like politics, common interests.
R: They are generally money orientated, I believe.

M: In relation to the past, are we better off today?

R: Nothing major has changed, but as a general picture, things are getting better.
M: For example? What has improved?
R: Our standard of living. We have made immense leaps forward. From there on it’s on the individual to capitalise on the opportunities that come his way.

M: Other advantages that we have today in relation to the past, or don’t we have any? What, in your opinion went wrong?
R: Nothing is right. More stress, therefore less social activities. Although there’s prosperity, there’s less interest in social or political issues. We do have a percentage of people that care, but there’s a portion of society that’s only interested in money.

M: How do you compare politically, Cyprus of today with Cyprus of 10-20 years ago?
R: Matters are very different now. We are discussing Cyprus, which lacked behind with countries such as Asia, Africa, whereas now, we are on the verge of securing European Union membership.
M: Do you think that this is good or bad?
R: There’s a great difference. I think it’s good.
R: I agree with Petros. One of the messages that we are getting as far as the improvement of our standard of living is concerned, is that we should take a positive outlook of the situation in our surrounding countries. What Petros said about being uncomfortable, stressful... we could fight this in a more united way. That we are moving forward is a must in any society.

M: What has been affected by all these changes?
R: We have reached a point where we have no control over ourselves, over each other. The family is alienated. We also have the drugs problem now. I mean that we have a point where we cannot control each other, we cannot control ourselves, not to mention our neighbours.

M: How did the meaning of family change?
R: Everybody is growing apart from each other. It’s not like in the old days when we had our national holidays and everybody got together, embraced each other, ate together. Now, people are becoming indifferent. They’ve grown apart.
M: Why do you think we’ve reached this stage?
R: Because of progress.
R: It’s quite clear; if you look 20-30 years back, a family would have lots of children so they could help in the fields, in agriculture and so on, whereas now, you see a family trying to raise a child to a higher level, to educate him, so when he comes back into society his ideas are different, they’re influenced, by what he saw and learnt abroad. Therefore, it’s unavoidable to have these changes. From there on it’s up to us to control our families.

M: Why do you think we’ve reached this stage?
R: Let’s not forget the influences that tourists bring with them?
R: Drugs. Many other things that I can’t pinpoint right now.

M: Takis just mentioned tourism. How did this affect us?
R: Negatively. On the one hand there may be some good points but mainly it has a negative effect. The drugs, tourism, television.
R: Yes, O.K., but if you take a close look you will find many negative points in tourism, but let’s not forget that our economy depends on tourism. It was our only venue after the 1974 invasion by Turkey. If we did not follow this path, obviously we would have had a different situation now. Whether this is good or bad, I believe that each one of us has his own opinion.
M: Anything else you'd like to add about tourism? Since you live here, in Paphos you obviously come in contact with tourists more than us in Nicosia. We hardly ever see any.

R: We are ungrateful as far as tourists are concerned. On the one hand we accept the fact that they support us financially and on the other hand we accuse them. We have to learn to co-exist with foreigners, not to be so conservative and to control our emotions and to be able to discern and choose their good points.

M: Such as? What good points?

R: This calls for some thinking.

M: O.K. Give us the bad points first, if it's easier.

R: O.K. The break-up of the family unity let's say.

M: Why? Do you think that tourism has contributed to this?

R: Yes, of course, if we locals see how they behave towards their own families, it has its influences.

R: The increase in prices. In order to cope, if you have two or three children, the wife has to go to work, eventually you never get to be together, you employ a housemaid etc., etc.

M: What do you have to comment upon the subject of foreign workers? Is it a problem in Cyprus?

R: Yes, of course it is.

M: In what respect?

R: Most locals around here hold two jobs. That's because the employers instead of hiring a Cypriot for lets' say 40 Cyprus Pounds, he hires a foreigner for 20 Pounds and that poses a big problem.

R: Here we have the Greeks of the Black Sea (Pontians). A personal incident: I was working in Kato Pafos when I overheard a conversation where one of them came looking for work and he offered to get half the salary of what was usually being paid.

R: When Cypriots had to work overseas to improve their livelihood, they were faced with the same situation that the foreign workers are facing here right now. Another point I'd like to raise is the phenomenon in the hotel industry. Some kinds of work a Cypriot is too proud to do, so what do you expect the employers to do?

R: I agree, but on the other hand if the Government checked every establishment and asked to see everybody's security card and employment agreement that Cypriots have and discovered that they're all the same, then we would not have this discrimination, this competition.

R: At my work place, everyday I get 10-15 Pontians asking for work and when I ask them about their social security cards, the income tax etc., they just leave.

M: You said previously that we are a proud nation. Do you think that we have this identity? That we are indeed proud as a nation?

R: I absolutely believe that most Cypriots believe that they are......that's my conclusion.

M: Why?

R: That we are one of the chosen tribes. That's the feeling that prevails. In Christianity generally, Greeks, I believe, think this way. And I'm opposed to this. Not that I am not proud of being Greek, but life has shown me through events that happened in my life, that Cypriots don't behave according to their capabilities, there is this trend.

M: Do you believe that this identity has any connection with tourism, any effect?
R: Of course it does. When a high percentage of Pafians - since we’re talking about our area - come into contact with tourists, it obviously affects our identity, our social structure, so through this we will see how strong our identity is. Through this friction. Personally I believe that we have succeeded in absorbing some positive and some negative points. For example, we did not allow so much freedom in our families like divorces and many more. I believe that people lived under pressure and this prosperity has brought this change, like the divorces etc. Now, whether we have lost our identity, I don’t know, but here in Pafos people are very proud of their identity, their heritage.

R: I don’t think that our identity, our Greek heritage is in any danger due to the foreigners. God forbid if we have to isolate ourselves in order not to lose our identity!

M: About an hour ago I went for a cup of coffee and the waitress spoke to me in English. It must have happened to you too. How do you feel about it?

R: I was laughing, of course.
R: Yes, it has happened.
R: You sometimes feel like a foreigner in your own country.

M: Did you get this feeling?

R: Yes, of course. But you don’t give it too much thought. It’s everyday life.

M: Don’t you find it a bit funny?

R: Not really. Due to our daily association with tourists you sort of get used to it. It’s a way of life.
R: There is a negative side; we speak to them in English. If we want to keep our language we should speak to them in Greek.
R: Also, about 70% if not 100% of the people that live permanently in Pafos speak Greek.
R: You mean foreigners.
R: Yes. I agree, but I have met a 35-37 year old man who works in the Gulf and brought his family to live here because as he told me, he likes the family way of life here. That’s why his family is staying here.

R: On the same subject, a lot of people that come here appreciate the way of life here. Why do we underestimate our own customs, I can’t understand it. When we designate a tourist area we have signs in big English letters and signs in small Greek letters and sometimes no Greek signs at all. Why not do the opposite? We want to be treated like this. We’re asking for it.

M: Are there any other aspects that we underestimate due to tourism?

R: I don’t think that we underestimate, we sort of give ground to our own way…… for the easy money, meaning that if somebody in the tourist area thinks that about 80% of his customers are Brits he places a sign in English, sometimes in Arabic, Russian and so forth.
R: Let me say something; what does the municipality do? The people who are responsible? Nothing. There should be rules and regulations concerning this. If somebody erects an illegal structure they remove it. When it comes to signs, nothing is being done. I think that we should look into this. If a businessman starts something there should be guidelines. So, on a final analysis, we should be afraid of ourselves.

M: So, it’s not the tourists’ fault...

R: It’s not a matter of being afraid. It’s a question of each individual’s perception, how he sees it, each individual’s dreams on various subjects, he should set his goals on his own consciousness.

M: But do we do it?
R: Why not! Why wait for the authorities to tell us what to do. I think that we should be re-educated on certain subjects.

M: You, as Pafians, what makes you proud of your own town?

R: As Pafians, the fact that we are Pafians and Pafos.

M: O.K., let's see: how would you advertise, promote your town?

R: In many ways. There's lots of things that a great number of people left their own towns to come live here, and a great number choose Pafos instead of other towns in Cyprus.

M: So this is an indication that Pafos is popular?...

R: One indication. Also the geographical position of Pafos, its character. Then we have its hospitality. I notice that Pafians are more open towards tourists. They are not so reserved as they are in Nicosia for example. I personally observed the behaviour of Nicosians towards tourists and I saw a great difference. So, on a final analysis, people do take notice. Tourists do take notice. They expect a certain standard. I am not talking about the Pontians, but people that have retired. If they can afford to come to Cyprus they buy a house and they're obviously used to a certain life style, therefore that's a good indication.

M: So then, that makes you proud that they have chosen your town.

R: From this respect, yes.

R: I don't disagree, but I would like to point out that each Pafian must have invited to his house for dinner at least 50 foreigners.

R: One of the characteristics of our town...

M: Do you think that Pafians blend in well with foreigners?

R: Always, every foreigner has his own connections.

R: I mean the ones that have settled in Pafos. The retired tourist.

R: You see, they are usually well off. We have customers that come 2 or 3 times a year. They must have some means. They leave and come again the same year.

R: I think what draws people to Pafos is the environment, then the whole district, also the character of the people. I think Pafos is the nicest town in Cyprus.

M: What do you think of all the changes, the public works that have been done, like the harbour. I haven't been there in over a year.

R: Who are you talking about, the Government or the Municipality? Because the Government did absolutely nothing.

M: I don't know, like I said it's been a year since I was here.

R: I don't know where this is heading, but I went for a coffee last week around the harbour and I did not like it at all. I found a lot of ugly walls built with concrete. I don't know how they will varnish all this mess. I don't know where all this is leading.

R: Wherever they used concrete they should cover it.

R: It has to blend in with the environment.

M: The rest of you, what do you think? This issue that came up about the Government doing nothing.

R: The answer was given by President Clerides.

R: The solution?

R: Yes, to bring the harbour back to it's original state.

M: Can they do this?
R: Anyway, in order for all this mess and problems to arise it means that the officials responsible did not do their job right in the first place, as they were supposed to do. What do you expect the Government to do now?

M: By officials you mean the local authorities?

R: Of course. They are directly responsible.

M: The rest of you, what do you think about the changes made? We saw at the harbour, the ancient graves... there's a whole new entrance now.

R: Especially in the centre of the town, it's not nice what they've done. That fence, those pillars... O.K., they enlarged the pavements, but further than that... Those pillars were erected so that the people could not park their cars on the pavements, but still, it's ugly. It's worse than before.

M: What other changes have recently taken place in Pafos?

R: An archaeological park.

M: Where?

R: Behind the harbour.

R: Their main objective is to upgrade all the ancient sites. I mean the Castle, the Music Hall, the pillars, the statues. They created paths for people to stroll on. The entrance is a bit awkward, it's next to the harbour. The parking place is very good.

M: In your opinion, do you think that all this is done for the tourists or for Pafians? What is the ultimate objective? Because it seems there are a lot of projects going on.

R: If there was no tourism there would have been no reason, O.K. Maybe it would have been done at a slower pace than it's being done today.

R: So, tourism has brought about all these changes. Well, the archaeological sites are not only for the tourists, they're for the Pafians as well. Basically, not everything is for tourists. In Kato Pafos the parking area is for the Pafians. Especially in the summer it's full of local's cars. You only get a few 'Z' Registration cars in this parking lot.

M: So you think that the outcome resulting from the tourists is good.

R: I think so, yes.

M: Or would you prefer it as it was before.

R: From one aspect, all this money that's being spent, who financed it? Tourism. I would also like to ask all the people that are here, we're all locals, when was the last time that we went to see the mosaics for example? If the tourists did not come to Cyprus to visit and buy them, why would a Cypriot think of making the earthen statuettes, for example?

M: Do the rest of the Cypriots come to see them?

R: I believe so.

M: From Nicosia...

R: I believe that the rest of the Cypriots tend to see us as peasants.
M: You said before that family unity is breaking up, that we don't gather around as we used to during the holidays. In your opinion, has all this changed a lot from the old days?

R: They still do, but not as often as before. Not like in the past, when it would happen at least once a month, whereas now it happens twice or three times a year.

R: We are also moving away from our customers. I remember when I was a young boy, people would come with their folk music, the Cypriot songs... the fact that we get together only once a year doesn't mean a thing. We've lost forever some of our customs.

M: What do they do now, for Christmas, Easter...

R: I think in a few years time we would meet in public halls, like the Europeans do. When a family wants to get together, they go to a hotel, book a conference hall and have the gathering. Don't laugh; it will happen. It's a fact.

R: It's reality, it's already happening.

R: When we were talking about the possibility that our identity is in danger... we want to lose the card that says "You're a Cypriot" but from there on, we are losing a great deal.

R: Such as?

R: And I think within the next years...

R: Such as?

R: Generally, if you lose your identity, your customs, your heritage.

M: Is there anything that is replacing our customs? For example, you mentioned that we are not singing folk songs any more.

R: Of course. The importation of new ways, new customs, the European ways, their songs. One thing or another.

R: I don't agree that families are growing apart. I know a lot of families that are very close. In fact, in a great degree, quite well off families, phone each other everyday. I am an architect and I notice that when they build houses, they build them close to each other, mother and daughter.

M: So, family bonding still exists.

R: Yes, it does. I think so.

R: Without having there to be a specific reason.

R: Like it was in the old days.

R: I don't know. That's another aspect of it. I see another situation where a lot of girls want to leave their home, they want to get away from their mothers for example.

R: There is a tendency for people from the northern parts to change, whereas here, village people especially here in Paphos you can still find this philosophy of togetherness in lots of respects.

M: Why is this?

R: People's philosophy has changed especially if you lived abroad. It's self evident that your way of thinking and seeing things will change. If you have lived in a different environment you are bound to bring back with you a different philosophy, which you consider to be positive. This of course, depends on each individual.

M: One of them you say, is the daughter leaving her house.

R: Yes, it's one of them. I know of many such cases. They prefer to leave the house.

M: Why do you think that?
R: In order to stop the influence that existed for example. And I'm not quite sure it was there in the first place.

R: The sense of freedom.

R: Yes. To have the ability to do things. To move away from under their control and become independent.

R: But if you have children and you want them to have a higher education, you have to let them go. You must let them leave the villages and go to Pafos.

R: You also notice the phenomenon whereby modern mothers, instead of taking their children to their parents to look after them, they bring in a babysitter.

M: You were going to say something...?

R: Not all mothers are like that.

R: Yes, of course, but this situation is going to have repercussions that will surface later. Don't misunderstand me, I am not against this situation, but somewhere along the line, it will degenerate some of our traditions and customs.

R: It's not degenerating; it's a situation in progress that has taken a hundred years to come into effect and let's hope that it will be on a positive track.

R: Yes, but some people think that the old ways are the right ways. Maybe my definition is wrong.

M: O.K., they are saying that our moral standards have deteriorated. That we don't have our own standards. What do you have to say about this? Do you agree or disagree?

R: That our morals have deteriorated?

R: Yes, our moral standards.

R: That is, like we used to be: like sheep.

R: Yes, like sheep.

R: I disagree. I am not going to judge anybody now, but there was not so much freedom. The woman of today, at any given time if she has problems with her husband or something else, she just walks away and says that it's her problem and she'll deal with it. It's her life on the line. Therefore, she is not abused and in looking forward she moves on. But you have the other side of the coin. The family gets divided, you have the divorces, the increase of divorces, children who don't listen to their fathers, they have their own opinion, from an early age they know what they're going to do or what they want to study. We're going through a new phase. It's called progress. Yes, we do have the roots of the past, but it's an ongoing progress, there is more freedom with it, and we ourselves are moving forward.

R: If we remain stagnant anything can happen.

M: A lot of people have moved to Pafos as refugees fleeing from their homes in 1974, so from a sleepy town that it was, to a busy one that has become now, how do you evaluate this change, this increase in population?

R: I have a different opinion. I think that it's an empty town, a dead town.

M: Really?

R: I think so.

M: Are you referring to the tourists at winter time?

R: No. To the arrival of the refugees.

R: Yes, but it still remains a small town with only 20,000 people. It's still sparsely populated.

M: Yes, but when I went down town I saw a lot of people. It seemed pretty crowded

R: Yes, but how many Cypriots did you see? Does Nicosia look less populated?
M: We went down town and saw so many people. In Nicosia you don't find as many.

R: There is a difference that I noticed; in Nicosia the majority of the people are employees. In Pafos, if I am not mistaken, the majority are tourists, merchants and from the surrounding areas.

M: It's been said that here in Cyprus, we have one of the highest percentage of qualified people. University graduates. Why do you think this is so?

R: Because it's every Cypriot's dream to see his child educated.


R: It's the goal, ambition of every parent in Cyprus.

M: That he gets a job in the government.

R: Yes.

M: The rest of you, what do you think? What are the most sought after jobs nowadays?

R: In the Government and banks.

M: Why?

R: Because of the secure salary, the absence of stress, the annual leave, the medical care plan.

M: But here in Pafos, you have so many tourists, therefore so many jobs.

R: What security does the tourist industry offer? I'm talking like that because I've been through that path and all I had was insecurity.

R: Don't forget the war in 1974. The only people that got paid during that period were the Government employees.

M: They were paid?

R: Yes.

M: I see.

R: On the subject of education, there is this "unwritten" competition, this zeal. If somebody studies, then you have to do the same. The Cypriot wants his child to be better than the child of his neighbour. We are also going through the phase of moving from one generation to the next and we say to ourselves that what we could not have become, or what we didn't have in our time, we'll offer to our children.

R: It's also the change in the standard of living.

R: Of course.

R: Although many people find it difficult.

R: But they still manage to find a way to achieve their goals.

M: How about the cultural life in Pafos?

R: In Pafos.

M: Let's talk about Pafos since we are here.

R: Non existent. It's neither the Government's nor the locals' fault. It's a general outlook. There's no theatre or something similar small or big. At least in Nicosia you have so many theatres etc., etc. In Pafos they brought the opera.

R: I think this is in our favor.

R: But there was no response. The Pafians did not attend.
R: Of course there was...
R: Who went?
R: If you take into account that you had lots of chartered planes full of people that came to see the opera, automatically the number of the locals that could go and see the opera is reduced. But in comparison to our population, people did go.
M: So you think people did not have the opportunity to go.
R: Personally, I wanted to go, but I was late and couldn't find a ticket.
R: The tickets were pre-sold a month in advance.
R: I also think that there wasn't enough publicity...
R: It was all done in Europe not in Cyprus.
R: I know a lot of people who wanted to go, but couldn't find any tickets, but typically, they tried to get them during the last three days.
R: I, on the other hand, in every 10 people I asked, 9 were uninterested.
R: It's on the individual.
R: In every five that went, three did because they liked it and the other two just to show off. I mean, let's be honest.
R: To go to the opera doesn't mean that you are a really cultured person, you have to like it as well.
M: Any other cultural activities?
R: The Government is not helping enough in this area and the reason is that it's a small town, so when they stage a show, whether it's for a singer who'll perform in an art gallery, due to the fact that it's financed by individuals or sponsored by big corporations; it's not financially sound, due to the size of our town. So the Government could have helped or sponsored cultural events or create some events. So, I believe that we are dead and what we have is next to nothing.
M: So you feel neglected.
R: Very much so.
R: Most concerts are performed in Limassol and from there they take them somewhere else.
R: Our only cultural event is every Sunday when we attend a wedding and give the newly-married couple an envelope with money in it. (A money gift).....Only kidding.
R: Our only cultural event... it doesn't always mean concerts or art galleries- it's also our daily association, behaviour with the tourists and our fellow-men.
M: Do you think that this behaviour has changed from the past?
R: I believe that it's changed for the worse.
M: For example?
R: When people only see money, things get ugly.
R: To start with, we show no respect. When you get on the bus, our young ones don't get up to offer their seat to an elderly person, whereas in the past when I was young we would always do this. I am talking about my generation. Now, even if an old man can hardly stand on his two feet, our young ones will not get up and offer their seat.
R: This is very important.
M: In relation to other countries how do you see this, I mean the respect for our fellow-man.
R: There is a difference.
R: What change... are they better?
R: Yes. On this subject yes, they are better.
R: I completely disagree.
R: I didn’t say in all countries.
R: As far as I know, from what I've witnessed, I believe that we have the best behaviour towards our fellow-men. Of course, some aspects, because we are a small society, the gossip, all these things, unwillingly, have adverse effects. We could create problems but generally you could say with certainty that we are a better society than let's say an English society or a society somewhere else.

M: Let's hear the opinion of the rest about... let's say, an older person. Do you believe that there is respect towards older people?

R: I agree with something that was said earlier on. It all starts with the family.

M: Why?

R: All this damage was done by the previous generation. Today's 60 year olds.

M: Why? Who changed them? The fact that they care more about money and have lost their ideals?

R: Yes, it plays a part.

M: Is there anything else you’d like to add about Pafos?

R: The Government.

M: You keep on bringing up the Government issue. Do you feel Pafos is neglected?

R: Very much.

M: And all these roads that are being made?

R: Where? Which roads?

M: It's been a year since I last visited Pafos, so...

R: You must have come via Pissouri on the highway. From there on, there's nothing.

M: But they're continuing the works.

R: I don't know where this discussion is leading, but only if we had a Pafian Minister something might be done. I think this is important. These are facts about Cyprus.

R: Think how long it takes us to drive from Pissouri to Pafos, when we come off the highway at Pissouri, not to mention coming across any heavy traffic like heavy duty trucks in those narrow roads and think having to do that all the way to Limassol, like in the past. It took hours. You preferred to stay in Pafos; and only lately did they start these works which are not even completed yet.

M: Yes, but the highway will come all the way to Pafos.

R: Yes, up to our church.

M: Is there anything else that the Government is doing?

R: Constant pressure with nothing in return.

R: The answer was given by the Minister of the Interior when he visited Pafos not long ago and said that the region of Pafos is in complete decay. And it's not only the town of Pafos.

R: Complete decay.

R: There are no Government funds allocated for the area, for the surrounding villages. As far as I know, there is a project in progress now, in only one village. In the rest, nothing
M: This situation with the farmers, do you think that they are abandoning the land, that they've stopped farming?

R: A few years back they gave some money for the agro-tourism. They did what they did, then the money run out and we are back to where we were before.

M: You mean that this funding helped.

R: Yes, it did for a few years, for a certain period.

M: How many villages did it help?

R: We have Laona, Kathikas, Kouklia, Peletria.

M: Was it successful?

R: Yes, it helped preserve some very old, beautiful and worth saving houses and then they rented them out. They are being preserved in some ways, but on the other hand, people living around there, if they cannot make ends meet, how are they going to survive? Therefore, they need help. The wine groves, the banana plantations, who is going to look after them?

M: Why has everybody left?

R: Why, why, because something is very wrong. Imports... All produce is now imported.

M: Should we expand agro-tourism or have we done enough? Should we help more?

R: It was a good effort.

M: Would it be better if more money was spent on agro-tourism than on other tourism projects?

R: I think it's a must, it must continue.

R: If they stop this effort, the villages will die completely. You will only have old people living there because they don't want to leave or because they can't. The young ones will leave.

M: Generally, how do you see tourism? Do you want more tourists to come to Pafos?

R: At the moment, the hotel industry can't cover it's manpower requirements.

R: We must pay attention to this area; it's an area that still has a lot to offer to the island. I don't know what will happen with the European Union, but where is our agriculture heading to? What will eventually support the economy of this island? Nothing.

R: So, I believe that we should carve a path of better management, better control of the tourist industry, so at the end of the day, we could have a better outcome.

R: We must place more emphasis on tourism because it's the only sector of our economy that still has a lot to offer. Especially as we are entering the European Union where as I see it, the agricultural sector is leading us nowhere. It doesn't even help our balance of payments. So, I believe that we should create a better system of control and face tourism in a more professional way.

M: There seems to be a tendency here in Pafos for young people to turn towards agriculture. Does it really exist or are these just some exceptions?

R: I think that the ones that live in the village do it for an extra income. Some agricultural farms do make a profit.

R: I heard that lately they are becoming stockbrokers.

R: Maybe they did study and set off their career in the agricultural sector, but ended up being promoted as Government employees.

R: Yes, in the Ministry of Agriculture.
R: What I have to suggest on the subject of agriculture is that on some products we have international recognition like our pork and butcher trade, but when it comes to agriculture there's no future in it.

R: Our agricultural as a trade is practically over, its dead.

R: We can't compete in the international market.

R: If something goes wrong with our tourism we will be in a very difficult position because all our other economic sectors are practically non existent.

R: Our agriculture, our farming, the handicraft industry, they have all been neglected by our Government and the people. At the moment it's not so obvious as our tourism industry which is doing quite well, but somewhere along the line this could prove to be a major problem.

M: You mean that this could be dangerous. This insecurity.

R: Yes, if something happens to tourism, I believe so. It will be a problem. At any given moment people will suffer.

M: Something could happen suddenly.

R: For sure. Now tourism is flourishing but for how long will this continue to be so?

M: Is there anything else you'd like to add?

R: Yes, I hope that something will be done about the political problem. It's a major problem for Cyprus. If there's a solution every Cypriot will gain something.

R: It's not easy.

R: Yes, I know, it's a big problem but it has to come to a settlement one day.

M: O.K., I feel that we can put an end to our discussion at this point. It's getting pretty late and probably you have other commitments to attend to. Thank you all for participating and good night.
APPENDIX 12 - FOCUS GROUP TRANSCRIPT

Group: 6
Sex: Males
Location: Famagusta (Ayia Napa, Paralimni, Protaras)
Moderator: Alexis Saveriades
Number of participants: 9
Date: 21/12/99
Duration: 79 minutes

M: Good evening everybody. Let me begin by introducing myself. My name is Alexis. Thank you for accepting to participate in this discussion group which I promise you to be quite interesting in terms of the subjects you are going to discuss. This will be an open discussion whereabout there are no right or wrong answers. Our theme topic is ‘Life in Cyprus today as opposed to the old days’. We are very much interested in the post 1974 period. We just want to listen to your views, opinions. It doesn’t matter if you agree or disagree. What I am going to do tomorrow, is listen to everything that has been said on the audio recorder, and I will record the findings of this discussion we are about to have on paper, without saying ‘Andreas, said this’, and ‘George said that’. I will just transcribe what I, the moderator of the discussion said and what you, the participants said. Following that I will draw out important information from your group and compare it with the information I gather from people in other cities. So, let us begin by introducing ourselves. If you’d like to say your names please. First names only.

R: Andreas
R: Marios
R: Yiannis
R: Costakis
R: Christakis
R: Pambos
R: Christodoulos
R: Christoforos
R: Andreas

M: Let’s start by discussing about the daily life of the average Cypriot: Are we happy, do we work too hard...?

R: Our life is full of stress.

M: Why do you think that?

R: The way life is; the progress.
R: No, thank God we have our health. We are O.K.
R: We have our children, you can't tell your children that they can't buy something because we don't have any money.

M: You mean their demands.

R: Yes, quite a lot of them.
R: You can tell them if you want.
R: Yes, but nobody does. But the reason we don’t...
R: In my time, I was given a couple of slaps in the face.

M: People nowadays don’t do the same. What made us change?
A Saveriades

Appendix 12 – Focus Group Transcript, Group 6, (Famagusta Region, Males)

R: The hypocrisy of the Cypriot.

M: You mean that we’re hypocrites?

R: Yes, it’s not our kindness, it’s not that we have become more civilized, it’s plain hypocrisy that we don’t punish these little bastards any more. We are not raising children. Now, what shall I call them?

R: Yes, but it’s the parents’ fault most of the time.

R: Most of the time it’s the jealousy between each parent. Why should John’s son have a car and mine doesn’t? And why does John’s son have a BMW and George’s son...

R: Didn’t this jealousy exist in the past?

R: It was different; people competed at work.

R: Yes, but they didn’t have these commodities.

R: Of course they did. My father could have bought me a car when I was 18.

R: It’s an exception. Usually there weren’t that many people who could afford them.

R: My father says that we work more than they used to, but we don’t feel it’s due to today’s life style.

R: They worked as well.

R: I thoroughly agree with you, but...

R: They did more manual work.

R: Yes, but I look at myself; I left the police force 10 years ago, worked in the private sector, then as a farmer, lorry driver, mason, labourer... I did every kind of work you can think of. I used to see my father hold four jobs, whereas today, I work twice as hard as he does in order to make ends meet and have a better standard of living. He works to the point of exhaustion so he can earn a decent amount of money.

M: It’s a question of survival then, the reason we work now?

R: Yes, it’s survival, but also so you can earn enough money to be able to save some money as well, whereas in the past, it was much easier to save some money with a lot less expenses, like the example of Mr. Andreas: in order to buy a car for my son, to buy a motorbike, to buy this and that, whereas in the past they saved this money and with the small interest of 5-6% they bought us bed sheets...

R: Table cloths.

R: There were also larger notes (paper money) like tablecloths. Nowadays they are small and in those days their value was greater.

R: Do you believe that we work 22 hours out of 24? Do you know that I had to take drugs in order to stay awake for 7 days so I could work in order to survive? I am not an addict, don’t take me wrong.

M: Why... why did you have to work so much?

R: Because I had to find the energy to work in order to pay my debts. I used to go to the doctor so he could prescribe me some pretty strong drugs so that I could stay awake and work.

M: Would you say now that you are sacrificing more than your father did?

R: No, I would not say that. No, never. I am saying that they made sacrifices too, but now life is so much more demanding, more expensive that it balances out. What I am getting at, is that today we work more in order to give more, whereas the older generation did more manual labor without the mental and psychological stress of today and I am referring to logical people, not the ones that worked just to get money to go gambling. A lot of parents today go on holiday these days and it’s a luxury but they say that they borrow money in order to be able to do that. And again jealousy makes them do that, as I said before and that’s the truth. Today’s reality.

M: So you’re saying that our society has changed.

R: Of course. We have lost the respect that we had for each other.
R: When they used to buy something for their children, they appreciated it, whereas now, they have so many things...

R: I have bought my son one of the best cars on the market and when it's at the mechanic's and I offer him to take mine, he says "What am going to do with your old car?" Could I have made such a statement to my father if he asked me to look after his property? No way! All he had to do was to look at me in the eyes and I'd bow. Until the day he died, I could never look at him straight in the eyes. I always had my head down.

M: What has changed then?

R: There's no respect anymore. The child doesn't respect the father.

M: Why, what has made us like that?

R: I will give you an answer: when the father reprimands the child, the mother takes the child's side. The same happens when the mother is strict. The father does the same and as a result the children at the end have the upper hand and eventually they do what they like.

M: Do the rest of you agree that we have lost the respect they owe us?

R: Yes, it's lost and may I also add that there is also no shame any more. That's lost as well.

M: What has brought about this change? What?

R: I believe the Turkish invasion has contributed a lot. The uprooting of families, the loss of their homes. All this has brought about a cosmic change. A stranger among strangers, people do things that they wouldn't have done in other situations.

R: This is not a factor, Mr. Andrea.

R: I think it is.

R: If you go to England or any other country in Europe; do you lose your self-respect or the respect towards others? If you go to a town... Paralimni is just a village compared to a city like London, in fact the whole of Cyprus is just a borough in a major city.

R: We haven't discussed the causes, what brought all this about. We haven't determined them.

R: The invasion is a problem.

M: So the invasion was one of the problems.

R: There are many. The uprooting was one of the contributing factors.

M: You mean that a lot of different communities came together...

R: And created this.

R: Today's needs, to have money, to become richer in a short period of time, all this has brushed aside respect, shame, friendship. We have become inhuman.

R: A man that is shameless wherever he goes he will do what he likes, but a human being that has self-respect whether he is among strangers or among his own people will behave in the same manner.

M: Now that you live among tourists, do you think that this has affected you?

R: To add to what Andreas has said, another reason is the congregation of people, this urbanism, people will go where all the interesting night life is, like in Ayia Napa, Paralimni.

R: By nightlife you mean where all the fun is.

R: Yes, so people are leaving their villages, their farms slowly.

R: And it's a shame, when I was 15 years old I used to play with marbles in my neighborhood. Whereas now, they run around in BMW's I couldn't afford a bicycle at that age, not even shoes.

R: Now daddy is buying.

R: So it's daddy's fault.
R: The invasion, the urbanism, the money, the abundance of money that exists.
R: Is there any money in reality?
R: Now, this past year with the stock exchange, most people have made lots of money.
R: Yes, but not this year only, the last few years.
R: I am talking about the present.
R: And in the past there was money.
R: It's easier to make money, but we owe most of it.
R: What do our children want from us? If they are asked what work their father does, they'll
say that he spends his time going from one coffee house to the other. I feel ashamed about
that. I don't want my children to mimic me, to follow me. But not everybody thinks like that.
Most of them are outside the stock exchange. If they didn't go to the stock exchange, they'd
be gambling.

M: Are there a lot of people in this area that "play" in the stock exchange?

R: Today, the whole area. Most people on the island.
R: It's even become competitive.
R: You can really say that!
R: What do you mean, that we have reached the stage where we are like a jungle? Did you
ever imagine that people would bomb each other? You call this change?
R: It all boils down to money.
R: Did you ever imagine that students would be using drugs? In primary schools they even
smoke now!

M: You mean that there are drugs here.

R: Of course.
R: Did you ever imagine that somebody would refuse to serve in the army because he
wouldn't be able to find his dose and thus try to get a discharge from the army so he can
continue the "high life"?

M: What brought the drugs here?

R: Tourism.
R: Tourism is a great influence.
R: Not necessarily. We might still have had them but not so early in the day.
R: But tourism has contributed a lot towards this.
R: What about Nicosia, what brought the drugs there?
R: The way of life, the underworld.
R: I don't think that tourism has brought all these ills. We brought it upon ourselves. We have
left our families, our communities, we've turned towards affluence and we don't care if our
fellowman has nothing to eat. We only care about ourselves and if we can rob somebody
else so that we can have more, then so be it. Tourism just gave us a push. If we take
advantage of it or if we handle it right, then we will become Europeans. Isn't this what we
want? To join the European Union?
R: In order to become more inhuman, to become bigger hypocrites and double-faced. Isn't this
the path we're following?
R: And to love animals more than people, the way the Europeans do.
R: They are not inhuman, we have reached this time-space in 30-40 years whereas it took the
Europeans 300-400 years. We are inhuman, not them. Let me take this area for example. It
has taken 15 years for this tourist expansion to take place. In the rest of the world it took
70-80 years to develop slowly, gradually, whereas we did everything in 15 years. When you
move so quickly, then unavoidably there will be no foundations, you have no foundations.
You obviously lose something, something is missing.

M: What else have we lost? We lost respect...

R: The lot: everything. When you lose human contact and you become self-centered, you lose
everything. If you don't have the humanity to be able to sit down in a tavern with people, to
socialize, to talk with people and all you do is sit alone in your house and try to find ways to
cheat your neighbour, or how to sell your daughter without any feeling of remorse, then you’ve lost everything.

R: And people have become more neurotic, more stressful.

R: When in the past did we ever have all this stress?

R: It's psychosomatic.

R: The other day a group of young students spread all these rumours at school, that all their teachers do in the class, is talk about the stock market.

R: It's lies.

R: It's not lies.

R: The point is not that: it's how the students are behaving towards their elders.

R: Did the teachers do it or not?

R: Wait a minute: why is it the teachers' fault and not ours? The parents' fault first of all? It all starts at home. If there's anybody to blame it's the parents.

R: A Cypriot's fault is that he doesn't accept the truth, he doesn't like it. For example, if you tell me that I'm bald I will not be able to accept it and I will start an argument because you called me bald. We don't like the truth. That's the reality. We like to be told that we're handsome, that we are this or that, we like to be praised, we like flattery irrelevant of what we really are. We like to be flattered. It's what satisfies us. That's our biggest mistake. If I start looking for someone to flatter me instead of looking for a friend, then I have a problem. But usually that's all we want.

M: O.K., you are saying that it's our fault; what happened to us then, is it because we are what we are, or because of our way of thinking, or is it due to outside influences?

R: As individuals.

R: It's the way we think.

R: I believe that you can't blame anybody. It's the individual that brings trouble on himself or causes any other situation. I think it's because of this sudden rush: financial, social, and educational. 20 years ago if somebody went to study at a University he was considered 'somebody'. If you saw a teacher or a priest, you'd stand up, bestow him the respect he deserved, offer him your seat in the bus or the coffee shop. Nowadays, if you see a University graduate you say "so what?"

M: Has the family bond been lost?

R: To a great extend, but there's room for improvement. I take myself for example: with my family, that is my parents, my in-laws, cousins, children, friends etc, I try to be close with them and like me, I'm sure there are others too.

M: But generally speaking...

R: Generally speaking yes, it's lost.

R: No, I don't believe it's more than 15-20% of the population, and even if that. And that's because of people who get involved in drugs, gambling and prostitution. The rest have sound family ties that haven't been lost. What has been lost, is society's ties, friends, congregations, and social meetings. For example now that's not the holiday season, in the old days people would gather in three houses in the village, whereas now, they will be in 30 houses.

M: What about the role of the church? They used to say that in the past the church organized the various functions.

R: What church? I will go and pray in church but not the churches I know. The church has brought a great rift because of the way they have behaved. The church community is scandal riddled. There were elections the other day and only in Paralimni they actually had them. And the reason is that the other dioceses were full of scandals and now each diocese is separating from each other. I for one, belong to St. George's church and the voting was going to start at 10 in the morning...

M: This is in order to elect a bishop?
When I arrived at 10.30 in the morning, the priest there is young, shy and inexperienced and didn't organize the whole procedure properly to the point that the elections run the risk of being cancelled. So, I felt sorry for him and offered my assistance by collecting the voters' list and checking as people were coming in to vote to be sure that they were given their correct voting slip. Within the hour I noticed that this was going terribly wrong so I approached the young priest and told him that in this fashion the election could be void. The wrong people were getting the wrong voting slips, so I said "Let's go stand by the entrance so that we could make some sense out of this and control who gets what, according to the voting list. He said to me, "do what you think best". I don't know what happened, but around 2 o'clock Father Evelthon arrived from another church and instructed everybody to get out of the church except the voters. In a very rude manner he turned to me and inquired who I was. I said that I'm a volunteer, that I was there to help and he threw me out! I thank God I controlled my anger and left, but had it been somebody else, he could have very well hit the father. You have all these scandals going on... 

So you think that any of us here would go listen to this man's sermon or go to the confession? No way!

What I'm getting at is that the church has changed a great deal.

A couple more issues that contribute to all these changes is the importation of foreign workers.

You have a lot of them?

Workers and housemaids.

How did this affect the community here?

It affected it deeply. Around here they don't bring a housemaid for housework but to satisfy the boss's sexual needs. It's quite clear. They even exploit them by "selling" them.

Many families have been ruined. Fathers with 3-4 children have left with their maids and left their families destitute.

In comparison between the housemaids and the tourists, which had the greatest effect?

Now, women only have one child whereas in the past she'd have 5-6 and she would also work in the fields.

It's the disintegration of the family, as we know it. In the past, women would bear 6-14 children in some cases and they didn't need housemaids and not only that, but they would also help their husbands in the fields and come home at sunset, when it was dark and couldn't see any more, whereas now, they have one or two children. So, why do they need housemaids? They do nothing. They just sit around dressed in provocative dresses, dresses open on one side up to their ass... it's a fact... with their new BMW, their sunglasses, the hairdo...

They even change their car windows and install tinted ones so that you can't see who is sitting beside her, so they can be invisible to do what they want. Eventually, all this is not needed. The Cypriot wife does not need housemaids; they only have one child.

O.K., what has changed?

You also have the matter of jealousy that plays a great part in all this.

Prosperity, money.

Why should John's wife have a maid and mine shouldn't?

Why did this start? What brought it on?

Maybe John's wife really needed the maid, but Costa's wife just got one because she couldn't fall short, couldn't seem inferior!

All right: now tell us about tourism.
R: Tourism has brought the money.
R: Yes, but we also have negative effects as well.
R: The negative side is the 1% that brings drugs and they could pass them on to my son or somebody else’s son and create this downside.
R: Yes, but they could also come from Nicosia. It could come from local tourism. It could come from anywhere. I believe that the tourists that come to our area, are the best.

M: Has it effected our culture, our customs?

R: I don’t think so.
R: Tremendously. Our way of living: which child would listen to his parents and stay home for Christmas and not run to see his Swedish girlfriend, which son will celebrate with his family this Christmas or listen to his parents? He won’t stay home. He’ll go to his Swedish girlfriend. Which son won’t pierce his ear because his Swedish girlfriend likes it?
R: You are exaggerating.
R: I don’t think so.
R: How many young boys have earrings in our area? Why don’t you go to Nicosia or Limassol and see how many of their young ones wear earrings...
R: I will reverse the situation; I will refer to the Cypriot society, in our community...
R: If he comes from Paralimni he won’t wear it, when he goes to Ayia Napa though, he’ll put it on because in Paralimni he is ashamed to wear it. I saw them in discos and pubs.
R: We will do the same when we go overseas. We behave differently from the way we behave at home. Everybody does that.
R: It’s what I said before: this doesn’t matter, you show your real self at the places you go to, not where you live.
R: I agree with the gentleman, I would be ashamed of myself if I behaved improperly regardless of where I am.
R: The point is to respect everybody wherever you are or wherever you go.

M: Yes, but do we do it?

R: No. It’s plain and simple. At the end of the day, there’s your answer. No. I show who I really am, where nobody knows me. It should be like that. The important issue here is to be the same person wherever you are.
R: To be a gentleman. Somewhere along the line I don’t show who I really am because I have become self-centered. I show what I want other people to think that I am. I care about other peoples’ opinion of me, whereas in the past, if John or Costas asked me why did I do this or that, it was due to caring or friendship, so he could protect me. Nowadays, it’s just to show off or to gossip or to make me look bad so I’ll lose my social status. So, inevitably I get withdrawn, I stay in my house and I don’t care about the community anymore. I become an individualist, a loner, whereas in the past this wasn’t the case when there were social functions. For example, let’s take a wedding, which was a social event, it went on for 3 days. The whole village would attend, each family would bring its own food and everybody would gather in one place, socialize and solve their problems and not go there just to gossip like they do today. They print invitations to send to the whole island -if that were possible- so they’d get the 5 or 10 pounds each brings as a wedding present and so collect 10-20 thousand pounds not in order to build their house but to spend it here and there and not because they have immediate needs. But in the past, 5 pounds went a long way towards starting a family.

M: Has tourism played a role in the fact that a lot of money has been generated?

R: No, it’s not tourism.
R: Yes, a lot of money has poured in the area, but what you have now, is your hillbillies, the nouveau-riche, the upstarts, whereas in the past you had the land-owner, the nobleman. You could see his posture, his behavior, his social standing, the way he walked carried a nobility about it, whereas now, you only see hillbillies.
R: I agree up to the point where they buy an expensive car, play in the stock-market, regardless of the fact that he may owe this money and have a mortgage on the house.
M: Or embezzle the money of his boss something that happened with a bank employee not long ago.

R: It's like we said before: to cut a long story short, it's what we said before.

R: Wait a minute, we have one more point: tourism has brought positive results, money, the good life.

R: Intermarriage. An Englishman has married one of our girls. A Greek has married a Swede. How many marriages have survived? We have ruined families, abandoned children, ruined customs and social structures.

M: Do you find much intermarriage around here?

R: Yes, quite a lot.

R: Around 20% of the marriages taking place are intermarriages.

R: At the end you have children with no direction, no aims and eventually they turn to drugs...

R: When you have parents that associate with gambling, prostitution and drugs you have ruined families.

R: I don't think that this plays a great part in it. I know of gamblers that have outstanding children in society and their fathers are first class gamblers.

R: I am not referring to gamblers that do look after their families, but to the ones that gamble everything, to the thriftless...

R: The thriftless ones and I know a lot of them, their children are of divorced families, but they became decent people in society. There's an example. I know of someone in particular who squandered millions and ended sleeping in his car, he was that broke, but his children are an example to society.

R: There are exceptions.

R: Let's take the statistics. For every 100 ruined families, how many children are standing on their own two feet? I agree with Costakis. In 50% of divorced families the children take the wrong path. The 10% might make it in life. For example, take your son. If he smokes a cigarette you can take him aside and tell him "Look, son, I smoke and it's bad for me, so don't you do the same thing." You can do that. You can advise him. It's as simple as that, but that child doesn't have it. There's nobody to even warn him, to make him think that it's bad for him to smoke. If you have nobody to tell you that what you is bad, you will continue doing it. That's how I see it.

R: Yes, but on the other hand - I will give an example- let's take my son. If he doesn't work I will give him money whereas the gambler would not because he doesn't have any. What child will deviate, my child that has the money to do so or the boy that doesn't? If he is going to go astray, he will: nothing will stop him.

R: We have a proverb in Cyprus that goes like this: even if you place a woman in a glass house, if she wants to do it, she will.

R: Exactly.

R: I agree, but this is an exception.

R: That's what I've been saying all along. It depends on the individual. A gentleman will always be a gentleman no matter where he is, whether in his own community or somewhere else. He will always behave in the same manner. I insist on this point. Who are you to judge me if I go out with some tourist woman, or if I go gambling? Did I ever bother anybody's wife; did I ever steal from anyone? No. I just gambled once in my life and the police caught us. Now I'm a convicted gambler. A felon. Only once in all my life, not to mention that I was a policeman at the time. And we didn't even get to finish the game!

R: So now you are in the list of the convicted gamblers?

R: Yes, so it seems. Now I'm considered a felon. But what I'm getting at, is about being a gentleman, about having respect towards your fellow human being. I refused to turn state witness and paid my fine of 30 pounds. Do you expect from a gambler to have respect for his fellow man? No way!

R: I moved to Paralimni in 1980 and there was respect everywhere. I was invited to their houses, the works! They offered you hospitality, whereas now if somebody gives you 1000 pounds you turn round and stab him in the back. The least you should do is say "thank you."
A. Saveriades

Apart from tourism you also have the potato industry in this area.

R. Of course, we also cultivate cucumbers, tomatoes...

M. So, it's another factor that brought money to the area.

R. Financially it's not anything special. We can't survive on the potato industry alone.

M. Yes, but all those exports...?

R. No, it's been diminishing. They are not doing so well the past five years. The Government subsidizes them. This year they were given 4 million pounds and they say it's not enough.

R. They also have problems with the water.

R. In the past, Paralimni and mainly the whole area, if we didn't produce potatoes, the whole island suffered. We produced quite a lot whereas now, people say to themselves, "Why should I plant potatoes or tomatoes and not build a hotel instead on that plot of land?"

M. How do you see the tourist industry in your area? Do you want it to continue growing?

R. I will put it in one word: total distraction. The uprooting of our society, our customs. Disastrous. It has brought inhumanity, bigotry, egotism, and selfishness. Total distraction. Nepotism. All the bad ills of humanity.

M. You think that if there wasn't any more tourism, things might improve?

R. Yes, they would improve quite a lot because there would be less money circulating because money can offer you everything that you want. So, when human imagination is let loose you demand ludicrous things, a thing that has already started. Can you please tell me why would one build a house of 300 square meters to live in? It boggles the mind and there are a lot of people who build houses like the Parthenon. For God's sake, am I exaggerating?

R. No.

R. Wealth should have a social background; restraints and the Cypriots have none.

M. Yes, but people won't change now. The same trends will remain if the tourists were to stop coming to Cyprus.

R. I believe that, in today's environment, as far as tourism is concerned, a productive person, and I'm saying this in the good sense of the word, could make lots of money, but he would have to work long, hard hours. It's what I was saying before: that our elders worked less than we did. Maybe they got physically tired in the old days whereas now the tiredness is also mental. Now people work up to 20 hours at times whereas in the past they worked for 10 maybe 12 hours.

R. Until daylight faded.

R. Yes, for a person that starts with absolutely nothing in his name, it's quite hard. For the ones that were given even a little help, they might make ends meet if they work hard. But if you weren't given any help at all, you'd have to work very hard and for very long hours in order to be able to survive. Then, on the other hand, you have the Government employees who get promotions and they look down on you, whereas there are millionaires who behave quite decently towards you, they speak with everybody, they don't care what others will think of them whereas there is this class of people now, that won't speak to anybody who isn't somebody.

M. Do you believe that it's due to hard work that people made money through tourism?

R. The person who made money from scratch, without the help of his family or wife's family, I truly respect. They made it with their own bare hands and you won't find many of them. You can probably count them on the fingers of one hand. Truly, I get emotional by just saying it.
I really dislike people who criticize other people for their association with other people. The only person who should criticize is you and nobody else.

M: Generally, what problems does your area face?

R: Only our farmers and hotel owners face problems.
R: The majority of the hotels are not doing well. The money they have is not theirs, they are in debt. The money they spend is not theirs. It's the bank's.

M: Other problems?

R: Look, tourism brings changes in one's life. Twenty years ago, when we didn't have tourists, people would go to their fields, come home, then go to the coffee shop and that was it. Let's take a person of today. He starts working in a hotel, comes in contact with 20-30 girls, he can take one to the building apartment next door and nobody will be the wiser. It's so much easier to stray. It's a different life. Let me ask you something: how many divorces did we have in '74 and how many now?

R: Correct.
R: So, you can see the changes that are taking place in our lives. In the past you might have had 5 divorces in a thousand, now you have 75 in 100. These are the latest statistics from the Church.
R: In the old days, it wasn't because you didn't want to go to an apartment building with another woman, but because you felt ashamed to do it. You even felt ashamed to divorce your wife. Now, you can show your real self and I believe it's better this way. Now, you get your divorce and good for you. You don't have to live with a woman and lead a miserable life because you don't see eye to eye. You just get a divorce. You just have to muster the courage and do it.

M: This courage is because of today's life...

R: No, today's phenomena that cause the divorces always existed.
R: Maybe there were not so many divorces in those days, but if you were married to somebody with money, in those days you would not get a divorce -who dared- whereas now, there are more jobs, more opportunities for you to be able to survive. Why live with a woman with whom you don't get along and then get a stick and hit her and not just divorce so both can have an opportunity for a better new life? We should move forward, I don't think that anybody wishes to go back in time, everybody wants to move forward. Look at the woman sitting next to you. Would she be sitting here 20 years ago? Of course not.

R: The banks haven't yet started repossessing the hotels. Give them five years.

M: Why, because of the stock exchange?

R: No, they can't survive. Forget that.
R: Because we live above our means.
R: The stock exchange has brought money; it gave them cash to pay off some of their debts.
R: You have all these apartments, hotels, pubs...
R: It's out of control.

M: Why did this happen? Whose fault is it?

R: Because people borrowed without the means to repay their loans. They over-extended.
R: The area can't handle all this development.

M: Whose fault is it? The Government's?

R: No, it's not the Government's.
R: Since 1990, you can't build in Paralimni. They won't issue any more licences.

M: You mean that there's still a moratorium on construction tourism related projects?
R: No. Only those who had licenses that were issued before 1990.
R: I have friends, tourist friends who date back 15-20 years who tell me that we have ruined the place. There's nothing of our natural beauty any more. This is what these people are telling me.
R: Look at how Ayia Napa used to be and look at it now.
R: And they also have become mean people. I say this to their face and they don't even react. They know it themselves. They wear 200 pounds worth of shoes and 300 pounds worth of shirts, whereas before, they used to come to Paralimni on foot in order to sell their fish that was tied together with big leaves and they used to beg us to buy the fish at 4 shillings an oke. They were barefooted but well-mannered people, who would greet you, invite you to their homes whereas now, they won't even say good morning.
R: There is also jealousy. If one pub is not doing well and the one next to it is doing quite well, the owner of the first pub which has no customers will constantly call the police and complain that the music of his neighbor is too loud or he doesn't have a licence, or that the barmaid is illegally in Cyprus. Why do they do that? Why doesn't he mind his own business or do something compatible so he can increase the number of his customers. Why is this phenomenon not happening in Europe?
M: Why are they jealous? is our social behaviour like this?
R: No. It's everywhere like this. What if he puts a bomb in my place? I'll be destroyed.
R: In Europe the system is different.
R: I agree.
R: In Europe, in a small village, if you have two bakeries they won't give you a licence to open another one whereas here, where you have ten of them. We have misinterpreted the word "democracy".
R: Yes, but my next door neighbour must have done something to me in order for me to keep harassing him. I should find ways to work better.
M: Tell us something about the police around here. What's the role of the police?
R: It's non-existent. They do absolutely nothing.
R: Unfortunately, I don't even feel secure anymore. Really. You take your car to go to Nicosia and you don't know if you're going to come back. They overtake dangerously in front of the police patrols, they ignore the traffic lights, the yellow lines. 12 year olds are driving bikes and cars in front of police stations. You see 3-4 persons on a bike driving past you and nobody does anything.
R: The police don't even respect the uniform they're wearing, which bears a great responsibility. It weighs a ton if you are a true policeman.
R: The "iron uniform" I call it.
R: It doesn't matter If you sit here and drink a bottle of whisky as long you are a policeman and on your time off. But if somebody complains about a disturbance and you find out that your brother is involved, then you should report him too, not wear a blindfold.
M: What are the responsibilities of the police?
R: Everything: from divorces to serious crimes.
M: Are many crimes being committed around here? Gang families, vendettas?
R: No, not around here. Not yet anyway.
R: Many burglaries are being committed here and also break-ins.
M: From Cypriots?
R: Mostly.
R: The work of the police is getting a lot more difficult nowadays because they are worried in case they get blamed for something. For example, if a woman is doing 80 miles an hour
and the policeman books her, he runs the risk of being accused of sexually harassing her, or hitting her. So how do you expect this policeman to behave?

R: We have a police captain here so he can tell us his opinion about this; the other day somebody went to the police station to report that his shop had been broken in. The windows were broken in, in fact. There was one policeman on duty at 2.00 in the morning and instead of behaving in a manner befitting his position, regardless of the state of the citizen, who could even be drunk, he told him to go wait at his shop. The man did so. He waited there for almost one hour, but the policeman didn't show up. So, he went back to the police station to find the policeman chatting on the phone with his girlfriend. So, the citizen, who by the way was illiterate, asked him again if he was coming to investigate the break in of his shop and help him. The policeman behaved in such a bad manner that the situation got completely out of hand, the citizen pushed the policeman, they eventually got in a fight and now this citizen is facing two counts of assault and battery, not to mention that he may be jailed. Tell me now: whose fault is it?

R: The policeman's of course.

R: Of course. The citizen went to report a break in and ended up facing two felony charges and might go to jail. If this is not the policeman's fault, then I don't know whose it is.

M: So who's in charge? Who oversees this?

R: The ones who investigated the case blamed the poor citizen. What the policeman should have done in the first place, was report the incident to his superiors who were close to the police station and then go with the man to investigate, since the first officer was alone in the station and couldn't leave.

M: What other problems do you encounter around here?

R: Everybody has gone stock market crazy. If you wake up tomorrow morning and around 9.00 o'clock go to the coffee shops or the fields or the shops, you will find everybody at the stock-exchange centre. From 9.00 to 12.00 that's all people do and talk about.

R: They even forgot our national problem. Before, in the coffee shops people talked about the Cyprus problem. Now it's about the stock exchange and money. Only about this.

R: The easy money, the same situation that happened 10 years ago with land properties that skyrocketed in price. This has passed now and they found another way to make easy money.

R: I personally believe that it's not the tourists' fault or anybody else's. It's nepotism - hillbillies- and I insist on this. It's our fault, but in our area or community if you like, we have another flaw. We never blame ourselves but always blame somebody else. Another big flaw in our character around here is that we, from Paralimni, consider ourselves to be infallible, the best. The rest of the world can go to hell. We are the centers of the universe, or so we like to think.

R: I mean that our culture “thinks” like that. Our children are the best and the smartest. It's our fault that we are like this and not the tourists' or anybody else's.

R: I'll give you an example: which is the best tomato? If it isn't from Paralimni then it's not the best. Whose ‘rocket’ (eruca sativa' which is used in salads) is the best? If it isn't from Paralimni then it's not good enough.

R: We are really a community to be laughed at; we are egotists, newly rich nepotistic people.

M: How would you describe the youth?

R: Out of control, undisciplined and illiterate.

R: This is the parents' point of view. If you were a 15 year old?

R: I believe it's our fault. We didn't give them the right foundations. My daughter wants a computer and she's only 11 years old, for God's sake!

R: Yes, but we succumb and buy them what they want.

R: It all starts from the family. My son is fourteen years old and a good student. He wants a computer too, but I didn't buy him one because he has his encyclopaedias, his books. He doesn't need a computer. His friends have bikes, but I didn't get him one.
R: There are children that whatever you do you can't change them. It's in their genes, they inherit their characteristics, but we can help mould their way of thinking, their character. We can point them towards the right direction.

R: Let me give you an example: a pupil does something wrong at school and the principal investigates to find out what exactly happened and how many pupils were involved. Eventually 4 of the 6 pupils involved went to the principal with their parents and apologized. That was that. The other 2 pupils' parents went to the principal and told him that their children were justified for what they did and it should not even be mentioned on their report-card and so what if they got out of line, they were only children!

R: Right or wrong, it's an example of our refusal to accept that we are in the wrong. Because one of the children's father was a lawyer, he even threatened to take the principal to court.

R: We give our children the bad example. How will this child conform to the rules of society when he knows that he can get away with anything? If he gets into trouble he only has to call his father.

R: What I tell my children is that when they grow up they can do what they like as long they respect their fellow human beings. You want to get drunk, get drunk, but don't ruin other peoples' day.

R: What you don't like others to do unto you, don't do it to them. It's that simple.

M: One last question: it's been said that the literacy level in Cyprus is very high, do you agree?

R: I could have a University degree and be uncultivated.

M: I mean having a degree.

R: Statistically, 75% are in College, 95% in High Schools and 60% in Universities.

R: But I insist that most people are illiterate.

R: What I learned in primary and high school they are teaching now in the second grade of high school. Now my daughter knows much more than I did in her age. The educational standard is much higher now, but on the other hand you have a much lower standard of social behaviour.

R: What I want to say is that there is no respect any more. In the past, our social behaviour was much better that it is now.

R: When today, from a young age we don't allow the child to play in the dirt, to run around and get dirty in the mud, to become social, and instead we take to ballet lessons, sports, dance lessons, piano lessons, it's obviously our fault if our children end up like this. When do we expect them to play like children ought to do, when they are 20 years old? If they don't grow up naturally, then we've lost them. If their whole week is crammed with extra lessons, besides their homework, when will they play and socialize? When will he experience childhood?

M: Do students have to take private lessons in your area?

R: Yes, this bad phenomenon is universal. I only take my daughter for English lessons because it's the only way she can compete with the other pupils.

M: Apart from English lessons? In Nicosia everybody does...

R: It's the same here. When you have 10-15 students attending afternoon classes, the teacher doesn't have to do the lectures. There are no inspectors to check on him, so children are forced to do the extra lessons. It's a vicious circle. If all children did not attend afternoon classes, then the teachers would have to really work. But, unfortunately, it's the other way round.

R: Unfortunately, they can't graduate without the extra lessons.

M: What are considered good jobs around here?

R: To be a stockbroker.
R: No, really, people around here have no problems. Most of them have their own business and employ the rest of the population. They have their shops, their pubs and tourist shops.

R: Let me tell you something funny. In Paralimni today, nobody asks the other if he has a girlfriend. Instead, they ask them if they want to go bet at the stock exchange.

M: Shall we emigrate here?

R: Paralimni was a nice place in the 80s or before that.

R: It was a different era. When I came here in 1980, I felt at home and in those days there were 7-8 thousand people. People were genuine, with a gentlemanly behaviour. If you wanted a million pounds, it was given to you on just a handshake.

R: It was unsophisticated.

R: Now it's all gone, replaced by greed. That's the new Paralimni. The reasons are many and interlinked.

R: Some say it's tourism; I disagree up to a point. We blame it all on tourism, but it's not so.

R: It has played a part.

R: A part, yes.

M: Yes, some say that we allowed tourism to influence us.

R: It's not only the young generation that has no respect towards anybody; it's also the grown-ups.

R: A case in point; why doesn't a parent take his son when he turns 15 which is the difficult age and guide him in his profession or help him find his way and control him? They just let them loose.

R: Your son has gone to University, why shouldn't mine go too?

R: But he can't hack it! He's not up to it.

R: You can buy the degree.

R: You over buy the degree. What happens now is, you send him to America for 15 years until he comes home with a degree and then he puts it in his back pocket, because he is going to work in the family business.

R: I have a cousin who's been gone for 10 years and he still hasn't come back with a diploma.

R: And he won't. You can be sure of it.

R: You send him, it costs you 15000 pounds per year and if he doesn't graduate in 3 years eventually he will in 5 years since I pay for the diploma.

R: The question is this: if we didn't have tourism would we have this mixing of races?

R: Of course not.

R: You went to England to study. Would anybody stand in your way if you wanted to marry an English girl? O.K., maybe it would not have reached to the point that it is today...

R: Yes, but nobody dared in the old days.

R: In Paralimni where there are tourists you have a thousand cases of Cypriots getting married to foreigners and in Kakopetria where there are no tourists you have 2 such cases.

R: You see, things have skyrocketed prematurely.

R: All these foreign workers, didn't they contribute to this final racial mixing?

R: Of course they did.

R: So, didn't they also contribute in the making of illegitimate children?

R: Of course, we even saw it on the T.V.

R: Let me ask you something. If they were of a certain standard, we the materialists, the employers, employ people from Sri-Lanka, from the Philippines, from Thailand and from the Eastern European bloc because they are starving over there and we pay them 8 pounds instead of 30. On the other hand, if we brought people from England or France to work for us...

R: They wouldn't come.

R: Why?

R: Because their standard of living is much higher.

R: No, it's because we brought them in masses, that's why. If you have 2-3 in each household, what do you expect?
R: I am not against bringing them here, as I have my own business, but my point is: why don't our people try to work honestly, squarely?
R: How? They are accustomed to easy money.
R: So the employer is forced to import foreign labour.
R: I'm not accusing the employer, I'm simply referring to the social problem that we're faced with.
R: If you ask me, I'm for the employers who bring foreign workers. Good for them.
R: There are those who are of a lower (mental) standard and are trying to do what we did 500 years ago.
R: Lots of farmers bring ten workers for the fields and one for himself despite the fact that he has a family. And on top of that, he boasts about it to his friends.
R: Everybody knows about it. Even his wife and family. That creates a social problem.
R: Do you also know how many also sell these poor women-workers so they can also be satisfied? Do you know that a customer of mine owed me 140 pounds and couldn't pay so he offered me the services of a girl instead? He said, "come round one night to have fun with this girl we employ and we are even"! I feel ashamed just for mentioning it. I'm only saying this in order to show you what he have become.

M: I guess we have to put a halt to this discussion. I'd like to thank you all very much for participating, I hope you enjoyed this lively discussion as much as I did.
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