Chapter 4
Tourism Development As a Resident-Tourist Exchange Process: an Economic Theoretic Interpretation

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Abstract Many attemps have been made to theoretically base research in tourism development. However, a discernible bias towards residents' perceptions exists. Since tourism involves the meeting of (at least) two populations, residents' perception ha to be analysed as part of an exchange process where hosts and guests are both considered. This paper presents and partially develops the Exchange Economic Model implemented by Bimonte and Punzo (Tour Manage 55:199–208, 2016) to investigate the possible scenarios and dynamics that tourism development may imply. The theoretical framework takes an economic perspective and assumes that agents' preferences are endogenous. This means that the population's interactions and experiences influence guests' and/or hosts' attitudes and opinions, which may in turn cause structural changes in individuals' preferences. As a consequence, populations may split and inter- and/or intra-community conflict may arise that affects individual quality of life (QOL). The paper addresses this issue theoretically, suggesting some possible solutions.

Keywords Edgeworth Box · Exchange Theory · Residents and Tourist Attitudes · Hosts and guests interaction

4.1 Introduction

Tourism is widely accredited as a major engine of local development (Sharpley 2015) and industry in the world, in terms of job creation and receipts (WTTC 2014). It was recently also acknlowledged as a determinant of quality of life (QOL) and perceived happiness (Neal et al. 2004, 2007; Pearce 2009; Pearce et al. 2011; Uysal et al. 2016). While travelling, people build social relationships, experience positive

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A. M. Campón-Cerro et al. (eds.), *Best Practices in Hospitality and Tourism Marketing and Management*, Applying Quality of Life Research,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-91692-7_4

emotions, and expand their knowledge. All these aspects have been found to positively affect personal wellbeing (Bimonte and Faralla 2012, 2015; Neal et al. 2007; Sirgy et al. 2011). However, while this may seem to be the case for tourists (guests), it is less certain for those who receive tourists, i.e. local communities (hosts) (Bimonte and Faralla 2016).

In fact, the fast (and often uncontrolled) expansion of tourism, together with benefits, has caused many social and environmental problems. This "epiphenomenon" mainly impinges on local communities (Wall and Mathieson 2006) who have to deal with "development dilemma" (Telfer and Sharpley 2008) or a trade-off between perceived benefits and costs. This is why many authors advise caution with regard to tourist development (Gursoy et al. 2002; Northcote and Macbeth 2006; Saarinen 2006; Saarinen et al. 2011) and hope for a deeper investigation of the relationship between it, residents' perception of tourist impacts and QOL. This is an important issue, because the friendliness of local residents and acceptance of tourists and tourist-related plans by the local community are important requirements for the success and sustainability of any tourist development (Bimonte 2013; Bimonte and Punzo 2011; Jurowski and Gursoy 2004; Lepp 2007; Pérez and Nadal 2005). Should the (perceived) costs of tourism outweigh its (perceived) benefits, then the hosts, or part of them, could withdraw their support for tourism (Lawson et al. 1998; Woosnam 2012). This does not mean that tourism would come to an end, but rather would acquire in an "unfriendly" context, to the detriment of social welfare.[1]

Many studies have investigated the relationships between residents' perception of tourism impacts, QOL and support for tourism development (Gursoy et al. 2010; Nunkoo and Gursoy 2012). Awareness that a balance and equitable distribution of costs and benefits are fundamental to the successful development of tourism (Andriotis and Vaughan 2003), together with recognition of the growing costs associated with tourism development, underlies the now considerable literature on resident perceptions of tourism (Sharpley 2014).

Tourism involves the meeting of two populations: a better known and stable population (residents) and a changing and generally less known one (tourists) (Bimonte 2008a). Populations may also be divided into communities, which implies complex interactions and variegated experiences that may influence guest and/or host attitudes, opinions, and ultimately lifestyles (Sharpley 2008). The quality and nature of the interaction also affects residents' perceptions of tourist development and the tourists' willingness to pay (Bimonte and Punzo 2011). Attention therefore has to be paid to the pay-offs for residents and tourists alike. Only mutually beneficial development can prevent latent conflicts and the sometimes disastrous effects of competition (Bimonte 2008a; Bimonte and Punzo 2007; Getz and Timur 2005; Gursoy and Rutherford 2004).

To analyze, understand and manage this phenomenon, a conceptual framework of host-guest relations is required. Unfortunately, the question has rarely been investigated in such a framework (Sharpley 2014). Since its inception, empirical

[1] An example is what is happening in Barcelona. Groups of residents are joining forces to protest over soaring rents fuelled by the big rise in visitor numbers (The Guardian, Juanuary, 29th, 2017).

research has mainly focused on the residents' side, while conceptual frameworks have been developed to theorize the relationship between tourism, residents' perceptions of impacts and residents' responses.

Tourist Area Life Cycle (Butler 1980, 2006) and the Irridex model (Doxey 1975; Fridgen 1991) are the reference frameworks for most studies on resident attitudes to tourism, which involve quantitative analysis based on surveys. Theoretical analysis is less developed and also has a discernible bias toward residents.

In view of these aspects, and building on some well-established and shared theoretical economic concepts, Bimonte and Punzo (2016) developed a guest-host model to explain the relationship between tourism development, residents' perceptions of impacts, and tourists' and residents' responses. To interpret this process they used the Edgeworth Box.[2]

This paper builds on and further develops their theoretical framework. Here, technical aspects are kept simple, as far as possible, in order to make the question understandable to non economists. Our main goal is to understand tourist dynamics and the evolution of attitudes, and to spur reflection on these issues. We aim to contribute to theoretical analysis of the issue and implement a reference framework to support policy makers in implementing suitable instruments for the success and sustainability of tourist development.

4.2 Tourism Development: A Review of the Basic Literature on Interpretative Models

Various theoretical models have been suggested to explain the relationship between tourists and residents (e.g. Ap and Crompton 1993; Bimonte and Punzo 2007; Dogan 1989). However, many studies use the Irridex model (Doxey 1975; Fridgen 1991) and the Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) (Butler 1980, 2006) as analytical framework. While telling the same story as for the expected results, they focus on different actors. The former mainly focuses on host community responses to tourism and assumes that locals initially have positive attitudes to tourism, but their perception of impact and their level of acceptance tend to evolve as tourism increases (Teye et al. 2002), though not necessarily in a deterministic and generalizable way (Gursoy et al. 2010; King et al. 1993). It is a deterministic four-stage model in which residents are supposed to pass from a state of euphoria, to apathy, to annoyance, and finally to antagonism. This is because the adverse impacts of tourism produce some degree of irritation in the host community. How much irritation depends on the number of tourists and the degree of incompatibility between residents and tourists.

Borrowing from the theory of product cycle, TALC implicitly focuses on the tourists' response. Like any product, it asserts that a tourist destination follows a pattern that evolves from the discovery to the maturity stage. During this process,

[2] Readers interested in a more technical analysis are referred to Bimonte and Punzo's (2016) paper and any microeconomics textbook, for example Katz and Rosen (1998) and Varian (2010).

the number of tourists initially increases but on approaching the carrying capacity and maturity stage, starts to decline. The model has been criticised (Dyer et al. 2007) especially with regard to its simplistic assumptions and deterministic evolution (Mason and Cheyne 2000; Tosun 2002; Wall and Mathieson 2006).

Though with differences, the models proposed by Dogan (1989) and Ap and Crompton (1993) focus on residents' response to tourism impacts rather than attitudes. The former model draws attention to tourism as a cause of conflict among residents. It considers the possibility that tourism development act as a deflagrating activity, transforming a homogeneous population in a relatively heterogeneous community.[3] This leads to more uncertain and complex results. Regarding the latter aspect, Bimonte and Punzo (2007) analyse the interaction between tourists and residents in terms of conflict and evolutionary game. This permits them to deal with many expected outcomes. None of these models considers the possibility of simultaneous (multiple) outcome.

However, while the development path is important, the fundamental issue isunderstanding of factors that may influence it. With the aim of preventing undesirable results and of obtaining insights for tourism planning, attention has been also paid to aspects that influence or determine residents' perceptions, attitudes and responses to tourism (Harrill 2004; Nunkoo et al. 2013; Sharpley 2014).

Though not always convergent, empirical results have allowed some advances in our understanding of the phenomenon. However, the widespread "atheoretical" approach (Harrill 2004), together with different methods, sampling and segmentations technicques, and the variety of variables investigated, make any generalization difficult (Sharpley 2014; Williams and Lawson 2001).

Although attempts have been made to give a theoretical basis to research on tourism development, the matter remains unclear, especially in explaining or understanding the evolution of residents' perceptions (Sharpley 2014). On this aspect, Social Exchange Theory (SET) is an advance on which a number of studies draw. It postulates that an individual's attitudes towards tourism depends on an evaluation of perceived tourism impacts (Andereck et al. 2005). Therefore, research is aimed at elaborating a cost-benefit appraisal to determine local citizens' inclination to participate in exchange with tourists and to endorse tourist development in their own community (Ap 1992, 1990; Ap and Crompton 1993; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Jurowski et al. 1997; Kayat 2002). It focuses on the perceived impact of tourism, distinguishing socioeconomic, cultural and environmental impacts (Andereck and Vogt 2000; Harrill 2004).

Social Representation Theory (SRT), on the other hand, emphasizes the social influences and interactions of community. It focuses on "both the content of social knowledge and the way that this knowledge is created and shared by people in various groups, societies or communities" (Pearce et al. 1996: 31). It is therefore supposed to be useful for explaining social conflicts and individual reactions to events. In fact, SRT asserts that the way individuals describe and react to a stimulus "is affected by social knowledge, which is a combination of individual and societal

[3] For a survey and more detailed analysis see Monterrubio-Cordero (2008)

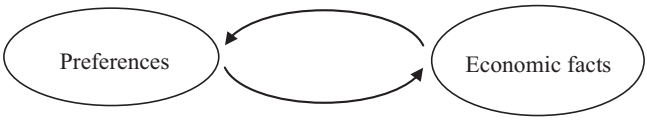

Fig. 4.1 Choices and feed back relations

values, ideas and practices" (Murphy and Murphy 2004). However, although SRT offers a fertile reference framework, its usefulness and value still need to be recognized and confirmed by empirical studies (Monterrubio-Cordero 2008).

Despite these attempts and improvements, it is an indisputable fact that models and empirical research have a discernible bias towards residents, hosts' perceptions and responses. However, as stated before, besides being a complex social phenomenon, tourism is mainly an encounter of two populations and possibly many communities. While this is rarely the case, a conceptual framework of host-guest relations is required to achieve a better understanding of tourism development (Sharpley 2014).

An attempt was recently made by Bimonte and Punzo (2016). Drawing on social exchange theory, they proposed an economic tourist-host exchange model. When deciding whether to engage in tourism, they assumed that the contractors develop an exchange process to optimize their well-being, maximizing benefits while trying to minimize costs. They argue that hosts and guests appraise and compare costs and benefits implied by the exchange: the former determine their Willingness to Accept (WTA) for endorsing tourist development in their community; the latter determine their Willingness to Pay (WTP) for tourist activities.[4] Given participants' preferences and contextual factors, an exchange is presumed to occur when a balance (equilibrium) between costs and benefits emerges for both (all) players. To represent and interpret this process they use the Edgeworth Box, representing the "exchange" in terms of "resource-space", mainly managed by the host community, against income, i.e. the amount of money that guests are willing to invest in travel.

Building on this model and assuming endogenous preferences, the present paper tries to investigate host-guest interactions and envisage outcomes. It assumes that feasible tourist development is an equilibrium path delimited by a spatial-temporal scale. It depends on the players' preferences (or attitudes) and the interaction dynamics between hosts and guests whereby players react to a stimulus and to feedbacks generated by responses.

These aspects are emphasized when a relationship between preferences and economic facts exists (Etzioni 1985). In fact, preferences and economic conditions determine the choice, but the former evolve in turn due to experience associated with the economic choice (Fig. 4.1). In such a context, equilibrium is determined endogenously. For example: because of price increases, an individual may change

[4] WTP (WTA) is the maximum (minimum) payment (compensation) an individual is willing to pay (accept) for a change that leaves her/him just as well off as before (Bellinger 2007; Perman et al. 2011)

her/his decision, choosing a mountain rather than a sea vacation. When the price of the sea vacation returns to its initial level, the individual may still opt for a mountain vacation. The experience induced by the price increase caused a change in the individual's preferences (Candela and Figini 2012).[5] Differences may also exist between expected and experienced utility. We examine this issue later.[6]

4.3 Host-Guest Interactions and Tourist Resources

Tourism is essentially a social phenomenon that entails an interaction between a temporary (tourists) and a stable (residents) population on one hand, and an exchange of resources on the other. The nature and quality of the interaction and exchange determine the tourists' and the residents' experience (Bimonte and Punzo 2007; Reisinger and Turner 2002) and consequently the former's willingness to pay (WTP) and the latter's perceived tourism impacts and response, together with their willingness to accept (WTA) (Andereck and Vogt 2000; Harrill 2004). From an economic perspective, an efficient exchange occurs when these two measures (WTP and WTA) coincide (Bimonte and Punzo 2016).

Since these two populations have different needs and interests to fulfill, they may entertain different expectations with regard to the benefits and costs deriving from the encounter. Considering the type of resources involved (mainly of a public or common pool nature), they have to reach an agreement on how to simultaneously use and/or share local resources and how much to exploit them. Compared with others sectors and exchanges, this may be a difficult task in tourism, because the two populations are probably divided internally into communities, each with its own needs and interests, and different WTP or WTA. The largely indivisible nature of the exchange, caused by the public and common-pool nature of the goods and the dependence between individuals' behavior and utility (externalities) make the equilibrium difficult to achieve or economically and socially unstable.

For the sake of simplicity, we start with the two populations case. One may represent this issue in term of "exchange" between "resource-space" (S) and income/money (I). The former consists of a set of resources (material and immaterial) that tourists "consume" during their stay. Many are produced by the host communities, themselves a locally defined and non-reproducible "tourism product". These resources are goods with economic value and their conservation can be threatened by development of those very activities that valorize them, tourism being one such activity. Their (rate of) usage may often have critical tapping values, beyond which use and often economic value fall sharply, or even completely disappear. They are mostly common-pool resources used simultaneosly by hosts and guests, not necessarily with same aim (for example hunting *vs* watching). Their use may produce

[5] Note that this is not a case of dynamically incoherent preferences but simply of a change in preferences.

[6] This phenomenon is widely analysed in behavioral and neuro economics.

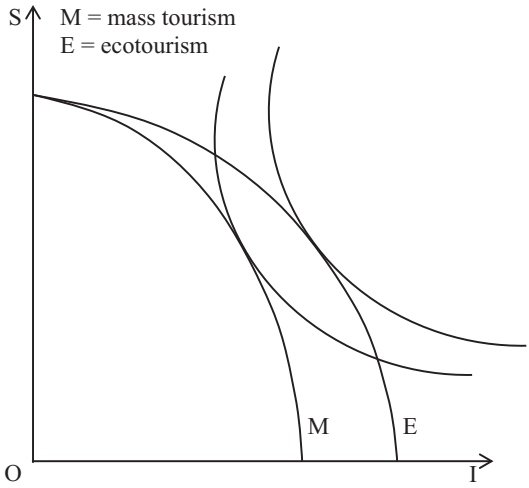

Fig. 4.2 Indifference curves and equilibrium

competition (generating congestion effects) or even conflict (generating externality effects). Competition, or even antagonism, is of course all the more acute, the smaller or more fragile the resources available for tourist development.[7] It also depends on how heterogeneous the two populations are, in terms of culture and plans/technologies determining resource usage.

S is mainly managed by the host community, who can decide to prevent tourist development or open their resource-space to tourism in order to obtain benefits, such as additional income. They trade S for I. The latter is the income guests invest in travel. Roughly speaking, it is payment to use S. In a broad sense, it is the reward for local community, and can be thought of as additional income, social development, cultural interchange, better services.

This situation may be represented by a production possibility frontier, which represents the production tradeoff. For given technology, tourist preferences, market conditions and amount and type of resources, the curve shows the maximum quantity of one good one can get for any given level of the other. In the case of a destination, this is the maximum quantity of income (tourist WTP) one can get from a given amount of resource-space made available to tourism.

Increasing tourist demand for a good (say S) entails disbursing the other (I). The latter (I) is the opportunity cost of the former (additional S) (in the case of residents it is the opposite). The ratio of the two variations represents the *marginal rate of transformation* (MRT). It depends on where we are and on the shape of the curve. MRT increases in absolute size as one moves from the top left to the bottom right of the curve. This means that appraisal (productivity) varies with relative scarcity (in quantitative and qualitative terms). It also depends on technology, tourist preferences and type of tourist development. This is evident in Fig. 4.2. For example, it

[7] We assume that the bundle of resources can be quantified by a single indicator and can be put on a single axis of our model. There is no need to complicate the picture to drive our message home.

may be thought of as mass tourism against ecotourism. It is normally acknowledged that mass tourism brings higher costs and lower benefits than ecotourism (Bimonte 2008b). Different development models result in different frontiers (curves).

Besides production conditions, there are also welfare aspects to consider. In our framework, these are represented by indifference curves that denote a consumption trade-off. Given the technology, type and amount of resources, these curves show the maximum amount of resource-space that residents are willing to give-up for a given amount of additional income (*marginal rate of substitution – MRS*). The exchange ratio depends on where we measure it on the curves and the shape of the curve. Since these curves are convex, the opportunity cost is decreasing: it declines in absolute size as one moves from the top left to the bottom right of the curve (this means that WTA goes to infinity). This means that appraisal varies with relative quantitative and qualitative scarcity. As before, the latter are influenced by the model of tourist development and tourist type. Faulkner and Tideswell (1997) argued that the "type of tourist" can condition the attitude of the resident toward tourists and tourism. Among other things, it is claimed that "*the more positive the perception that residents have about the respectful behavior of tourists, the greater is their overall perception that the positive impacts outweigh the negative impacts, and the more favorable is their attitude toward further tourism development*" (Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2014, 583; Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2011).

4.4 A Host-Guest Exchange Scheme

Let us now investigate how the exchange process functions. According to standard neoclassical theory, in a pure exchange economy there are several consumers. Each consumer is described by her/his preferences and goods endowment and is assumed to behave competitively. Agents are therefore price takers and are represented by their utility functions (u_i) and initial endowment (ω_i). The aggregate demand curve for a private good is a continuous and decreasing curve (showing decreasing marginal WTP). It is the sum of individuals' independent demand curves. No interaction between individuals' demand and consumption is allowed. Given preferences and endowments, they trade their goods in order to make themselves better off.

In the case of tourism, things are a slightly different. First of all, tourism is mainly an "experience good" consisting of many (hedonic) attributes. Tourists' WTP and residents' WTA are defined *ex-ante*, according to the importance of each attribute and expected utility (Lancaster 1966). Moreover, given the nature of the resources involved, attributes differentiate in terms of the state of the world, which in turn depends on the behaviour of other individuals. Thus tourist demand is neither unique nor independent of the demand of other individuals, as in the case of pure private goods. Congestion and conflict externalities arise. This implies that the

market demand is endogenously determined and steeper[8] than it would be in the case of pure private goods (Bimonte and Punzo 2007).

Under the endogeous assumption, "economic fact" interacts with preferences, which therefore evolve in time, because individuals' utility depends on actual experience, in turn affected by contextual factors, such as crowding, community composition (measured by the different types of tourists simultaneously visiting that destination), views and values shared with host community, and intensity of resource use.[9] Once again, individuals' perceived "utility" and "disutility" depend on technical aspects and players' preferences that in turn depend on the nature of the interactions affecting contextual factors.

With regards the latter aspect, one has to consider that, unlike residents, tourists are a "changing" population. As such, they can use both the voice and exit option. The latter is much more costly for hosts than for guests. Therefore, a tourism-induced change in attitude may have different outcomes: on the host side, it is more likely to generate voice, whereas on the guest side it may generate voice or exit.

Thus market and contextual factors intermingle to determine the final (temporary and/or unstable) outcome. As we said, the relative importance of the two goods generally varies along the relevant curves, as does the marginal rate of substitutions between the two goods: the less of a good left, compared to the other, the higher the assigned value (decreasing marginal utility). Moreover, ceteris paribus, the less resource-space left (or perceived as such), the higher the intercommunity conflict; the higher the conflict, the higher host WTA and the lower guest WTP; the less equitable the tourist development, the greater host intra community conflict, and as a result, host-guest intercommunity conflict. To summarize, WTP and WTA depend on what is left of S, both in qualitative and quantitative sense. This obviously affects the MRS.

From microeconomic theory we know that an efficient equilibrium (outcome) maximizes agents' utility. This condition is met when the indifference curves are tangents to each other and MRT = MRS.[10] However, considering what we said before, what seems to be an *ex-ante* efficient outcome may turn out to be an *ex-post* inefficient and conflictual outcome. Actual experience modifies agents' perception shifting them on a different indifference curve and production frontier with a different expected equilibrium. When populations are divided into communities, multiple equilibria can also emerge.

It is the responsibility of local planners and policy makers to forge balanced, equitable, enduring tourism development. To do so, a private outcome (equilibrium) compatible with social expectations is needed. The latter may be met through policies, such as redistributive (compensative) measures that modify the social marginal rate of substitution in terms of income and services, or else policies that reduce the negative impact of tourism on the local community, or make the intensity of resource-space use (technology) more efficient. Such policies aim to produce a kind

[8] In the case of destinations characterized by the truck effect, the opposite would be true.

[9] For more elaboration of these aspects, see Bimonte and Punzo (2007).

[10] This could be represented by means of a modified Edgeworth Box.

of *pooling equilibrium*. When possible, seasonal or spatial segmentation may be required to reduce conflict and increase welfare. These policies would aim at ensuring multiple equilibria (a kind of *separating equilibrium*). For example, in the case of sea or river tourism, one can have fishers and waterscooters enjoying the same resource but with conflinting needs. In this case, a pooling equilibrium is difficult to obtain. A solution could be to separate users or activities spatially or seasonally.

4.5 Concluding Remarks

This paper is based on the assumption that tourism involves the meeting of at least two, not necessarily homogeneous populations, i.e. hosts and guests. Unlike previous approaches, it focuses simultaneously on both agents and considers the effects of different development paths and interactions. In an attempt to avoid any simplistic syncretism, it combines elements of various models and theories (Irridex model, life cycle model, social exchange theory, carrying capacity) with some basic and well-shared economic concepts, building a theoretical economic framework to analyze tourist development at a destination and residents' attitudes to tourism. It aims to investigate and hopefully answer some of the issues detected in the best known models of the literature.

Drawing mainly on Bimonte and Punzo (2016), and assuming endogenous preferences, it represents tourism as an exchange between guests and hosts. As such, it assumes that both actors try to optimize their well-being while minimizing the costs implied by tourism. Given their preferences, both envisage and compare expected costs and benefits. Based on these expectations, hosts define their WTA tourist development and guests determine their WTP for their visit. Exchange occurs when a balance (equilibrium) between expected costs and benefits emerges for both (all) players. However, depending on contextual factors, the actual outcome may not turn out to be an equilibrium. Non equilibrium outcomes produce friction or conflict that may lead to reappraisal of costs and benefits. This would explain why residents' attitudes to tourism and their perception of tourist impact vary with the tourist season (Bimonte and Faralla 2016; Vargas-Sánchez et al. 2014).

Equilibrium is a necessary condition for any durable tourist development. Market conditions have to be compatible with social conditions and tourists' expectations. When they are, tourism is more likely to contribute to visitors and residents' QOL and well-being. Understandably, this is a major policy issue.

The microeconomic foundation of the present model also allows it to address issues that previous models were unable to deal with. *Ceteris paribus*, the theory of decreasing marginal utility of a good (and the increasing marginal disutility associated with the shrinking of another good) makes it possible to explain not only why a local community may change its attitute to tourism, but also why tourist development may take a certain path (such as that of the Irridex model). This aspect is strongly linked to tourist carrying capacity, a phenomenon with qualitative and quantitave aspects determined in space and time.

Our model also confutes the determinism of the TALC model. Dynamics depend on many factors, such as players' preferences and the nature and history of interactions affecting contextual factors. Moreover, the type of tourism a destination promotes may enhance or dampen intra- and inter-community conflicts, which in turn affect host WTA and guest WTP. There is nothing deterministic about tourist-resident interactions or the fate of a destination.

With respect to the Economic Exchange Model, our model addresses and deals with an additional aspect, i.e. multiple equilibrium. It provides a theoretical foundation to support policies that aim to generate *separating equilibrium*. When possible, separating (as opposed to pooling) equilibrium may maximize host QOL and guest satisfaction, i.e. social welfare.

To conclude, the present interpretative model may be useful for understanding, studying and explaining different situations and for interpreting various outcomes. It may also support policy makers and local planners in their decisions. Hopefully, it may prove to be a suitable reference framework for generalizing results and understanding what residents perceive and why, thereby enhancing the debate on such issues.

The paper is not lacking in limitations. Its analysis is based on a theoretical model. Like any other such model, it is based on assumptions and a simplified representation of the world, the main critical aspect being that it treats populations as homogeneous communities. However, by simplifying, it reduces the dimensions of the problem to an analytically manageable level, without losing the essence of the complex issue(s) at stake. Another aspect to consider is that it addresses the issue of intra-community conflict but does not offer a model to interpret ensuing dynamic evolution, which is a major theoretical and empirical issue.

As shown by Bimonte and Punzo (2016), the model only applies to cases where tourism may be seen as an exchange process. However, in many cases locals do not have a say about tourist development, which is thrust on them by influential groups and powerful elites. In such cases, other analytical frameworks are more appropriate.

In any case, our model offers a tool to enrich our comprehension of the issues at stake, while adding a new (economic) viewpoint to the analysis of tourist development, and endeavouring to establish communication between disciplines.

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