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The Application of the TALC Model: A Literature Survey

RICHARD M. LAGIEWSKI

Introduction

This chapter categorizes and documents a selection of major works relevant to Butler's 1980 article on the TALC. The goal is to present a simple, yet informative chapter that helps scholars find and select appropriate works and commentary pertaining to the TALC model. It is important to note that this chapter is not meant to be a literature 'review' of the original 1980 article, but rather a literature 'survey' that documents the works of others who have solidified this work as an academic classic in the field of tourism. This chapter does not take into consideration the new contributions to the volume in which this chapter is found, but rather looks back in order to document previous literature. The author has made every attempt to include a bibliography for this chapter that contains all works pertaining to the 'application' of Butler's concept of a tourism area life cycle. These works were generated between the year 1980 and 2002. Because of the nature of the volume in which this chapter appears, it is the author's judgment that it would be redundant to include a review and description of Butler's original work and its origins, as it can be gained from the previous chapter in this text. Again, this chapter is meant to be a resource based on works addressing Butler's destination life cycle model and judgments of the usefulness and appropriateness of such works are left for the reader to assess.

For the sake of clarity, the concept described in Butler's 1980 work will be referred to generically throughout this chapter as the 'Tourism Area Life Cycle' (TALC). The length of coverage of any one piece of research covered in this chapter should not necessarily be correlated with the relative importance of either the work covered or this author's personal interest. Rather, the depth of coverage reflects the amount of information deemed necessary to provide those interested in Butler's destination life cycle model with the right background, understanding, and direction, so they may choose and explore these original works further as they apply to their current interests and needs.

All of the works covered here clearly provide much more value when read in their entirety, yet the mission here is not to tell their whole story

in detail, but rather to lead the reader in the direction relevant to their current interest in the TALC. While Table 3.1 attempts to capture the majority of major works and authors concerning the TALC, the text that follows can only provide a glimpse into these works and authors that have challenged, supported, and expanded Butler's work over the last 20 plus years.

How to Categorize and Divide the Works

How to provide a useful overview of the literature pertaining to works surrounding Butler's original work is not an exact science. One could just discuss each work as it appeared over time. Works could be split between those that support the premise and those that do not. Additionally, works could be broken down by methods employed or stages of the cycle addressed. One could also look at simplifying access to the major works visually. Argwal (1997) proposed that research into the TALC should focus on either one of two aspects: assessing the applicability of the model; and redeveloping the model to incorporate different issues. In the end, a combination of these strategies, along with a broad division of the work based on broad themes is used.

Literature Survey

'The first test and the first proposed changes'

Gary Hovinen's (1981) work on Lancaster County, Pennsylvania is likely the first use of Butler's model. In using Lancaster County as a 'test case', Hovinen (1981, 1982) concluded that the destination departed significantly from the TALC in the later stages, yet the model does remain useful. Two critical conclusions arise from Hovinen's (1981, 1982, 2002) work on Butler's TALC (see also Hovinen, this volume). The first is that his case site (Lancaster County) is characterized by the coexistence of growth, stagnation, decline, and rejuvenation – a stage he terms 'maturity'. The maturity stage begins when rapid growth in the number of visitors has ended (Hovinen, 1982: 573). According to Hovinen, during this stage a diverse destination will see a complex coexistence of the consolidation, stagnation, decline, and rejuvenation in and among the tourist attractions and services. At this point he noted that outside investors invest in new ventures, while original enterprises decline. Some attractions begin to lose their drawing power while new attractions flourish. The issue here is that Lancaster County is deemed a diverse destination where the tourism product is not 100% comprised of a single tourist resource.

This leads into the second outcome of his application of Butler's model concerning the decline stage. While carrying capacity is Butler's premise for decline, Hovinen poses three 'interrelated factors': relative

Table 3.1 Summary of major tourism life cycle studies following Butler's model (modifications and update of Table 2-1 from Berry, 2001)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Hovinen, 1981	Lancaster County, PA	Butler's theory in total. Uses visitor numbers, otherwise a perceptual/historical approach.	Substantially consistent with model. No sign of a decline in region.
Oglethorpe, 1984	Malta	Uses visitor numbers, number of beds, hotels and % foreign ownership. Emphasizes dependency on foreign tour operators.	Accepts relevance of TALC and makes the point that dependency has led to rapid decline in the tourism industry.
Brown, 1985	Weston-super-mare	Historical account, perceptive approach.	Rejuvenation attempted.
Meyer-Arendt, 1985	Grand Island, Louisiana	Emphasis on cultural processes and environmental degradation. Uses building activity, maps at 5 different stages visitor-days, & capacity.	Strong support for TALC which indicates onset of 'decline' stage.
Butler, 1985	Scottish Highlands	Historical account from early 1700s to early 1800s. Emphasis on fashion, tastes and transportation improvements. Uses maps and historical evidence.	Complies with TALC model.
Keys, 1985 (Masters thesis)	Some Queensland resorts compared, with Noosa in depth	Comparative, cross-sectional study of a number of Queensland resorts using TALC as an analysis framework and a time series study of Noosa. Data used is from Australian Bureau of Statistics, Queensland Travel and	The Noosa case substantially complies with Butler's model with some outstanding differences. The comparative study of the other resorts showed that they are at different stages of development.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
		Tourism Commission, press reports, interviews and observation.	
Haywood, 1986	Not region specific	Emphasis on making Butler's model useable by suggesting more rigid criteria & a method involving the use of standard deviation for stage identification.	Concluded the TALC model was not sufficient <i>on its own</i> to use for planning and marketing purposes even with the proposed changes.
Richardson, 1986	Galveston & other urban water fronts	Emphasis on revitalization of historic buildings and the use of product life cycle models as tools for managing resort evolution. Uses tax receipts, employment, population and dollars spent on works.	Using TALC theory, Galveston is in 'decline' stage but it may be possible to rejuvenate using historic buildings as an attraction. Work is being done in the area.
Wilkinson, 1987	Caribbean islands of Antigua, Aruba, St Lucia, & US Virgin Isles	Focuses on the later stages of Butler's model and Lundberg's (1980) model.	Essentially a comparative analysis, which found a high level of compliance with both models. Other conclusions related to the tourism industry rather than the TALC model.
Keller, 1987	Canada's NW Territories	Emphasis on importation of capital and management leading to possible dependence on non-locals. Leakage of tourism dollars back to core regions. Uses arrival types (business, fishing, sightseeing,	Does not question the applicability of TALC and concludes that no further development possible without large injection of outside capital.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
		education etc) and where from. Also uses staff turnover in tourism.	
Strapp, 1988	Sauble Beach, Ontario	Emphasis on the transition from a tourism resort to retirement center as previous holiday makers buy holiday homes and then retire there. Uses visitor numbers.	Proposes using 'average length of stay' to calculate 'total-person-days' rather than visitor numbers to overcome the change of status of tourists who eventually become retirees.
Cooper and Jackson, 1989	Isle of Man	Butler's theory in total. Visitor numbers and other tourist statistics going back 100 years.	Exemplifies the utility of Butler's model, emphasizing dependence on management decisions and resort quality. Also introduces some suggestions for rejuvenation of region.
Cooper, and 1990	Isle of Man, European 'cold water resorts'	Uses passenger arrivals etc.	Most resorts in this category are in serious decline.
Debbage, 1990	Paradise Island, Bahamas	Combines the use of TALC with Markusen's (1985) 'profit cycle' and the influence of oligopolistic tourist suppliers.	Concludes that Butler's model does not take into account organizational behavior as the cycle matures (i.e. mergers and acquisitions).

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Martin and Uysal, 1990	No specific region	Expands the concept and importance of carrying capacity for the TALC.	Each stage will reveal different carrying capacity levels and require separate policy responses.
France, 1991	Barbados	Mainly a perceptual approach but also uses visitor numbers, number of establishments, number of rooms, etc.	The Island is split into different market segments, which are at different stages in TALC. One area is in decline, another is still in the growth stages.
Weaver, 1988, 1990, 1992	Grand Cayman and Antigua	All aspects of TALC but emphasis on outside ownership and control, particularly in Antigua. Grand Cayman has little outside ownership and control. Uses arrivals, cruise ship statistics. Emphasis also on planning. Uses arrival numbers, building, bed numbers and Tourist Board Budget.	Found substantial compliance with Butler's model. Concluded outside ownership & control affected stability of cycle. Grand Cayman is planned and has low outside ownership and is stable but Antigua is unplanned with high degree of outside ownership and control and is in danger of decline. Referred to as a new type of plantation economy (dependency).
Cooper, 1992	Coastal resorts	Talks about the three uses of TALC (as a conceptual framework, for forecasting and strategic planning) and then goes into detail about the strategic planning process.	Strategic planning process consists of: defining the mission statement; business portfolio analysis; and growth strategies. Also talks about types of growth strategies.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Ioannides, 1992	Cyprus	All aspects but emphasized the role of government and dependence on foreign tour operators. Used visitor numbers, number of beds, type of accommodation, tourism receipts, tourist type, arrivals.	TALC used to make the point that govt is steering towards 'consolidation' (intentionally) and that destinations follow a predictable cycle through identifiable stages.
Getz, 1992	Niagara Falls	Examines carrying capacity and planning aspects. Uses historical data, existing statistical data, interviews, field observations, maps and questionnaires.	'Exploration' and 'involvement' stages correspond partly with Butler's model but there are many points of divergence and no dating of stages is possible. Niagara Falls appears to be in a long 'maturity' stage similar to Lancaster County.
Johnson and Snepenger, 1993	Greater Yellowstone region	Variables used are visitation trends, the growth of the service economy, host resident's perception of current tourism development and current biological indicators of the ecosystem.	Tourism in the region is more intricate than the TALC theory suggests and the region is at no specific stage of the cycle. The TALC concept incorporates alternatives for future directions within the Yellowstone region.
O'Hare and Barrett, 1993	Sri Lanka	Considers the effect of the civil war on tourism using tourism numbers. Also discusses the effect of cheap airfares based on stop-overs in Sri Lanka.	Accepts relevance of TALC and concludes that there have been two distinct cycles in the country, one before the civil war and one after.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Choy, 1993	Pacific Island destina- tions	All aspects of Butler's model, but only with reference to visitor numbers.	Very little compliance with Butler's model reported. 'At best the model can be used after the fact as a diagnostic tool'.
Williams, 1993	Minorca, Spain	All aspects but emphasis on dependency theory through external ownership and control. An 'expanded' model of 8 stages was suggested. Uses tourist numbers, employment, number of hotel rooms.	High level of external ownership and control. Existing industries declined as tourism expanded. The region has yet to reach its peak.
Wang and Godbey, 1994	Lancaster, Poconos, America's Ind. Heritage Project (AIHP)	Emphasis on measuring growth in tourism activity and what is the ideal rate of growth to year 2000 using surveys and expert perceptions of future growth.	AIHP is in the early stages of TALC. Lancaster is in the mature stages and Poconos is in decline.
Cooper, 1994	Not applicable	Overall review of the TALC body of knowledge to date.	Found Butler's model to be a useful framework for analysis and stated that with every study the body of knowledge increases suggesting further re- search. He suggested some more criteria.
Bianchi, 1994	Not applicable	Compares TALC and a number of other theories and models.	TALC fails on many grounds and what is needed is a concept of tourism development which is integrated into a sociological framework.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Agarwal, 1994	UK generally. The resort cycle revisited	Discusses the usefulness of TALC for analysis and planning using anecdotal and perceptual methods.	Suggests that TALC be modified to include a 'reorientation' stage before 'decline/ rejuvenate'. States that as it stands, TALC cannot be usefully applied.
Prosser, 1995	Not applicable	TALC in general. Progress and prospects as well as some suggestions for future research.	Finds that TALC is a handy framework for analysis.
Opper- mann, 1995	Not applicable	Life cycle concept used to analyze the travel life cycle of individuals.	Successful application of general life cycle theory to individual's lifetime travel patterns.
Harrison, 1995	Swaziland	Used Butler's TALC as an 'ideal' or 'expected' model and analyzed the difference between it and the situation in Swaziland.	The cycle in Swaziland consisted of 'exploration', 'inactivity', 'transition', 'truncated development' and 'decline & attempted rejuvenation'.
Braunlich, 1996	Atlantic City	Success of rejuvenation program using casinos. Statistics include amounts invested, tax receipts, social services for the elderly, urban redevelopment.	TALC accepted as an appropriate framework for analysis. Atlantic City has successfully entered the 'rejuvenation' stage.
Russel, 1996	Coolan- gatta	All aspects of Butler's model, uses visitor numbers & a perceptual/historical approach for the period of the resort's existence.	Found substantial compliance with the model. The region was found to be in the 'decline' stage.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
Meyer, 1996	Waikiki	Emphasis on rejuvenation plans. Uses reports etc.	Concludes that the area is entering the 'decline' stage and suggests rejuvenation.
Agarwal, 1997	Torbay region (Torquay, Paignton and Brixham)	Tests the validity and applicability of TALC. Justifies this work by stating that the universal applicability of TALC is not yet proven. Among other things, the author stresses the importance of the 'unit of analysis'.	The application of TALC is reasonably consistent with Butler's (1980) model except for the post 'stagnation' stage which requires more research. The author assumes that the original model specifies that 'decline' is inevitable (p. 72).
Prosser, 1997	Gold Coast, Coffs Harbour (NSW)	Uses time series (census) population figures, employment in tourism, unemployment etc. Also relies on a perceptual approach.	Both regions are at different stages in TALC. Finds that TALC is a handy framework for analysis.
Douglas, 1997	Melanesia, (PNG, Solomons & Vanuatu)	Historical picture using Butler's model as a framework. Uses largely perceptual methods.	Each country is at a different stage. A major influence is the colonial past of each country.
Tooman, 1997	3 regions in the Greater Smoky Mountains	Emphasis on the long-term, from 1900 to present and socioeconomic effects using unemployment and food stamp figures etc. Also looks at the number of 'Mom & Dad' hotels and motels verses chain companies as an indicator.	Concludes that TALC can be used to avoid the negative impacts of tourism.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

<i>Author, date</i>	<i>Region</i>	<i>Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis</i>	<i>Results</i>
da Conceição Gonçalves and Roque Águas, 1997	Algarve, Portugal	Analysis using TALC with demand, supply, distribution and competitors within each stage. Fits a 3rd degree polynomial to overnight data.	Identifies stages and links them to regional strategies (cause and affect). Concludes area should plan for a long period of stagnation and stabilization.
Russell and Faulkner, 1998	Coolan-gatta	All aspects of Butler's model, also use of visitor numbers & a perceptual/historical approach.	Found substantial compliance with the model.
Priestley and Mundet, 1998	Catalan Coast, Spain (3 resort towns)	Assumes away the early stages of TALC and concentrates on the poststagnation stages in response to Agarwal's (1994) challenge that there is not enough work in this area.	All three resorts (Lloret de Mar, L'Estartit & Sitges) are in post-'stagnation' stage and have implemented 'reconstruction' strategies in an attempt to rejuvenate. Uses hotel capacity as core data.
Oppermann, 1998	No specific region	Main thrust is to attack Agarwal's (1997) article on Torbay. Says there has been too much testing of TALC.	Finds Butler's model good but suggests that there should be more testing of other models and theories.
Agarwal, 1998	No specific region	Defends her 1997 article against Oppermann's 1998 attack.	States there is a need to apply TALC to different tourism products in a variety of contexts.
Baum, 1998	No specific region	Proposes the idea that abandoning tourism altogether can be a theoretical extension of TALC.	Abandonment can be seen as an Exit Stage when tourism becomes impossible to sustain.

Table 3.1 (Continued)

Author, date	Region	Aspect tested/method/ special emphasis	Results
Knowles and Curtis, 1999	European mass tourist destinations	Study of second generation (Mediterranean but mainly Spanish) resorts. Ultimately, there is no avoiding decline for these resorts.	The authors generally find that the TALC model is a good fit up to the post 'stagnation' stages after which they postulate three new stages.
Johnston, 2001	No specific region	Integrates ontological & epistemological elements into the TALC debate.	That 'we have not yet learned everything' there is to know about the TALC.
Lundtorp and Wanhill, 2001	Data sets from: Isle of Man & Danish island of Bornholm	Uses mathematical process to form the 'ideal' TALC.	The TALC curve can only be representative if all tourist arrivals are repeat tourists.
Agarwal, 2002	Three mass tourism coastal resorts: Minehead, Weymouth, Scarborough	Integrates the theory of the TALC and the restructuring thesis.	Relating the two concepts provides insights into destination decline and a more in-depth understanding is needed of resort restructuring.
Hovinen, 2002	Lancaster County, PA	Revisits his early work and also considers chaos/complexity theory as a complement to the TALC.	TALC would be more useful by recognizing a "maturity" stage. Also the model has value by its premise that without appropriate planning, management & development, destinations will see decline.

location, diversity of the tourist base, and effectiveness of planning to alleviate problems that arise. The first two factors point to why the decline stage may be less significant at the time of Hovinen's first work on Lancaster County. The first is that the destination's close proximity to major cities in the eastern USA give it the ability to draw from a large population base. Additionally, the reasons for visiting the county are not solely reliant on the Amish community, but rather are supported by other cultural aspects and attractions, like the rural landscape itself.

In Hovinen's (2002) article in which he 'revisits' the issue of the TALC in Lancaster County, he proposed that the 'chaos/complexity theory' provides a useful alternative and complementary perspective to Butler's life cycle model. This is based on Russell and Faulkner's (1999) idea that changes in tourism at a destination can be 'viewed in terms of tension between entrepreneurs (who are agents of change) and planners (who seek to control change)'. In this hypothesis, entrepreneurs are the chaos makers while planners seek to establish certainty and predictability (see Russell, other volume). It is argued that entrepreneurial instincts are crucial, because to avoid the decline stage, innovative responses are needed to meet the complexities that a destination faces as it reaches this stage. Overall, his early work on Lancaster County is likely most recognized for proposing the idea of a 'maturity stage' to the TALC.

'Major criticism or major advancement?'

Haywood's (1986) work, 'Can the Tourist-Area Life cycle be made operational?' is often cited as being critical of Butler's tourist-area life cycle model, yet it has likely done the most to make the tourist-area life cycle model an operational research concept. Haywood's (1986) 'test of importance' for Butler's TALC is, 'its possible use as a tool for planning & management of tourist areas'. Six issues or questions are raised as requirements to make Butler's model a useful tool in destination planning. Many of the answers to these issues have gone on to provide a framework for researchers as they applied Butler's model (see also Haywood, this volume and the other volume). The following are considered operationally important for the usefulness of Butler's model (Haywood, 1986: 155):

- unit of analysis;
- relevant market;
- pattern and stages of the TALC;
- identification of the area's shape in the life cycle;
- determination of the unit of measurement;
- determination of the relevant time unit.

The first issue revolves around defining the tourist area under question. For example, is the tourist 'area' a town, a hotel, an attraction? Haywood (1986) states that defining the unit of analysis for the 'tourist area' is the crucial first step in using Butler's life cycle model. The next point addresses the issue of the number of tourists used as the 'Y' variable in the life cycle curve. The concern presented is that the total number of tourists over time may represent different markets, and it may be more helpful to consider them by different market segments. The reason is that a different market type, say 'domestic versus international tourist', may interact differently with the tourist area.

In the third operational requirement, Haywood (1986) questions whether the pattern of the s-shaped logistic curve is the only useful curve and suggests looking at other evolutionary curves. The fourth operational requirement is determining the stage of a tourist area and when an area has moved from one stage to another. He then questions whether using the change in the number of tourists to determine these changes will provide appropriate answers. Haywood (1986) provides one possible approach based on the total number of tourists occurring at the tourist area on a year-to-year basis and then plotting these changes as a normal distribution with a zero mean.

Based on the premise that as the number of tourists grow they negatively impact the carrying capacity, Haywood (1986) suggests the need for a clear unit of measurement. This is due to the fact that not all tourists have the same impact on the carrying capacity of the tourist area they are visiting; not all tourists are created equal. Some stay longer, some visit in different seasons, and some are more and some are less conscious of the local cultural and natural traditions. Therefore, the use of pure arrivals as a determinant of a tourist area carrying capacity is questioned along with whether there exists one variable that represents carrying capacity for the whole tourist area.

The last operational question is whether the traditional use of annual data to track tourists over time is necessarily the best relevant time unit. Here Haywood (1986) notes that if there is a 'major shortcoming' in the use of the tourist area cycle of evolution it is the 'lack of empirical data' available about the tourist area in question. Haywood (1986) also concludes that a 'natural use' of the tourist area is as a forecasting tool (see Butler, this volume; Manente and Pechlaner and Berry, other volume).

'Changes to later stages and the vertical axis'

As Hovinen's (1981) work first suggested, changes and discussion of the TALC's later stages has been a common theme in the literature.

Additionally, Butler's use of the 'number of tourists' on the vertical axis has also received great attention.

Strapp's (1988) study of Sauble Beach, Ontario, Canada contributes to the TALC through its recognition of second homeowners as tourists. The claim is that this type of tourism had been neglected by researchers in generating tourism models while Butler's model premises that without adequate planning, destinations are likely doomed to decline. In Strapp's (1988) work, 'conventional' tourism is showing a decline while 'residential development' and 'cottage conversions' are experiencing a revival. He suggests that this refinement to Butler's decline stage be termed a 'stabilization reaction'. Therefore, after stagnation, tourist areas may experience growth in a nontraditional tourism market, thus stabilizing an otherwise anticipated decline in the number of visitors. Strapp also provides two interesting 'discrepancies' or proposed departures to Butler's original model. These are that population and community changes are just as crucial as a tourist change in the resort cycle, no matter how dominant tourism may be as a segment in the local economy.

Here it is proposed that instead of measuring pure numbers of visitors over time, the use of a 'person-day' concept be used. The idea is that the person-day concept takes into consideration visitors and residents and their length of stay. This leads to the proposal that the most 'appropriate way' to 'graphically portray' Butler's tourist area curve is to use the average length of stay instead of the number of tourists. (See Figure 3.1) Using this model, Strapp (1986) proposes an illustration where in the early stage of Butler's TALC the length of stay is at its greatest and declines toward the stagnation stage over time. This argument, based on Sauble Beach, is that early in the life cycle of a tourist area it is difficult to access the destination, therefore it 'necessitates a long stay'. Strapp (1986) states that, 'as development increases, improvements in access makes shorter trips possible and overall length of visits decline'. Within his case, the ease of potential day trips increases near the stagnation stage.

Three options are presented at this point. The first is the length of stay declines to the point where the tourist area basically 'becomes more of a recreational area or rest stop'. The next option relates to rejuvenation. By exploiting or developing the area's resources, 'visit time regains its length'. The last option pertains to the evolution of a year-round community based on his case in Sauble Beach. Here a tourist becomes more like a resident. As tourists transition to homeowners, the tourist season increases beyond its traditional confines.

In Foster and Murphy's (1991) work on the connection between the TALC and retirement, they construct a case study of Parksville and Qualicum Beaches located on the east coast of Vancouver Island, Canada. Their goal was to determine if these destinations follow Butler's premise and whether retirement is a 'successor or parallel activity with regards to

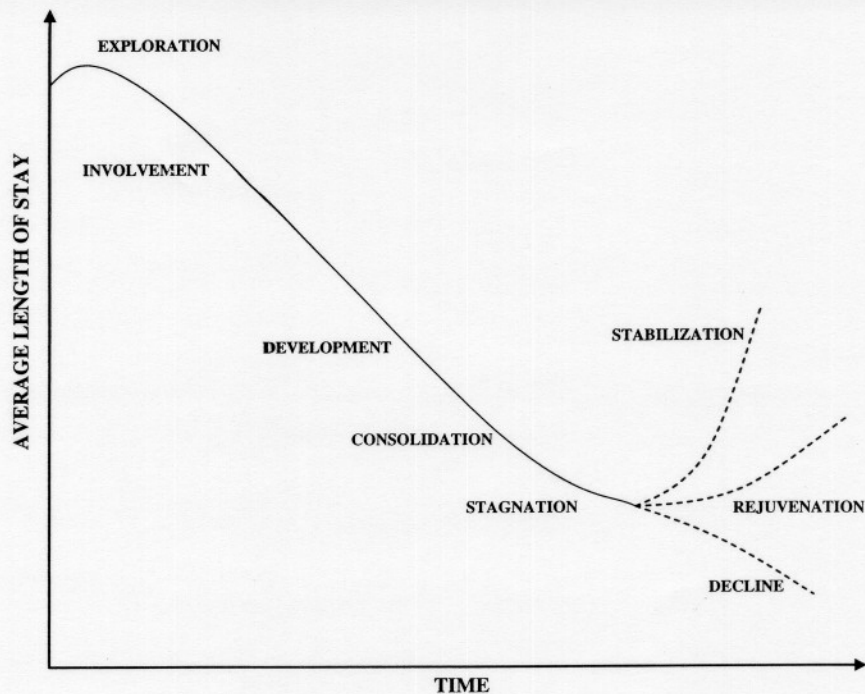


Figure 3.1 Associated changes in length of stay (Strapp, 1988)

tourism'. They conclude that their research supports Hovinen's (1982) suggestion that Butler's stages of consolidation and stagnation be replaced with an extensive maturity stage. In terms of retirement, Foster and Murphy (1991) provided a mixed review of its connection with Butler's later stages. They also point to the bias that the TALC has toward the supply-side characteristics of the market. Specifically, this pertains to the use of data of the supply of accommodations versus the use of actual visitation numbers (demand). This issue supports the critical challenge of applying the TALC; the lack of actual long-term visitor data over the life of a destination.

Douglas' (1997) application of Butler's life cycle model addresses its ability to explain tourism development in colonial and postcolonial societies. Specifically, she uses the model to develop a comparative study of tourism in three island nations: Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. These tourist destinations are collectively known as Melanesia. Through this case study, the rate of tourism development is said to be significantly influenced by the pre- and postindependent government of the three island nations. Another contribution to the destination life cycle model concerns the use of the term 'locals' and

Butler's premise that in the involvement stage, contact between visitors and locals will remain high. The assumption is that while Butler didn't specifically define locals in his concept, the implication is that he was referring to persons indigenous to the tourist area. In the historic development of tourism, these former colonies' expatriates have often played the role of 'locals'. Specifically, Europeans visiting these tourist destinations preferred to interact with the European expatriates and not necessarily with the Melanesians.

Douglas (1997) also addresses three types of visitors who have influenced tourism development in the colonial period of these islands: 'excursionists', 'pilgrims', and 'planners'. Excursionists refer to the early cruise passengers and later air travelers who arrived seeking sun, sand, and sea. The 'pilgrims' were the Allied and Japanese soldiers who established the foundations of both the tourist attractions and later on the attractions in the form of military cemeteries and battlefields. The last group, the 'planners', refers to the organizations that attempted to establish the institutional foundations to manage the tourism system. These included all of the various tourism marketing and promotional boards, along with the chambers of commerce.

In the article, *The Resort Lifecycle Theory Generating Processes and Estimation*, Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) examine the theory behind use of the number of tourists as the 'measure of the time path' of the destination. The authors formulate a demand model of the resort cycle that considers the segments of various tourist markets and their levels over time, related to Butler's tourist area life cycle. Specifically, two general types of tourist are considered: 'repeat' and 'non-repeat'. Using the logistic curve to model the relative demand at each stage, the authors conclude that the life cycle curve can only be representative of the destination if all visitors to that destination are 'repeaters'. By adding data concerning nonrepeaters (those who only visit a destination once but never visit again), the life cycle model becomes only an 'approximation or caricature' of reality. According to the authors, as more and more market segmentation occurs in the tourist data, the observed effect will result in a scatter diagram, 'from which it might be impossible to discern anything'.

Lundtorp and Wanhill (2001) present a mathematical process and formula to formulate the 'ideal' expected tourist volumes over the stages of Butler's model (see also Wanhill & Lundtorp, other volume). They test this concept on a data series for the Isle of Man in Britain and for the Danish Island of Bornholm. They find that Butler's concept fits the destinations 'tolerably well' during periods when domestic tourists dominate the market and return year-after-year. Therefore, for the data to support Butler's model it must be made up of repeat visitors. In later years, in the tourist area evolution they point to 'too many shift factors'.

That is to say new markets are drawn to visit the area while old tourists are drawn elsewhere. Demand or decline in demand to visit the destination may not be so much a function of exceeding a 'carrying capacity', but rather because 'the market is exhausted, as all tourists wishing to visit the resort "have been"'.

Getz's (1992) case study of Niagara Falls, Canada-US is considered unique in that this destination 'has evolved into a permanent state of maturity in which aspects of consolidation, stagnation, decline, and rejuvenation are interwoven and constant'. It is acknowledged that Hovinen's (1982) conclusions about Butler's later stages is a more appropriate way to view a destination's later life. The author states that for old destinations like Niagara Falls, the maturity stage will likely be a permanent condition. The rationale is that those in charge of resort areas will never allow tourism to disappear and will use every attraction they can to maintain it. Getz (1992) concludes that the destination life cycle does not fit Niagara Falls and therefore has very little usefulness for local tourism planning. Another departure from Butler's original model pertains to carrying capacity. Instead of carrying capacity being linked to a destination's ability to sustain change without environmental decline and loss of attractiveness, Getz sees it as a planning and management concept. This idea of capacity in a 'mature' destination is based on a tourist area's constant practice of mitigating the adverse effects of tourism while also pursuing destination enhancements. Agarwal (1994), like Getz (1992) and Hovinen (1982), suggests that the later stages of the TALC need modification. Her issue pertains to poststagnation, specifically 'decline'. She argues that dramatic and total decline of tourism is likely unacceptable both economically and politically. Therefore she proposes a 'reorientation stage' (see Agarwal, other volume). In this stage one would observe the constant efforts a destination makes to adjust to changes before decline occurs.

'New contexts and variances'

Much of the literature over the last 20 years has attempted to apply the TALC to new destinations to test its relevance. Additionally, many works point to particular departures from Butler's original TALC. Weaver (1990) states that his empirical research on Grand Cayman Island 'largely conforms to the stages' of Butler's TALC. He discerns one 'significant deviation' from Butler's original work. In Butler's TALC, it is stated that over time local control and ownership will shift to nonlocals. However, in viewing Grand Cayman, 'a non-plantation culture', and Antigua, 'a plantation culture', Weaver (1990) concludes control has been maintained by locals in the development of Grand Cayman's tourist sector (see Weaver, this volume). However, Antigua's tourist sector suffers from a

high degree of external control associated with its former plantation economy.

Tooman (1996) uses Butler's model as a framework to explore the economic impact of tourism in the Smokey Mountain region of Tennessee and North Carolina. Specifically, he looks at first-, second-, and third-order economic effects. This discussion is based on tourism's roll as an economic development tool. From this perspective, Tooman (1996) discusses the theoretical economic outcomes that would be expected throughout Butler's life cycle stages. The author concludes that tourism is likely to be most beneficial from the economic perspective if it is not the dominant sector of the economy. Tooman (1996) points out that according to Butler's TALC, tourism should not dominate until the consolidation stage. However, in his case study, one local economy was dominated by tourism in the development stage and another in the involvement stage.

According to Tooman (1996), 'under conditions where tourism becomes the dominant economic sector (regardless of the particular stage), social welfare indicators failed to show significant improvement'. From the context of tourism and the economy, the involvement stage (where tourism does not dominate the economy) can produce desirable effects. These benefits have the potential for greater local economic linkages, economic diversity, and more time to establish the utility to manage the growth of the tourism sector.

Wilkinson (1996) supports Cooper's (1994) conclusion that while the life cycle concept has weaknesses, it does provide a useful tool for comparing tourism development among different destinations and provides one with an organizing framework to do so. Wilkinson selects six destinations in the Caribbean (Anguilla, Bahamas, Barbados, Cayman Islands, Dominica, and St. Lucia), to compare using the life cycle model proposed not by Butler, but de Albuquerque and McElroy (1992). This version of Butler's model proposes three general stages of tourism growth: (1) emergence or initial discovery, (2) transition to rapid expansion, and (3) maturity.

Another unique context for the application of Butler's TALC is by Johnson and Snepenger's (1993) to a 'federally managed resource'. In examining the Greater Yellowstone Region, the authors concluded 'that development is a not a specific stage in the cycle'. This work is based on the use of four factors to track the tourist destination over Butler's TALC: visitation trends, growth of the service economy, resident perceptions (see also Johnson & Snepenger, this volume), and ecosystem indicators. This work is based on the reconceptualization of the life cycle carrying concept by Martin and Uysal (1990). Their concept is based on the notion that there are many components that make up the resources in a tourist area. Within these different components, differing destinations

will likely have different carrying capacities. For example, the physical infrastructure of a tourist area may have one carrying capacity while the environmental resources may have another. Martin and Uysal (1990) contend that this will require 'distinct policy responses' for each resource capacity. This being the case, Johnson and Snepenger concluded that, in fact, different resources in the Greater Yellowstone Region exhibit characteristics of different stages concurrently, depending on which resource is being measured.

'Destination drivers'

In Butler's original work, changes within a destination were attributed to 'preferences and needs of visitors' and the 'gradual deterioration' of manmade and natural attractions and services. Many authors applying the TALC as a framework for analyzing a destination have identified other issues that drive change within a destination and thus influence the 'evolution' of the resort.

In Klaus J. Meyer-Arendt's (1985) work, *The Grand Isle, Louisiana resort cycle*, he explores the issues pertaining to the factors causing the barrier island of Grand Island, Louisiana to move through all of the stages, ending in the stagnation stage. These issues relate to settlement patterns, changes in environmental perceptions, and efforts to fix a dynamic shoreline. Special emphasis is placed on the settlement patterns of residents over time to this coastline and the natural and manmade impacts on the shoreline. Here, the model is considered from the perspective of resident population growth over time versus Butler's growth in number of tourists (see also Martin, this volume). Therefore, Meyer-Arendt (1985) concluded that the settlement of Grand Isle and the manmade battle to secure the natural resource against storms and erosion help demonstrate the evolution of this resort through the stages of Butler's TALC.

Cooper and Jackson (1989) emphasize that the TALC provides, 'a useful descriptive tool for analyzing the development of destinations and the evolutions of their markets'. In their use of a case study on the Isle of Man, UK, they conclude that the TALC is, 'dependent upon the actions of managers and the settings of the destination'. The authors address Butler's model from its utility as both a prescriptive and descriptive tool. They conclude from the prescriptive point of view that the model encounters many problems, and that, 'Butler's original conceptualization of the tourist cycle did not envisage its use as a prescriptive tool'. However, as a descriptive tool, the life cycle is very useful in, 'understanding how destinations and their markets fall'. Their case study on the Isle of Man proposes that the unique setting of the island and the reliance on the UK market has presented challenges that have driven the

destination along the life cycle curve. Additionally, the leadership decisions of private and public institutions, both directly and indirectly involved in tourism, have had substantial impact on the island's move through the tourist area life cycle.

Debbage (1990) provides an alternative to Butler's decline paradigm. Instead of decline being the outcome of a tourist destination exceeding its carrying capacity, thus resulting in the degradation of the resources in which the area relies on, he argued that outside influences destroy competitiveness. Specifically, stagnation and decline are influenced by oligopoly. This results in decline, because in this case, tourism suppliers are 'gaining market share' and maintaining 'competitive stability'. This is achieved at the expense of innovation and diversification. Debbage's (1990) argument, based on Paradise Island, Bahamas, is that declining visitor numbers were traditionally viewed as changes in tourism trends, and declining destination attractiveness may be better viewed as a result of the control and influence transnational corporations have at the destination level. Here, Debbage (1990) argues that Butler did not give appropriate emphasis to the role of imperfect competition and oligopoly, but put more weight on a detailed discussion of the internal dynamic of resort areas. This case is based primarily on the role of Resorts International in influencing both the tourist distribution chain and the composition of tourist products on Paradise Island.

Ioannides' (1992) case study of the island of Cyprus provides insights into the role the tourist area's government and external transnational firms have in destination change over the life cycle of a destination. Historical data for Cyprus demonstrated that the island's tourism area followed Butler's exploration, involvement, and development stages. During these earlier stages, the government played an important role in the growth of tourism. First there was the recognition that tourism should be used to increase foreign exchange earnings and to diversify the economy. That was followed by the government's efforts to stimulate tourism sector growth through economic incentives and loan programs. Additionally, the Cyprus Tourism Organization was formed to supervise tourism development. At this time, modern airport tourism facilities were also built.

During the development stage on Cyprus, the government helped the island recover from the 1974 War through Emergency Action Plans that gave a high priority to tourism (p. 721). The government also sponsored action plans in the late 1970s that provided financial incentives (low interest loans and free government land) to the private sector with the goal of making Cyprus an international tourist destination.

Besides identifying the influence of government on the TALC, the role of tour operators was also addressed. This influence of foreign tour operators from Cyprus's primary inbound markets (Britain, Germany,

and Sweden) are acknowledged as supporting Debbage's (1990) point that dominant suppliers have a significant role in the TALC. In the case of Cyprus, this was shown specifically through the impact and influence of charter flights and preference for 'cheaper self-catering' accommodations, and inclusive tour packages targeting lower income mass tourism. These are seen as negatively impacting the environmental and cultural resources of the island. Additionally, the dependence on a few large tour operators has left Cyprus marketed as a 'could be anywhere' destination with little competitive market power. While Ioannides (1992) acknowledged that the growing power of foreign tour operators supports Butler's premise that external influences would increase over the life of a tourist area, he believes that the tourist area is not an actorless development path. The State was not only shown to have been a catalyst to developing tourism on Cyprus, but also to have reacted to its negative impacts. Specifically, the government enacted efforts to reduce the tourist growth rate and balance the geographic distribution of lodging development. Ioannides (1992: 731) concluded that 'Cypriot government has intentionally steered the island's resort cycle towards Butler's "consolidation" stage'.

'Theoretical foundations and integrations'

Agarwal (2002) relates Butler's TALC to the 'restructuring thesis'. Her motivation to 'inter-relate' these two works is based on the insights this would provide into the causes and consequences of destination decline. The 'restructuring thesis' referred to in this work pertains to the process of change in capitalist economies and societies, along with significant shifts in the strategy by which capital seeks expanded accumulation. Agarwal (2002) includes a discussion into the way in which industries have responded to competitive and consumption challenges. These are categorized into three main forms and strategies: product reorganization, labor reorganization, and spatial relocation and product transformation. These strategies are then defined as they relate to the 'structural process of change' in the context of tourism. Therefore, the key elements in the relation between the restructuring thesis and Butler's model are the application and insights into responses to decline. Agarwal (2002) acknowledges that a number of problems are associated with and encountered when using both Butler's model and the restructuring thesis to provide understanding into how destinations can respond to decline (see also Agarwal, other volume). However, it is concluded that that they do provide two useful theoretical links; both concepts may be related to the causes and consequences of resort decline, and to the responses of resorts to decline.

The premise is then discussed in the context of three English seaside resorts of Minehead, Weymouth, and Scarborough, all of which have been categorized as currently in the poststagnation stage. Here it is concluded that the integration of the restructuring thesis helps overcome the failure of the destination life cycle model to consider the role of external factors in the changes that occur at a tourist destination. The point being that decline in a destination is the outcome of interactions between internal and external forces. Thus, the responses to decline likely are responses to external changes.

While much of the literature has focused on the 'concept' of Butler's TALC model, Johnston (2001) has attempted to 'shore up the model's theoretical foundations'. His paper focuses on the ontological and epistemological aspect issues surrounding the model (see also Johnston, other volume). The methods used in this work were a modified form of 'grounded theory'. From this ontological and epistemological perspective of Butler's model, the author presents a redrawn version of the life cycle curve with two notable differences from the original (Figure 3.2). First, the original model is divided horizontally over time, by three eras. These are the 'Pre-tourism', 'Tourism-era', and 'Post-tourism era'.

Based on this discussion of ontological considerations, Johnston concludes that it would be reasonable to claim that Butler's model is based on a basic geographic process. He identifies a set of epistemological elements through a variation of the constant comparative method applied to four other types of process research. These elements are: human life

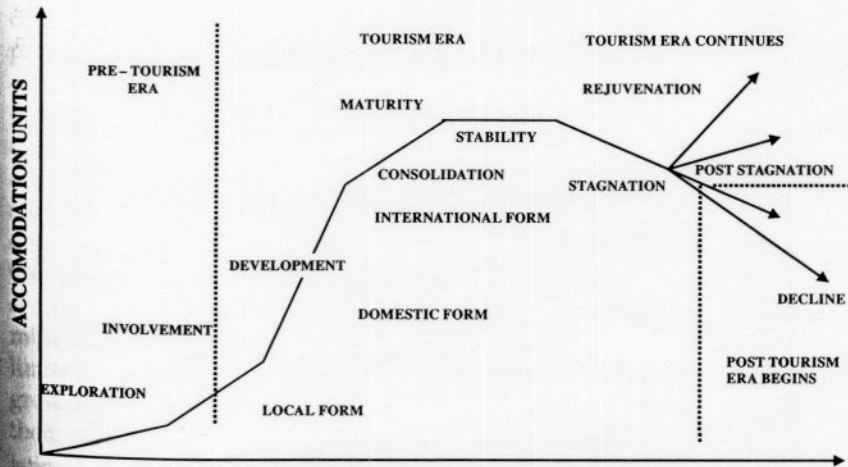


Figure 3.2 A revised version of Butler's (1980) 'classical' sequence of stages (Johnston, 2001)

cycle, product life cycle, port development, and ecosuccession. Following extensive discussion of the ontological and epistemological discussions, Johnston then revised the TALC, incorporating three eras. These are a pretourism era, from before the exploration phase extending into the involvement phase; a tourism era, which could carry through the maturity stage and may include a poststagnation phase; and a post-tourism era when a new institution dominates at the local level. Johnston also replaces growth in visitor numbers with growth in number of accommodation units. He applies this model (see Johnston, this volume) to the case of Kona, Hawaii (Johnston, 2002).

Final Comments

While not all the works cited below have been discussed in detail, every attempt has been made to include all relevant works pertaining to Butler's (1980) article in the bibliography. As mentioned in the introduction, works that pertained to the creation of Butler's original work have been listed, as they were important to the generation of Butler's concept, but only published works specifically using Butler's model have been discussed in detail. Works relating to the general theory of a product life cycle have been omitted (some are discussed at length in Coles, other volume, editor's note). Apologies go out to any authors whose works were not recognized in this chapter. This was not intentional; however, the literature survey was heavily biased toward both published works and works printed in English. Any and all errors pertaining to the representation of works covered here are completely unintentional and the fault of this author.

(Editor's note: Since the completion of this chapter yet another article using the TALC has been published (Moss *et al.*, 2003), and is included in the Bibliography.)