EFFECTS OF TOURISM ON THE HOST POPULATION

A CASE STUDY OF TOURISM AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE BADENOCH-STRATHSPEY DISTRICT OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS

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This thesis has been composed by the author from original research.

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Some of the concepts and methods employed in this research have been discussed in the following paper: Getz, D., "The Impact of Tourism on Host Populations - A Research Approach", in Tourism, a Tool For Regional Development, papers of a conference of the Leisure Studies Association, held at Edinburgh, 1977; published by the Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1977.

Some data and graphics from this thesis have appeared in the Geographical Magazine, March 1980, in conjunction with articles concerning the Cairngorms.
ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the effects of tourism on the host population, within the context of planning for regional development. In the Badenoch-Strathspey District of the rural Scottish Highlands, various surveys were undertaken to obtain a wide range of information on historical trends, policies and planning, use of resources, the tourist industry and the resident population.

To provide a framework for assessing effects, a set of key indicators was devised. Many are subjective in nature, and a major challenge of this research has been to obtain suitable measures for each indicator. Effects could not be 'proved', given the absence of a controlled experiment, so many of the observations are suggestive rather than conclusive, or deduced rather than based on inferential statistics.

The explanation of effects required a detailed assessment of the tourist industry, so that actual mechanisms of change could be isolated. It was found that the most profound changes affecting residents stemmed from development and growth in general, leading to the integration of residents in the mainstream of national economic and social trends.

Tourism had some unique effects and exacerbated others. Most significant of the positive effects were the creation of new opportunities for jobs, incomes, and leisure, while a shortage of housing and some crime and social disruption were the main negative effects. The demands of large-scale developments for importing staff and using mainly unskilled and female labour had the greatest effect which could be attributed uniquely to tourism. However, the attainment of a winter season and an emphasis on sports and large facilities increased the value of tourism by providing more all-year jobs for males. Overall, it was concluded that the benefits brought by recent developments had outweighed the costs and problems to residents and the local authorities.

In assessing the implications of the case study, analysis focussed on key policy-related questions. Most significant of these was the question of concentration versus dispersal of developments. It was concluded that a large-scale concentration was most appropriate for generating major changes, but that it eventually became desirable to limit the dominance of the concentration in order to disperse more widely the benefits that could be obtained from tourism.
It was initially my hope that this research would find application in planning and programmes of development, and so I was most grateful to receive the financial sponsorship of the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Scottish Tourist Board. With the assistance of the Boards I was able to accomplish much more than would have been possible otherwise. This has resulted in a long thesis, and I hope that readers will forgive this necessity.

A Steering Committee was formed to guide this research, and I wish to thank the three members who worked most closely on the project: my academic supervisor, Professor J.T. Coppock; Dr. R. Carter, Research and Planning Manager at the STB; and Mr. M. Williamson of the Tourism Division, HIDB. Their collective efforts added considerably to the success of the work.

Many other officials and professionals contributed to the research, and I cannot possibly mention them all. Special acknowledgement must be given to the staff of the Badenoch-Strathspey District Council, Highland Regional Council, the Nature Conservancy Council at Aviemore, the Social Work department at Aviemore, and the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation at Aviemore.

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The highlight of this research was the opportunity for my wife and myself to spend a great deal of time in the Spey Valley. It is a beautiful district with friendly people, and we wish to thank the many residents who made us feel welcome. In particular, I am grateful to the many individuals and businesses which provided information and their time. It is my hope that this research will be of some value to those residents who are concerned about their area's future.

Finally, a very special thank-you is owed to my wife, Sharon, who was typist, interviewer and all-purpose assistant throughout the entire project. Without her help the work would have become a great burden, rather than the enjoyable and valuable experience it was.
CONTENTS

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ........................................ i
LIST OF FIGURES .............................................................. iv
LIST OF TABLES ................................................................. vi

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

(A) Purpose and Objectives of the Research ........................ 1
(B) Organisation of the Thesis ........................................... 2

CHAPTER ONE: TOURISM AS A TOOL IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ......... 6

CHAPTER TWO: GENERAL RESEARCH STRATEGY

(A) Taking the Perspective of the Host Population ................... 21
(B) Definition and Use of Indicators .................................... 24
(C) Strategy for the Case Study ........................................... 31
(D) Criteria for Selecting a Case Study Area ............................ 33

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY FOR THE CASE STUDY

(A) General Considerations ................................................. 36
(B) Survey of Occupancy in Accommodation Establishments ............ 39
(C) Interviews With Operators of Accommodation Establishments and Tourism-Related Facilities .................. 42
(D) Self-Administered Questionnaire of Visitors ........................ 48
(E) Interviews With Visitors ............................................... 55
(F) Interviews With Staff in Temporary Accommodation ............... 57
(G) Household Interviews ................................................... 59
(H) Self-Administered Questionnaire Survey of Students in Secondary Schools .................................................. 66
(I) Postal Survey of Members of a Conservation-Oriented Group ....... 67
(J) Interviews With Professionals and Community Leaders ............. 67

(Continued)

(ii)
PART TWO: THE CASE STUDY

CHAPTER FOUR: BADENOCH-STRATHSPEY IN PERSPECTIVE

(A) Location, Resources, and Resource-Use 70
(B) Population: Trends and Characteristics 77
(C) Employment 90
(D) Policy and Planning 104

CHAPTER FIVE: TOURISM IN THE SPEY VALLEY

(A) Development of Tourism in the Spey Valley 147
(B) Distribution of Facilities and Accommodation 150
(C) Promotion, Marketing, and the Area's Image 152
(D) The Operation of Facilities 160
(E) Visitors in the Spey Valley 180

CHAPTER SIX: KEY INDICATORS OF EFFECTS ON THE HOST POPULATION

(A) Population Stabilised 200
(B) Opportunities for Employment Increased 206
(C) Incomes Increased 212
(D) Viability of Communities and Efficient Use of Resources 225
(E) Welfare and Social Integration Fostered 245
(F) Cultural Health Strengthened 257
(G) Leisure Choice Increased 260
(H) Conservation Assisted 269
(I) Amenity Enhanced 275

PART THREE

CHAPTER SEVEN: IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING AND POLICIES; CONCLUSIONS

(A) Key Policy-Related Questions 279
(B) Alternative Planning Strategies for Badenoch-Strathspey 304
(C) Implications for On-Going Planning 313
(D) Conclusions 324

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(iii)
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Tourism in Relation to Leisure and Work  ........on page 15

Figure 2: Social Indicators and Their Relationship to Goals .................on page 25

Figure 3: Key Indicators for Assessing Effects of Tourism on Host Populations...following page 27

Figure 4: Research Strategy ...............following page 31

Figure 5: Types of Visitors Expected in the Spey Valley .................on page 49

Figure 6: Badenoch-Strathspey District, Location ..................following page 71

Figure 7: Badenoch-Strathspey, Relief and Settlement Pattern ..............following page 71

Figure 8: Badenoch-Strathspey, Land-Use, following page 71

Figure 9: Badenoch-Strathspey, Subdivisions ..................following page 79

Figure 10: Proportions of Total Populations in Age Groups, and by Sex, in Enumeration Districts of Badenoch-Strathspey .................following page 89

Figure 11: Badenoch-Strathspey, Conservation Designations...following page 129

Figure 12: Principal Functions of Agencies Affecting Development, Conservation, and Services in Badenoch-Strathspey.on page 144

Figure 13: Annotated Chronology of Events and Periods in the Development of Recreation and Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey .................following page 148

Figure 14: Badenoch-Strathspey, Visitor and Recreation Facilities ..........following page 150

Figure 15: Badenoch-Strathspey, Visitor and Recreation Facilities (Aviemore-Cairngorm Detail) ..............following page 150

Figure 16: Badenoch-Strathspey, Distribution of Accommodation ..............following page 151

Figure 17: Estimate of Accommodation Occupancy Rates in Available Supply, Spey Valley ..................following page 184

Figure 18: Estimate of Visitor-Nights in Spey Valley (November 1977 to October 1978) ..................following page 186

(Continued)
Figure 19: Response Profiles on Attitude Scales ........ following page 238

Figure 20: Observed Effects of Concentration and Dispersal of Tourism and Related Developments in Badenoch-Strathspey ........ following page 280

Figure 21: Hypothetical Growth and Dependency Stages in the Development of Tourism ...... following page 292

Figure 22: Observed Effects of Development of Tourism on Potential for Diversifying the Local Economy of the Spey Valley ........ following page 295

Figure 23: Criteria in the Measurement of Capacity to Absorb Tourism ................. following page 301
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Interviews in Tourism-Related Establishments ........................................ 44
Table 2: Response to the Self-Administered Questionnaire Survey of Visitors ........... 51
Table 3: Interviews Completed With Visitors ....................................................... 56
Table 4: Interviews With Professionals and Community Leaders ............................ 68
Table 5: Changes in Population From 1801 Through 1971 ..................................... 79
Table 6: Badenoch-Strathspey: Changes in the Population of Civil Parishes and Villages following page 79
Table 7: Migration During the One-Year Period Preceding 1971 .............................. 82
Table 8: Migrants Into Badenoch-Strathspey (by Enumeration District) for the 5-Year Period Preceding 1971 ................................................................. 83
Table 9: Employment by Economic Sectors, Including the Self-Employed, In 1971 .......... 91
Table 10: Employment by Economic Sectors, Excluding the Self-Employed, In 1974 .......... 92
Table 11: Employment by Economic Sectors in Enumeration Districts of Badenoch-Strathspey, In 1971 (Self-Employed Included) ............................ 93
Table 12: Estimate of Employment Created Directly by Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey (1978). 99
Table 13: Changes in Retail Distribution in Sub-Areas of Badenoch-Strathspey, 1961-1971 .. 103
Table 14: HIDB Financial Assistance to Developments, 1965-1976 .......................... 110
Table 15: The Volume and Value of Tourism in Scotland, 1978 .............................. 182
Table 16: Rateable Value of Some Components of Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey, 1975/76 ..... 221
Table 17: Comparison of Scores on Satisfaction Scales, Household Survey, Conservation Group, and Facility Operators following page 236

(vi)
(A) Purpose and Objectives of the Research

The purpose of this research is to contribute to a better understanding of the effects of tourism and related developments on the host population, within the context of planning for regional development. Three specific objectives are pursued:

(i) To identify and explain effects of tourism and related developments in an area which has been influenced greatly by modern tourism, with emphasis placed on the perspective of local residents.

(ii) To examine policies and programmes relating to the planning and development of tourism in the study area, and in Scotland in general, with a view to assessing their efficacy in attaining benefits and minimising problems for residents.

(iii) To advance concepts and a general methodological approach for analysing the effects of tourism, including the means for integrating this approach in schemes of regional planning and development.

In this research the point of view of local residents, called the host population, is taken in preference to a regional or national perspective. Consideration of broader issues and policies is included, but research into the effects of tourism has too often ignored the most local of concerns and focussed, instead, on grosser economic indicators such as the balance of payments or broadly-based employment statistics. By taking the resident's point of view a more comprehensive assessment is assured, as social, environmental and
economic effects are all of immediate importance to those experiencing the consequences of development and the pressures arising from visitors. Furthermore, it is reasonable to expect that regional and national policies should require that local conditions remain or become satisfactory, even though some compromise might be necessary in pursuit of wider benefits. It can also be argued that to be effective, regional and national policies must be based on a firm understanding of their local impact.

Of the effects of development which must be considered in the field of tourism, it is the social and cultural aspects that are least understood (Butler, 1974; Coppock, 1977; The Economist Intelligence Unit Ltd., 1973). Not only is it problematic to quantify social effects, as would be required for a traditional cost/benefit analysis, but it is difficult even to delimit those social issues most appropriate for inclusion in regional planning and development studies. This present research is not intended to be a sociological study, as that would focus on the interpersonal and group relationships at a scale more detailed than geographic and application-oriented research permits. Rather, there is a need to bridge the gap, in both conceptual and methodological terms, between purely sociological and economic approaches to the problem (UNESCO, 1976). Consequently, particular attention is paid to the more subjective effects of development with the intention that this research will provide clearer indicators of social and cultural impact to be employed in planning programmes.

(B) Organisation of the Thesis

The thesis is organised in three parts. Part One establishes the general nature of the problem and suggests a research approach appropriate for application by planners. Part Two documents a case study in the Scottish Highlands, following as closely as possible the suggested
research approach. In the third part, implications of the research for planning and policies are discussed, including methodological and theoretical considerations.

Chapter One defines the problem by discussing the nature of tourism as a tool in regional development. The first chapter ends with a listing of key policy-related questions which were formulated to guide the research and increase its relevance to the planning of tourism and regional development in Scotland.

Chapter Two deals with the requirements involved in taking the point of view of the host population and outlines a research strategy pertinent to these special needs. This strategy emphasises the mechanisms by which tourism and related developments can instigate change. Attention is given to the formulation and use of indicators, both quantitative and qualitative, which can be important in this field. Knowledge of the attitudes and preferences of the local population is considered to be crucial for a complete understanding of impact, and for the creation of responsible policies, so problems associated with the measurement of attitudes are discussed. The chapter concludes with a consideration of criteria for selecting a case study area.

The methods adopted for use in the case study are the subject of Chapter Three. Each survey is described, although the Appendices must be consulted for a detailed explanation and for copies of the survey instruments.

Part Two presents, in three chapters, the findings of the case study in the Badenoch-Strathspey District (called the Spey Valley) in the Scottish Highlands. It begins in Chapter Four with a review of the area's geographical and historical context, placing the study area within the wider perspective of the problems of the region. Emphasis is placed on trends in the use of
resources and the area's population, and on the current employment situation. This is followed by a discussion of the main influences of policies on the development of the Spey Valley, including those of the local authorities and other public agencies. From this background it is possible to identify the problems and potentials facing the area's population and to relate these to the recent development of tourism.

Chapter Five investigates the tourist industry in the Spey Valley, drawing heavily on field surveys conducted in 1978 and 1979. The main objective is to isolate mechanisms by which tourism leads to changes. In the ensuing chapter these mechanisms are related to the host population by means of the key indicators. Surveys of the residents and other available data are used. It is in Chapter Six that the difficult subjective indicators of impact are explored, such as attitudes and social problems. However, both quantitative and subjective measures are employed wherever possible.

Concluding the thesis, Chapter Seven evaluates implications for planning and policies that arise from this research. The key policy-related questions are answered, and alternative planning strategies for the study area are presented and discussed as to their probable consequences. Implications for on-going planning at the local, regional, and national levels are discussed. In the final section the main conclusions of the research are summarised by referral to the three objectives.

The bibliography has been notated in such a way as to permit the ready identification of references pertaining specifically or in part to the study area. A detailed discussion of the methods of research and the data obtained in field surveys is contained in the separate volume of appendices. Each survey is documented individually in order to satisfy those interested in
the techniques and detailed problems. As far as possible, duplication between the main text and the appendices has been avoided, but there is, nevertheless, some repetition. The appendices also contain a more detailed historical sketch of the Spey Valley and miscellaneous tables which supplement the text.
CHAPTER ONE

TOURISM AS A TOOL IN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In the post-war period tourism has assumed international importance as a social and economic phenomenon (United Nations, 1973), and the effects of this development have come increasingly under scrutiny. Given the considerable monetary exchanges involved, it is not surprising that most related research has emphasised the economic processes and issues.

The underlying assumption of many economic studies was that economic growth is a prerequisite to satisfaction of other needs, or, alternatively, that increased satisfaction always derives from economic growth. These assumptions have been challenged, and the concern for equity in development plans has taken on equal significance (Alonso and Friedmann, 1975). In the field of tourism, where its potential use as a tool in development was quickly realised, economic analysis focussed on the multiplier value (Archer, 1972; Bryden, 1973). Multiplier studies can include questions of equity by examining the groups receiving economic benefits, but they do not incorporate intangible effects.

As tourism became a prominent economic activity in many areas, its potential for causing adverse effects was recognised, particularly because tourists and development often are attracted to wild or remote places, or to areas where the culture is traditional. More recently, therefore, greater attention has been paid to non-economic effects, and investigations of social or cultural effects have been undertaken (Doxey, 1974; White, 1974; TRRU, 1975; Butler and Brougham, 1977). But, stemming from the interdisciplinary nature of tourism, comprehensive
studies of its effects are difficult and remain a primary research need (UNESCO, 1976). This present study attempts to bridge this gap between economic and sociological approaches, with the emphasis on the host population ensuring that criteria used to assess the success of development policies will take full cognisance of the subjective as well as the quantifiable effects. Planning programmes at local, regional and national levels can all benefit by a more comprehensive approach, as compromises between subjective and tangible objectives can be made explicit.

As noted by Robinson (1976), tourism has been defined in many ways. A tourist is often defined as one who travels away from home as a leisure pursuit — that is, for purposes not directly related to work. Beyond this criterion definitions may vary considerably according to length of stay away from home, types of activity undertaken, destination (i.e., home country or international), or mode of travel, depending on the interests of the defining body. Tourism and holidaymaking are two terms used often synonymously, and the terms tourism and recreation are sometimes confused even though there are important differences. Travel for work-related purposes is sometimes included in the definition of tourism, although this may be attributable in large part to the problems associated with differentiating between work-related and leisure-oriented travel. Furthermore, work-related travel often includes leisure activities.

For purposes of this research the definition of tourism is shaped by adoption of the perspective of the host population and by the objectives of planning for regional development. To the residents of areas affected by tourism, a tourist can be any outsider who visits the area temporarily. It is the impact of visits and expenditure by tourists which is of primary importance. Planners seeking to exploit tourism as a tool in regional
development will want to encourage all visitors who will spend money in the subject region, and so work-related travel may be as important as leisure pursuits. Therefore, in this thesis the term tourism refers to all visitors to the study area, although in practice it is the group of overnight visitors who are subject to the greatest scrutiny. Not only does the overnight visitor bring more benefits to the host population, in terms of expenditure and creation of employment in the accommodation sector, but it is also much easier to monitor this group as opposed to day-visitors.

It is also important to distinguish between overnight visitors and 'day-trippers'. Recreational day-trips are a well documented phenomenon (Duffield and Owen, 1970; Mercer, 1970). There are limits around cities beyond which single-day recreational journeys become undesirable and impracticable. Within this recreational hinterland, however, tourism and recreation may overlap in terms of the resources used and in the ways in which local residents are affected. To the host population, the influx of day-trippers and tourists may be perceived as being equally beneficial or harmful, and the residents may not differentiate at all between the two groups. But planners must be concerned about the differences because the tourists import revenue while the day-tripper group constitutes only the redistribution of revenue within the same functional region. The use of resources can be examined in the same way, with urbanites justifiably claiming the use of nearby rural areas for recreation but tourists unable to lay such a moral claim. This distinction can be quite confusing in a very urbanised country, but does not apply in remote regions, or with regard to foreign as opposed to domestic tourism. These factors have influenced the choice of a study area, as explained in the next chapter.

Having defined tourism (for purposes of this research) to include all temporary visitors to an area,
several points follow. First, both domestic and foreign visitors must be encompassed by the work. Second, the purpose of trips is not a limiting factor, although the predominance of leisure pursuits was a major criterion in selecting the study area. Third, the length of stay away from home may range from one night to long holidays. In this respect, however, users of second homes present a complication. Although considered to be mainly a separate issue, there are, nevertheless, some important relevant questions to be asked wherever second homes are present. Visitors staying with friends and relatives are not using commercial accommodation, but because of their behaviour similar to tourists in using facilities they must be considered to a certain degree. The present research does not concentrate on this group to any significant degree.

In defining the problem more precisely it is necessary to examine the nature of tourism and related development. From this review a clearer indication of potential impacts can be gained. A number of authors described the various components of tourism (Peters, 1972; Young, 1973; Burkart and Medlik, 1974; Robinson, 1976), so only a summary is required here. The ensuing discussion will also serve to highlight the place of tourism within the more general field of leisure studies as well as its relationship with recreation.

Resources: All places are unique, and thereby possess some potential for attracting tourists. But there are readily identifiable resources or combinations of resources, such as sun, sand and sea, which have widespread appeal. Other resources may be added to the list of popular attractions: culture, history and monuments; sport and exciting events; rest and relaxation; comfort and luxury; changes of scene and aesthetically pleasing landscapes; a sense of adventure and the exotic. As life-styles and tastes change, so do potential resources for tourism, while promotion, packaging and the
availability of transport might dictate the actual use of resources. Most resources for tourism are spatially discreet and possess a sense of place, but they are also subject to manipulation, improvement or substitution. Motivations behind tourism are varied and complex, and there is no practical limit to what might attract tourists.

Although the resource base for tourism is somewhat nebulous, tourism's use of resources for development and activities is very similar to other forms of economic activity. The laws of supply and demand apply to the costs of travel and the use of resources for tourism, and there are opportunity costs (i.e., the cost of not doing something else) associated with all investments and resources devoted to tourism. Attracting tourists can be successful under many changing circumstances, but it is also true that elements of the resource base can be depleted or destroyed. This is especially true for unique natural features which often attract large numbers of visitors, and for traditional cultures which may be unable to cope with pressure generated by visitors. Furthermore, tourism always involves a host population, if only to provide essential services, and the good will and welcome extended by the hosts is a valuable resource subject to abuse and depletion.

Competition for resources is a major reason for planning, and even in remote areas tourism may have to replace, compete with, or combine in multiple use with other productive sectors such as agriculture and forestry. Planning will attempt to find the proper balance between tourism and other resource users, and it will have to consider the fact that in many areas it is the rural use of land that actually attracts tourists. This fact greatly assists undeveloped regions, for it means that visitors will come simply because it is backward or unspoilt. Conversely, heavy pressure generated by large numbers of
visitors in rural areas can threaten the very survival of the rural community. Therein lies the dilemma which occupies a great deal of attention in this research.

**Investment:** Many of the resources used by tourism, such as scenery and weather, might appear to be without cost and requiring no investment. But this ignores the need for management of scenery and related constraints against some uses of land, and for the infrastructure and services necessary to transport, accommodate, feed and entertain visitors. It also ignores the fact that heavy investment of capital is often necessary to attain the large-scale benefits which accrue from attracting large numbers of staying visitors. In addition, the costs of existing roads, airports, recreational facilities, parks and the like, which are used by tourists whether or not provided especially for them, must be included in the calculations of costs. Promotion and marketing are also costs which should be included. Public and private capital is often combined in the promotion and development of tourism, with government providing financial assistance to private enterprise in order to stimulate economic growth.

Investment generates employment and income, much of which will leak from the area. However, local linkages between businesses can also be created by new investment and opportunities for secondary growth might arise. Public investment in tourism in rural areas may be a quick way to produce jobs and incomes, assuming that a potential tourist market exists. It often takes public investment to overcome the extra costs or risks associated with development in remote or rural regions. Consequently, modern tourism may require heavy investment to reap large-scale benefits. It should not be forgotten, however, that small numbers of tourists can bring some benefits to areas without in any way adding to the existing stock of accommodation or services.
Travel: Tourism is sometimes called the travel industry, in recognition of the fact that travel away from home is an essential ingredient. As with outdoor recreation, mobility is the pivotal factor in tourism (Wolfe, 1964), and it can, in fact, be the main attraction involved. Accessibility varies in time and distance, and according to the tourist's perceptions of remoteness or familiarity. The type, cost, and availability of transport also determines accessibility, so that remote areas are sometimes penalised more by poor links with the outside than by sheer distance. The spatial patterns of tourism are directly dependent on communications, and so the planning of tourism must consider transport problems. On the other hand, inter-relationships between resources and markets, such as the demand for skiing or holidays in the sun, can overcome barriers of distance.

International and inter-regional imbalances in travel can result from many causes, but they are usually amenable to change through planned improvements in accessibility and amenities. Seasonal imbalances in travel also occur, partly through climatic factors and partly through institutional reasons. Regional development based on a short tourist season may be very weak in its benefits, and development based on short-stay touring will lead to different effects than centre-based holidays.

Accommodation: This component can be an important factor in shaping tourism as to length of stay, destination, activities and expenditures. Package holidays in resort hotels will yield quite different results for a host population than visitors touring by car and staying in campsites. In many situations, particularly for remote regions with few alternatives, purpose-built resorts might provide the only accommodation for tourists. Because accommodation is often the largest single cost for tourists, supply and demand factors are crucial in determining the appropriateness of its provision in terms of
Investment in accommodation may be the single most important decision for development planners, given that its location, scale and type will influence directly the pattern of tourism and related activities, not to mention the impact on host communities. The accommodation sector will probably be the chief source of employment in many schemes of tourist development, and so the quality of jobs in this sector is important. Even at the lowest level of demand by tourists, provision of accommodation in private homes can represent a major economic benefit to rural areas.

Activities: The resources and facilities available for leisure pursuits will encourage or limit the activities of tourists while travelling and when staying in an area. In some cases, it may be a single activity which attracts visitors, such as skiing or lying in the sun. The tourist becomes a recreationist when engaged in most of the common activities associated with holiday-making, and it is also common for business travellers or delegates at conferences to engage in recreational activities for at least part of the visit.

Expenditure on activities (or even on complete inactivity!) may constitute an important element in generating local income, but many forms of activity also pose a threat to the environment or to the peace and comfort of the host community. For the planner, it is important to consider the option of concentrating activities, which may restrict damage spatially and enable management to reduce adverse impact, versus the dispersal of activities.

Planning and Administration: Both the private and public sectors must plan for and administer their involvement in tourism. The political institutions and ideologies of countries will determine the extent of private
investment, although it has often been the case that government intervention had to follow private developments. The government's role might be to provide financial assistance, build necessary infrastructure, promote demand for the area, or give overall planning direction to developments. Many countries have established national tourist agencies to cope with these issues, but efficient regional and local planning for tourism is generally not well developed. In Great Britain there are three levels of planning for tourism, and problems of co-ordinating action and integrating policies can become significant. Tourism can also have direct effects on a government, especially in small countries or regions which become highly dependent on tourism, by determining their income and their policies for allocation of resources.

The level at which policy is formulated has a direct bearing on tourism. At a national level, the balance of payments may be uppermost in the minds of decision-makers. In programmes of regional development, overcoming disparity and stimulating a depressed economy may be the main goals. At local levels, including those authorities responsible for physical planning and the provision of local services, the social, economic and environmental well-being of residents generally comes first, although the emphasis will undoubtedly vary between localities. Agencies might exist which have interests spread over all three levels, and this fact will exacerbate the common problem of attaining integration of policies among the levels. Private interests must also be considered, and these can range from operators of small local guest houses to international hotel chains.

Temporal aspects of policy also affect the way in which tourism is viewed. Short-term objectives in regional development schemes may call for improved infrastructure and the establishment of momentum for growth by raising confidence in the potential of an area. For
private investors, short-term objectives are more likely to focus on capturing a share of the market and creating a favourable image for the area and its amenities. In the middle-term, a government will want to see definite improvements in local opportunities for employment and income, stabilisation of the population, and better physical and social conditions for residents. Private investors wish to establish profitability as soon as possible. Over a long period of time, stability of the population and the economy, usually expressed as self-sufficient and steady growth, is the normal aim of governments. Creation of new opportunities for investment and maintenance of profits are the long-term aim of private enterprises. Assessment of the costs and benefits of tourism must therefore account for changes over time and conflicts over objectives expressed in different frames of time. Further complications will arise if the host population changes in reaction to development, with resulting shifts in attitudes, expectations and political leanings.

A general review of leisure and its sub-categories is not required here, as several authors could be consulted for that purpose (Farina, 1969 and 1973; Kraus, 1971; Cosgrove and Jackson, 1972). Rather, Figure 1 illustrates the place of tourism in relation to leisure and work, and the ensuing discussion identifies some key points of terminology.

Figure 1: Tourism in Relation to Leisure and Work
In this simple diagram tourism is seen to be a branch of recreation, with a link to work through the travel element. The term recreation implies some form of activity, and this is contrasted with the category termed rest. Of course, simply resting is an important aspect of tourism, but some activity is required if only in the travel component. The diagram also shows the home and day-visit branches of recreation, as opposed to the overnight nature of tourism. The differences between compulsory and voluntary work are not irrelevant to tourism, for there is an increasing demand for combinations of work and leisure, including the use of travel and holidays as an incentive to work.

Tourism is a unique branch of leisure and recreation because of the components of travel and accommodation. It is also a type of export industry, having considerable importance for development strategies, whereas recreation is usually viewed as a service to residents of an area. And, perhaps most importantly, tourism is amenable to a great deal of deliberate intervention by planners, whereas recreation is generally thought of as a service to be provided by all governments.

The problem which is the subject of this research has been complicated by imprecise definition of the nature of tourism. Many authors have contributed to this debate, (Young, 1973; Edelmann, 1975; Robinson, 1976; UNESCO, 1976), and there is no need to reiterate the arguments here. Costs and benefits accrue to both tourists and their hosts, but we are concerned with the development of tourism as a means to obtaining benefits for the host population, and only brief mention of the tourist's benefits is made.

It is evident that many of the imputed costs and benefits of tourism could be expected to arise from many other forms of development. Furthermore, some of the
effects are quite intangible and it would be impossible to prove a simple cause and effect relationship. A main objective of research, therefore, must be to isolate the unique effects of tourism so that it can be seen in terms comparable to other forms of development. For this reason the present research not only seeks to identify observable effects, but also attempts to determine the actual mechanisms of change.

Many of the benefits ascribed to tourism stem from the realisation that it is particularly well suited for the development of remote regions and backward economies. In many such areas tourism may be the easiest or the only feasible form of development. Conversely, many of the costs and problems ascribed to tourism relate to the noticeable effect that tourism has had in developing countries and remote regions.

The literature abounds with descriptions and definitions of regional development problems (Alonso and Friedmann, 1975; Brookfield, 1975; Clout, 1975; and regarding Scotland: Scottish Economic Committee, 1938; Geddes and Spaven, 1949; Hutchinson, 1949; The Scottish Council, 1973; Turnock, 1974), although it must be recognised that it is not a single problem with uniform effects. In rural regions some or all of the following problems are considered to be typical:

- remoteness from centres of growth, and poor transport links;
- poor resource base and a dominance of primary industry;
- low levels of services and infrastructure;
- high degree of unemployment or underemployment;
- depopulation, resulting in population imbalance by age and sex, and loss of leadership;
- economic dualism (i.e., the juxtaposition of wealth and poverty, traditional and modern
- migration of labour and capital to central places or outside the region altogether;
- uncertainty about the future, or even complete resignation and apathy.

The process of decline is a vicious circle, as the worsening of some of the above mentioned conditions will adversely affect the potential for correcting other problems. A comprehensive development plan is therefore necessary in order to deal with the problems concurrently. Many of these conditions have been observed in Scotland, and there is a long history of attempts to correct some or all of them (see Chapter Four). Much of the effort has focussed on the Highlands and Islands, where problems are most acute, but other rural areas share many of the same difficulties. Information is presented in Chapter Four which demonstrates the serious nature of the 'Highland Problem' in Scotland.

In co-operation with the Scottish Tourist Board and the Highlands and Islands Development Board a number of key policy-related questions were formulated to guide this research. The questions are demonstrative of both the current interests of the sponsors in dealing with tourism and regional development in Scotland and of the author's own objectives. Their value lies in helping to fit this research into the broader strategies of two Boards which possess powers to promote and give financial assistance to development.

The key policy-related questions are quoted below, with a full discussion of their significance included in Chapter Seven:

- In terms of local impact, what are the main implications of major tourism investment being concentrated at the centre of an area rather than being dispersed more evenly
throughout the area?
- What major issues are raised by the phasing of developments in the area? In particular, to what extent has balance been maintained between the supply and demand for various types of tourism facility, and have local authority and other services been able to meet the demands generated by the commercial developments at each stage?
- What is the nature and extent of local involvement in tourism in the area and what issues are raised by the dominant role of tourism in the local economy?
- What level of local authority expenditure on various services is directly attributable to the demands generated by tourism, and what revenue (including rates) accrues directly to the local authority from tourism?
- To what extent has the build-up in population and infrastructure resulting from the major investment in tourism made it more possible to generate other forms of economic development in the area?
- What are the major elements of tourism impact which can be classed as social rather than economic in character? For instance, what are the implications of the development of tourism for the overall population structure of the area, and for local community life, including the availability and use of social and recreational facilities? Also, what are local people’s opinions of tourism development to date and of the role that various forms of tourism development might play in the future development of the area?

In addition to these questions, it is inevitable that people will ask, 'What is the limit of development
in this area - how do we know when to call a halt to development or to change direction?" This concern may be expressed as an attempt to define the capacity of an area to absorb tourism, or to absorb development and change in general. Although not formulated as one of the key policy-related questions, the concept of capacity to absorb development is nevertheless considered to be important and is therefore evaluated in Chapter Seven.
CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL RESEARCH STRATEGY

(A) Taking the Perspective of the Host Population

In defining the research problem, the need for analysis of impact from the point of view of the host population was stated. This requires the advancement of a new research strategy - one that will enable the identification and measurement of effects on the population, both real and perceived, in such a way as to make clear the mechanisms of change attributable to tourism. A further requirement is that the methodological approach be adaptable to a wide range of situations and yield results that allow for methodological and theoretical advances in the field of inquiry. This chapter develops such a strategy, commencing with a discussion of how a local perspective dictates several aspects of the research, and including a more detailed discussion of a number of concepts and techniques which take on special significance in this framework.

Who is the host population? The question is vital to this line of research, but it is difficult to answer. The term host is employed herein to signify the host/guest relationship between visitors and the residents of destination areas, and to draw attention to the important fact that residents are opening up their home area, and often their very homes, for the benefit of themselves and their visitors. In the light of differences between tourism and recreation, as mentioned in Chapter One, the significance lies in the fact that opportunities for recreation is a service expected by residents of a region, but tourism is based largely on a voluntary desire to welcome visitors to a region. If this difference is kept in mind by policy-
makers they will be less likely to impose development of tourism on unwilling residents.

In a democratic society it is a fundamental principle that all persons be accorded equality before the law, and this should also apply to planning decisions. And yet, in recognition of the fact that certain groups within the population are disadvantaged, special treatment is often necessary to ameliorate problems. This is the prime justification of planning for regional development. Consequently, it may become necessary to identify a specific group to be afforded preferential treatment, or, conversely, to apply programmes of assistance to the entire population of a region. If this latter approach is taken a number of very important effects may arise. Foremost of these implications is that successful development will probably attract many newcomers to an area, and this group might reap many of the benefits aimed at indigenous people. This may lead to conflict or to the cultural assimilation of the original residents. Indeed, many programmes of development might encourage in-migration as a means to attain growth and stability.

Other definitional problems include the question of how past out-migrants are to be treated, and whether or not owners of second-homes should be considered as part of the host population or as visitors? Temporary staff staying in special accommodation units present another problem.

Research conducted at the broad regional or national levels tends to (or must, of necessity) use gross indicators, and public attitudes and opinion are usually not evaluated in any detail. At the local level, this element becomes very important and should constitute a major part of the work. It is often assumed that residents desire greater economic growth, but this may not be the case. Furthermore, it is desirable to assess differences of
opinion between groups because there may be local controversy as to the people being aided most. If it is found that local opinion runs contrary to established policy, some reconciliation or compromise would be required.

Secondary or indirect effects of development have been examined in economic terms (Hanna, 1977), but are less well understood in respect of social impact. The present research cannot cover the individual and interpersonal levels of social processes, but considerable progress can be made by examining indirect effects on the community as a whole. In addition, this can be augmented by a survey of attitudes which would involve the interviewing of individuals. More difficult secondary effects requiring study are those of demographic and attitudinal change over long periods. Census data, where available, can be applied to population changes, but change in attitudes is a phenomenon that would demand longitudinal studies.

Environmental effects should be considered at all levels of planning, but it will always take specific, local studies to reveal problems. These effects are not of direct concern in the present study, although the local population's attitude towards environmental effects must be queried. Brief reference to ecological problems is made later in the case study, but the two issues - one identifiable by objective observation of the environment and the other identifiable only by subjective evaluation of opinions - must be kept separate. Decision-makers will have to arrive at criteria for weighting the relative importance of ecological damage and the population's concern, or lack of concern, for environmental quality.

In taking the perspective of a host population, therefore, the types of effects and the way in which they are evaluated must be different from studies at a regional or national level. Not only must effects be identified
and linked to tourism as the cause, but the local perception and concern for the effects must be known. This introduces a new dimension to planning for development which should improve the results for local residents but will also, for better or worse, complicate the process of evaluation and decision-making.

(B) Definition and Use of Indicators

When analysing changes and impacts it is necessary to employ a statistic or measure which summarises the effect or depicts its magnitude. These 'indicators' are necessary for quantitative analysis, such as for employment and levels of income, and are equally important regarding intangibles such as a measure of public support for growth. Only recently have investigators turned their attention to the more subjective aspects of the quality of life which require some indication of change over time or relative positions between groups (Bauer, 1966; Henderson, 1974; Kuz, 1978), although they now are established firmly in government publications (e.g., Social Trends, United Kingdom Central Statistical Office).

Indicators are used to assess progress being made towards the attainment of goals, and to determine the impact of planning programmes. As these measures lend themselves to the study of inter-group variation and change over time, it is very important to employ indicators which are relevant to the problem and can be interpreted easily by policy-makers. In social problems a surrogate measure is often employed because the issue being evaluated does not lend itself to direct measurement. For example, racial tension might be measured by referral to statistics of crime in certain areas where racial mixing is significant. The danger in using surrogates, of course, is that they do not necessarily reflect only one problem and may not be provable as a cause and effect relationship. Gross (1966) described a ladder of
"abstraction-specificity" which demonstrates how social indicators are often quite remote from the "grand abstraction" under study. Figure 2 has been adapted from Gross to present an example appropriate to the study of tourism.

Figure 2: Social Indicators and their Relationship to Goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Grand Abstraction</th>
<th>Intermediate Abstractions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(e.g., &quot;Quality of Life&quot;)</td>
<td>(e.g., Wealth and its equitable distribution)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indicator Concepts Used**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Output Types</th>
<th>Output Quantity</th>
<th>Output Quality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-services and goods for consumption; -opportunities for employment -incomes increased.</td>
<td>-access to goods and services increased; -measures of unemployment; -indices of comparative incomes.</td>
<td>-who benefits? -what kinds of jobs, and at what opportunity cost? -what is the proper base level for comparison?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This illustration resembles the planner's concepts of goals, objectives and criteria (Chadwick, 1971). From a general goal (the grand abstraction) one proceeds to define specific objectives (either the intermediate abstraction or the output type), and then one must identify criteria (quantity and quality measures) for assessing the efficacy of programmes of implementation. The use of an indicator takes on full significance only when this entire framework is made explicit, otherwise it cannot be evaluated without making assumptions. The problem often occurs, however, when the goals are considered to be of fundamental value (such as provision of jobs) and the indicator (such as a measure of unemployment) becomes institutionalised. This type of development tends to hide
some of the related questions which should be made explicit, such as those concerning the quality of jobs and opportunity costs associated with their creation.

Several points about types of indicators should be mentioned. First, indicators can describe aspects of a system or programme in terms of its structure or its performance. Structural indicators describe components, such as the number of doctors available in health centres, whereas performance indicators describe the effectiveness of a programme, such as rates of mortality. Performance-oriented indicators are also called output indicators, and structural ones are usually of the input type, which means they are describing components necessary for the creation of benefits. Also, it must be stressed that indicators are best kept neutral in terms of value systems. Their role is to contribute to the normative interpretation of facts, not to become value-laden in themselves.

How can appropriate indicators for the effects of tourism be derived? Tourism is not an objective in its own right (except when considered to be a service to the population), but is a tool in development. It is not a simple phenomenon to analyse and it straddles all the major interdisciplinary lines. Henderson (1974) outlined five steps for the development of indicators which are relevant to the present problem:

(i) - decide what goals are involved;
(ii) - define and classify what outputs are relevant to the goals;
(iii) - define the inputs needed to generate each output;
(iv) - trace the effects of policy actions on each output;
(v) - weigh or rank the outputs, so that priority ones become the principal indicators.

These steps have provided guidance for the identification of indicators used in the case study of the Spey Valley.
Checklists of indicators have been devised for use in the assessment of environmental impacts (Munn, 1975) and for general analyses of social impact (Boothroyd, 1978), and the immediate task is to prepare such a list pertinent to tourism. Figure 3 presents such a checklist, based on the earlier discussion of the objectives of development and components of tourism. Also, the general literature is rich with suggestions of the costs and benefits of tourism, and some of these have been included. The approach of Gross is maintained, so that the first column in Figure 3 states the desired output, the second lists quantitative measures to be used in assessing the outputs, and the third contains qualitative measures. The present research attempts to refine this checklist, with particular emphasis on the qualitative indicators. There is a danger that indicators will not adequately reflect important outputs as they are perceived by the host population, and so a number of the social outputs on the checklist cannot be interpreted as objectives, but must be seen, rather, as issues of probable importance to residents from which specific objectives must be determined through research. In Chapter Six the indicators displayed in Figure 3 form the framework for assessing effects of tourism in the Spey Valley.

Boothroyd (1978) also argued that checklists of impacts should be expanded to illustrate lists of "impactees", which are those groups being affected in a positive or negative manner. Furthermore, consideration must be given to degrees of impact, and to those being affected directly or indirectly. Results of the current research permit a better identification of these groups. The precise measurement used for each indicator depends on the availability of data and appropriate techniques of research. In some cases it may be possible to use more than one measure, or to test the validity of an indicator against information derived externally.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Output Type (Objectives)</th>
<th>Quantity Measures (Quantifiable Criteria)</th>
<th>Quality Measures (Subjective Criteria)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population Stabilised</td>
<td>out-migration halted</td>
<td>types of in-migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(or Growth Encouraged)</td>
<td>in-migration as needed</td>
<td>expectations and motivations of in-migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>age/sex structure balanced</td>
<td>choice of location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunities for</td>
<td>new jobs created in tourism</td>
<td>jobs to benefit special needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Increased</td>
<td>indirect generation of jobs</td>
<td>opportunity for choice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reduce unemployment</td>
<td>opportunity for advancement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>increase activity rates</td>
<td>satisfaction with jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>retain jobs which might be</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lost; avoid displacement of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomes Increased</td>
<td>raise personal and household incomes</td>
<td>risks of dependency on tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minimise inflation</td>
<td>who benefits most?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raise local authority income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viability of Communities</td>
<td>infrastructure, services and</td>
<td>attitudes toward change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhanced and Efficient</td>
<td>facilities made adequate</td>
<td>leadership (availability and quality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made of Resources</td>
<td>housing and supply of land made adequate</td>
<td>satisfaction with conditions, and preferences for living environments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employment, commuting and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strategies for public transport</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare and Social</td>
<td>crime, police work, and social work</td>
<td>integration of newcomers (types of newcomers; their expectations and actions; attitudes toward them)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration Fostered</td>
<td>problems minimised</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>health and other essential services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>improved and distributed equitably</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Health Strengthened</td>
<td>maintenance of traditions</td>
<td>degree of commercialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>facilities</td>
<td>satisfaction with traditional way of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>encouragement of events</td>
<td>leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leisure Choice Increased</td>
<td>facilities provided and used</td>
<td>satisfaction with opportunities for leisure; preferences and expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>membership in groups</td>
<td>special needs catered for; appropriateness of facilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>changing patterns of activity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cost of participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation Assisted</td>
<td>preservation of unique cultural and</td>
<td>attitudes to conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>natural features</td>
<td>environmental preferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avoidance of pollution, litter and fire</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>effective management provided</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>benefits and costs, versus development</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenity Enhanced</td>
<td>Avoidance of crowding, noise and loss of</td>
<td>visual amenity preferences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>privacy</td>
<td>level of satisfaction</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The need for subjective indicators applies to social, environmental and economic outputs alike. From Figure 3 it can be seen that many of the quality measures concern abstractions or intangibles such as satisfaction and preference. Quantity measures are also affected by subjective criteria, both in their selection to represent important issues and in their weighting to reflect priorities. What is required, therefore, is a method for assessing how the host population feels about various issues pertinent to the effects of tourism. Indirect means could be employed, such as by studying local politics, reviewing letters to newspapers, or examining protests and the work of various groups. A direct method is also valuable, in the form of questions put to a random sample of the population (in very small communities it might even be possible to survey all residents). Two apparent lines of questioning exist: asking directly how satisfied people are with various items; and attempting to discern attitudes held more deeply toward important issues.

Measuring satisfaction is quite straightforward, although interpretation of the results is more difficult. The technique has been used successfully by the Social Trends surveys (United Kingdom Central Statistical Office, 1973) and involves asking respondents to indicate on a scale of numbers how satisfied they are with stated items. The selection of items must reflect important issues in the population being sampled, and resultant scores can be used to assess inter-group differences and to indicate any problems. Some limitations of this technique are discussed in Appendix Five, along with presentation of data from the surveys. Attitudes, on the other hand, are more difficult, both in conceptual terms and in their measurement, and one must rely for guidance on previous research in the field of social psychology.

Attitudes may be defined as "...individual mental processes which determine both the actual and potential
responses of each person in the social world. Since an attitude is always directed toward some object it may be defined as a 'state of mind of the individual toward a value'" (Allport, 1954). Whereas one's opinion on a given question may change rapidly with new knowledge or an altered perception, attitudes tend to be more enduring. This is because attitudes, while being reinforced by factual beliefs, are really more closely related to values which are held deeply and even to fundamental characteristics of personality (Oppenheim, 1966). One might assume that attitudes will manifest themselves directly in corresponding behaviour, but many factors intervene to shape an individual's actions. As a result, any prediction based on knowledge of attitudes is risky. In the present research attitudes are used as an indicator of existing effects, by demonstrating differences between groups, and as indicators of possible future effects by identifying any deep-rooted conflicts.

Scales for measuring attitudes have found widespread application in the social sciences. They are usually designed to place respondents in groups with regard to particular attitudes (Oppenheim, 1966), with groups defined by relative position, and not by magnitude, as the scales themselves are usually not considered to be interval scales. Successful measurement of attitudes depends largely on the questions or statements presented to respondents, with the main problem being to ensure the unidimensionality of each statement - that is, to ensure it relates (in the minds of respondents) only to the attitude under consideration. However, because attitudes are usually interrelated, forming general patterns towards many objects, attaining unidimensionality is both
conceptually and practically troublesome. Ultimately, the value of the scale depends most on the skill of its originator and in the validity of its interpretation. It was noted earlier that behaviour might not necessarily reflect attitudes, but it is still possible to gain some confidence in measurements by correlating scores with affiliation in groups (Oppenheim, 1966).

A Likert scale has been used, as this device allows the analysis of individual statements (which are the 'object' of attitudes) and of groups of statements all pertaining to one attitude. It is this grouping of statements which provides greater assurance that the scale is actually measuring the desired attitude. The scoring format (strongly agree, agree, uncertain, disagree, strongly disagree) provides a satisfactory choice of responses so as not to force answers into inappropriate categories. When analysing the measurements, the focus is on the differences between groups, with groups delimited by variables pertinent to the objectives of this research.

How are the measures of attitudes to be used as indicators of impact? Caution is necessary when analysing these subjective indicators for purposes of policy formulation, partly owing to limitations of the technique and of the sample, and partly because attitudes might change over time or might not manifest themselves directly in observable behaviour. However, the measurements demonstrate aspects of public opinion which cannot be assessed in other ways, they reveal possibly significant differences in the way sub-groups of the population feel about important issues, and they give a fuller understanding of many of the quantifiable impacts. Most importantly, measures of attitudes are a new dimension in most policy-oriented research and therefore represent an opportunity for the testing and refinement of potentially valuable indicators.
Strategy for the Case Study

Figure 4 is a schematic representation of the approach adopted for this research, commencing with a statement of the objectives. In the case study four inter-related lines of inquiry are pursued, leading to a synthesis wherein the key policy-related questions and several alternative planning strategies are evaluated. Methodological and theoretical implications are then considered, including some lessons from other examples of research and planning. Each of the four main inquiries is discussed in greater detail below.

Policy: The policies, programmes and investments of public bodies are investigated, particularly those related to tourism, but also covering other aspects relevant to the study area. At the local level, the Badenoch-Strathspey District Council is of greatest interest, with housing being the main concern. At the regional level is the Highland Regional Council which is responsible for comprehensive planning and the provision of important services. The Highlands and Islands Development Board is the primary agency for regional development and has been the principal investor in tourism in the study area. National-level policies are issued from many sources, but the greatest attention is paid to the Scottish Tourist Board. Other national-level agencies considered are the Countryside Commission for Scotland, the Forestry Commission and the Nature Conservancy Council. Scotland is considered to be the national unit, but reference to broader policy for the United Kingdom is made, where appropriate. Attention is given to conflicts or potential conflicts, the need for co-operation where policies correspond, and the need for overall integration. The inquiry leads to the identification of objectives (either explicit or implicit) which have been set for the area, and constraints against particular courses of action.
RESEARCH STRATEGY

OBJECTIVES

1. Identify and explain effects of tourism on host populations.
2. Assess efficacy of policies and programmes in attaining benefits and minimising problems for residents.
3. Advance concepts and methods for analysing effects of tourism and integrating the approach in regional planning.

CASE STUDY

POLICY
- Liaison with authorities
- Local, regional, and national policies

AREA CONTEXT
- Resources
- Development history
- Identify trends

TOURISM
- Promotion of the area
- Survey of facilities
- Occupancy survey
- Surveys of visitors
- Survey of staff

RESIDENTS
- Demography
- Household interviews
- Survey of students
- Interview leaders
- Assess services
- Survey of conservation group

OBJECTIVES AND CONSTRAINTS

PROBLEMS

MECHANISMS OF CHANGE

EFFECTS (KEY INDICATORS)

ASSESS POLICY-RELATED QUESTIONS

ASSESS PLANNING ALTERNATIVES

OTHER EXAMPLES

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS
Historical and Geographic Context: It is not possible to obtain a complete appreciation of conditions in the study area prior to major developments in tourism, but the resource base and historical trends are identified and discussed. Emphasis is placed on the district’s potential for primary, secondary and tertiary industry, and especially for tourism and recreation. Population and the current land-use and employment situation are described. This review provides a description of the so-called ‘Highland Problem’, thereby providing the context of problems within which the effects of policy and development of tourism can be assessed.

The Residents and their Community: This inquiry assesses the characteristics and activities of the population of the study area, especially with regard to the viability of social communities and physical settlements. The key output from this inquiry is a set of indicators of the effects of tourism on the population, and it is those of a subjective nature which receive most attention. In addition to utilisation of census data and other available material, a sample of residents was selected for home interviews. Other interviews were required with community leaders and professionals in order to assess more fully some of the intangibles, and with a sample of students in secondary schools.

Tourists and the Tourist Industry: This inquiry is necessary in order to identify the potential of various groups of visitors or types of related development for generating benefits or problems. Special emphasis is placed on the mechanisms of change attributable to the industry. Several related surveys were undertaken, namely interviews with operators of businesses and facilities, a survey of occupancy in accommodation establishments, self-administered questionnaires for visitors and a limited number of interviews with visitors. Staff in special accommodation blocks were also interviewed. Spatial
patterns of activity by visitors and related physical
development are given attention, so that effects within
sub-areas of the district can be differentiated.

(D) Criteria for Selecting a Case Study Area

In a comprehensive programme of research a series
of case studies would be undertaken or each region with¬
in a jurisdiction would be studied in a similar manner.
For purposes of this research, however, it was necessary
to focus on only one area so that adequate detail in
analysis could be achieved. The criteria used in select¬
ing Spey Valley for this research are, therefore, based
on a unique project, but they are in many ways relevant
to the general problem of how to devise indicators of
impact.

Badenoch-Strathspey presents an excellent example of
major tourism-related development in a rural region which
has traditionally been subject to depopulation, high
rates of unemployment and a dominance of the primary in¬
dustries. Although its association with recreation, holi¬
day-making and touring at a modest scale is lengthy, it
was only in the 1960s that large-scale development and
pressure from visitors arose. A major impetus to growth
came from an upsurge in interest in winter sports, notably
skiing, and also from widespread interest for development
of an all-year resort in the Highlands with indoor and
outdoor activities. Essentially it is outdoor recreation
and natural attractions which bring visitors to the Spey
Valley, although the creation of Aviemore Centre, a
complex of hotels, tourist attractions, and indoor facil¬
ities, has permitted the growth of conference trade.
Situated in the central Highlands, the area is just
beyond a comfortable day-trip from the main centres of
population and overnight stays are therefore required
for the majority of visits.
Primary industries (agriculture and forestry) still remain important in the study area, but the small settlements based on rural activities were stagnating or in decline before the modern period of mass tourism brought some relief. Aviemore village experienced the most rapid growth, and it will be seen in later chapters how development and visitor pressure are concentrated in a narrow corridor from Aviemore to the ski slopes. Outlying villages have benefitted to varying degrees from the development of tourism, permitting examination of the spread of effects from large-scale development and a contrast between communities experiencing different types and levels of development. Tourism and related developments dominate the local economy (see Chapter 4), and the scale of development has been such that any possible secondary benefits, leading to economic diversity, would begin to emerge. Also, the scale of growth has been sufficient to permit examination of the social consequences, including demographic trends. Although some attention has been paid to this growth, previous research has not been sufficiently comprehensive to satisfy the objectives of the present study.

All the Scottish agencies involved in regional development, tourism, recreation and conservation are active in the district, and so it is a good example of the problems of co-ordination and integration facing policymakers. Badenoch-Strathspey lies within the jurisdiction of the Highlands and Islands Development Board and the Highland Regional Council, so that regional issues are important. From a national perspective, the district contains the largest nature reserve in Great Britain and a National Park Direction Area. Recent developments appear to satisfy many of the objectives of the HIDB and the STB as they pertain to achieving benefits from tourism. Pressures for further development in the district are great, but at the same time some people, both residents and outside observers, have criticised the growth of
tourism and have called for a halt to development. Consequently, the district has achieved considerable significance as a focus for debate on many of the key issues facing planners in the remoter parts of the United Kingdom.

A possible argument against the selection of the Spey Valley as a case study is its obvious uniqueness when compared with tourism elsewhere in rural Scotland. However, there are compelling reasons for choosing an area where development has exceeded the norm, the most important of which is the ability to identify more clearly the mechanisms of change stemming from tourism as opposed to other factors. Second, many aspects of growth in Spey Valley are logical extensions of policies of the HIDB and STB, and this is a good reason for assessing the implications as they may apply to other areas. Finally, the question of capacity has been raised regarding development in Spey Valley, and there is no consensus apparent as to how much growth is desired or is possible. Once given momentum, economic growth cannot easily be halted (indeed, continuous growth is often an objective of development schemes), and there is some basis for fearing that development might quickly exceed the host population's desire for change. Conversely, as the development of tourism has attained many visible benefits in Spey Valley, other rural districts might well look to it as an example of what should be done.

The choice of Badenoch-Strathspey as the case study can therefore be justified on the grounds that it affords the best example of growth of tourism in rural Scotland and the resultant benefits and problems can be investigated readily. Most of the difficult questions facing planners are to be found there, and if its problems can be solved other areas could be treated in a similar manner. If not, then many lessons about the appropriate scale and types of tourism-related developments will be evident.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY FOR THE CASE STUDY

(A) General Considerations

This chapter summarises the methods and techniques actually employed in the case study. Each of the field surveys is discussed, although technical details, the survey instruments, and tabulations of data are presented in the appendices. As Part Two (The Case Study) is organised by topics, drawing information from all appropriate sources, readers interested in particular surveys should consult the appendices.

A critical problem was to decide what field surveys were necessary in order to collect original information. Given the nature of the problem as defined in Chapter 1, the most urgent need was for improving the measurement and use of subjective indicators of effects from the local population's point of view. Thus, modest resources would have permitted a survey of residents, supplemented by interviews with professional people and community leaders in the study area. Considerable reliance on available data would have been necessitated. But with adequate resources made available, it was decided to adhere as closely as possible to the strategy put forward in Figure 4.

A comprehensive approach often sacrifices some detail in pursuit of a fuller understanding of a problem in its context. Academic research can make a valid contribution with either approach, but it is often the case that research is defined within narrow limits in order to control the number of factors considered. As a result, planners must undertake a synthesis of ideas and data.
taken from disparate sources. Wherever possible, therefore, application-oriented research should include as many relevant factors as can be treated effectively. This present research is directed at the need for a comprehensive assessment of a complex, multi-disciplinary problem, and recognises that certain aspects of the work could be improved through closer examination. Where possible, aspects in need of further research are identified.

Referring to Figure 4, it is apparent where data are required, although some information can be collected from existing sources. For the inquiry directed at residents and their community (key indicators) a household interview was considered to be the best approach, and this had to be supplemented in order to reach other groups, namely staff in temporary accommodation, students in secondary schools, and members of a local conservation-oriented group. Interviews with professionals and community leaders were also required in order to obtain a better understanding of local issues and problems. For the inquiry into the tourism sector some information was available, but not adequate in detail or quality. It was essential that the industry be documented fully in order to permit isolation of the mechanisms by which change is instigated. Businesses related to tourism were the subject of one survey in which operators were interviewed personally. A survey of occupancy in accommodation establishments was undertaken to permit analysis of the numbers and seasonality of tourists. Visitors were contacted with a self-administered questionnaire, supplemented by a limited number of direct interviews.

Residence in the study area was required for the undertaking of survey work, and this provided an opportunity for the author to experience directly the problems and environmental factors facing the local population. A social anthropologist would reside in a community for a very long period before feeling confident to assess its
structure and problems, but that kind of participant-observation is generally not necessary or feasible for the social scientist investigating larger areas and more complex policy-related issues. Nevertheless, if one is to assess impact on residents, sufficient time must be spent in the area to actually experience their perceptions and activities. This must be balanced against the possible bias which might arise from lengthy exposure to certain circumstances or opinions.

Two main periods of residence in the Spey Valley were arranged, the first being for a two-month "reconnaissance" during which contacts were made, inventories of land-use completed and patterns of tourism observed. A six-month residence was needed for completion of the main surveys during the subsequent year. Other visits were also made for specific purposes, ranging in length from one day to one week. Not all the survey work could be done by the author, and assistants were employed for some interviewing and preparation of data. During the main survey period, two students from outside the district and one local person provided the bulk of assistance, and one other local person and the author's wife also contributed in a lesser capacity. During the analysis of the data another student participated in its preparation, while the computer programming was completed (under contract to the STB) by Planning Data Management Services at the University of Edinburgh who used the TRIP data system (Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1974). Although it is preferable to conduct all work oneself, this was impossible under the circumstances. Assistants worked under the direction of the author, and while errors may have occurred because more than one person handled the collection and preparation of data, the final responsibility for any errors or omissions remains with the author.

Key policy-related questions were identified in
Chapter 1, and these had an influence on the development of a research strategy. In terms of the survey work, the key questions were considered when designing the instruments and preparing the individual questions. Rather than being an imposition leading to larger questionnaires, the key questions were an important guide to selecting items from the many possible directions of inquiry.

(B) Survey of Occupancy in Accommodation Establishments

Seasonal fluctuations in the numbers of visitors are a crucial factor in tourism and can be gauged accurately only by obtaining detailed information from accommodation establishments. Certain groups of visitors are excluded from this type of survey, namely day-visitors, those staying with friends and relatives, users of second-homes, and some 'wild-campers' who do not use formal accommodation. Estimates for these groups must be derived by other means. The STB and HIDB have conducted regular occupancy surveys, but most of the information cannot be used with confidence at a local level owing to a small size of samples.

Although a random sample of all types of commercial accommodation in the district would have been desired, in practice it was difficult to obtain an adequate voluntary sample. The Area Tourist Officer wrote to the operators of all hotels and guest houses in September of 1977 and asked them to participate in the research. Approximately half of the operators of bed and breakfast places (called B and B) and self-catering establishments who were listed with the tourist organisation were contacted in a similar fashion, but, owing to a very poor response from B and B establishments, the remaining operators of that type were later contacted by mail. Operators of all the area's touring sites (for tents and touring caravans) were also contacted by mail, but the youth hostels and outdoor centres were contacted only at the end of the one-year survey.
in order to secure monthly summaries for the past year.

Both the STB and the HIDB had been conducting occupancy surveys for hotels, so when it was decided to undertake a special survey in the Spey Valley it became necessary to combine the two. The STB occupancy survey was chosen, mainly because it obtained extra information. Administration was carried out by the Tourism and Recreation Research Unit of the University of Edinburgh, but upon completion of the survey the author extracted all pertinent data from the enlarged sample in the Spey Valley. The author also wrote to a number of hotels at the end of the survey in order to obtain more information from those who had promised to contribute but had not, and to correct some obvious errors. The overall response ranged from four to six large hotels and four to eight small hotels in each of the twelve months.

Seven types of information were obtained from hotels in the survey: the number of new guests who registered on each day, both of British and other origins; the total number of British and other guests staying in the hotel each day; the number of rooms occupied each day; the total number of bedspaces available each day; and tariffs. Occupancy rates calculated in this thesis refer to the ratio of bedspaces occupied to bedspaces available. Double beds were counted as two bedspaces, so the total number of bedspaces always exceeded the total number of beds or rooms made available to visitors.

No previous survey of bed and breakfast places or guest houses had been undertaken, so a new format had to be devised. These two types of accommodation were combined, despite some important differences, because of the poor response from operators of B and B places. Survey forms were mailed to each participant each month, together with a stamped, return envelope. The operators were asked to provide information on any dates when the
establishment was closed and the maximum number of guests they could accommodate on a night in the month. Each arrival (person or group) was noted as to: date of arrival; number of persons; and the number of nights stayed, in total. As with the sample of hotels, rates of occupancy were calculated by the author for each month on the basis of bedspaces. The average length of stay was also calculated. This statistic was ignored in the sample of hotels because of the much greater volume of work that would have been necessitated.

Combining results for B and B and guest houses may have introduced some bias into the results, owing to different characteristics of users, but this was unavoidable. Up to three B and B operators contributed in a month, while the total sample ranged from 7 to 11 during ten months, but fell to 6 in October and only 3 in November. The survey period ran from December of 1977 through November 1978. This was one month later than the sample of hotels, owing to delays in administration.

An occupancy survey for touring sites and self-catering establishments had been conducted by the STB and HIDB from 1975 to 1977, but was discontinued in 1978. Consequently, a new survey for the Spey Valley had to be conducted by the author. The period of survey was identical to that for hotels. Information was obtained on one form for all the types of accommodation included, namely static caravans, houses, chalets, flats, and pitches for tents and touring caravans. It was sent to participants at the beginning of the year, and an additional copy was sent at the end of the survey. For static caravans and other self-catering types it was a simple matter of recording the number of units available and the number actually let to tourists during each week. The operators of touring pitches were asked to record for each week the number of occupied pitches (with one pitch occupied for 7 nights counted 7 times), for both tents and caravans.
The maximum number of pitches on each site was known. Unfortunately, the largest touring site taking part in the survey could not differentiate between tents and caravans, so it became necessary to combine the two types.

At the end of the survey the Scottish Youth Hostels Association was contacted by mail and data were obtained about occupancy in the three hostels in the Spey Valley. This information was, however, for the period from October of 1977 through September 1978. Outdoor Centres were also contacted by the author in late 1978, but only three operators could provide all the data requested. Two others provided a useful indication of their rate of occupancy over the twelve-month period and one other operator did not respond. Part-time outdoor centres and military establishments were ignored.

Caution must be exercised when interpreting the data on occupancy, due to inadequacies in the various samples. These limitations are discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

(C) Interviews With Operators of Accommodation Establishments and Tourism-Related Facilities

Complete coverage of the major components of the tourist industry was desired, including accommodation units and other operations related directly to tourism. A reliable sample of all such places would have been difficult to derive, considering the great variations in type and location, while complete coverage had the added advantage of allowing contact with a large number of people in the industry. All hotels, guest houses, touring sites, outdoor centres and youth hostels were to be included, plus a small sample of the larger self-catering establishments. There are many individuals in the Spey Valley who take in guests on a casual basis or who let out a house, flat, or static caravan on a self-catering
basis, but these were excluded. This exclusion was due to the large number involved, and to the fact that some pertinent data were to be collected in the household interviews. All major tourist attractions were included, along with schools of instruction in sports, centres for pony-trekking and riding, and several operations which cater to tourists as an ancillary function.

An inventory of establishments was required, for which the best source was the annual listing of members of the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation. For the small number of non-members an inventory compiled in 1976 for the TRIP data system (by the Tourism and Recreation Research Unit), provided the necessary information. These lists were used to identify establishments and to compile information on their nature and size. It is possible that changes took place in some establishments between the compilation of the inventories and the survey, but major changes would have been identified in the field work, so accuracy is considered to be high.

The number of interviews conducted in each type of establishment, together with the total (or estimated total) number of such units in the district, is shown in Table 1. A brief description of the categories shown in the table follows.

Guest houses were identified only on the evidence that they were described as such in the tourist organisation's list. Several guest houses were operated in a manner very similar to that of ordinary bed and breakfast establishments, although most guest houses were open all year. Several operators of guest houses refused to be interviewed and several other establishments appeared to be defunct or were to close in the near future, so these were not included in the survey. The total number in the district has been estimated, as it is possible that a few places might not have been identified. However, the
sample of guest houses obtained in the survey certainly accounts for the large majority of this type of accommodation in the Spey Valley.

Table 1: Interviews in Tourism-Related Establishments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Establishment</th>
<th>Number Interviewed</th>
<th>Number in the District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guest Houses</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30 (estimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Hotels (under 50 bedrooms)</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large Hotels (50 or more bedrooms)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Catering and Touring Sites</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outdoor Centres and Youth Hostels</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8 (full-time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Tourist Attractions</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports Instruction; Pony-Trekking/Riding</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Tourism-related Establishments</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>129</strong></td>
<td><strong>N.A.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Small hotels were defined as those containing less than fifty bedrooms. This division between small and large hotels is somewhat arbitrary, but is nevertheless used often in studies of tourism and it does help to reveal some important variations stemming from size. There was no problem in identifying and contacting hotels, and only two operators of small hotels would not participate in the survey. No distinction has been made on the basis of licensing to serve alcoholic beverages, as the vast majority of hotels in the district are licensed in some way.

All the large touring sites in the district were included in the interviews, but several small ones were missed. This happened because of refusals to co-operate
or difficulty in locating an informed respondent. Most touring sites in the area also include some form of self-catering accommodation or static caravans for rent, so all of these types were combined for purposes of analysis. Two of the largest touring sites were owned by the Forestry Commission (at Glen More) and the District Council (the Grantown Caravan Site), but all others were owned privately. Operators of several large self-catering establishments which included houses, chalets or flats were also interviewed, but no attempt was made to contact the numerous individuals who operate small self-catering businesses. Table 1 therefore shows the total number of units in these categories as N.A. (Not Applicable).

Wardens in two of the district's three youth hostels were interviewed, and some information was obtained about the third. For purposes of analysis the hostels have been grouped with outdoor centres because of their similarities and the small number of each. Outdoor centres provide hostel-like accommodation plus instruction in sports and recreation, although several included in this category do not adhere strictly to this definition. Only one of the centres contacted in the survey was operated on a private, commercial basis, while all the others were owned by educational authorities, charitable foundations, churches or public agencies. Two part-time centres operated by educational authorities were excluded because they involved no full-time staff or programmes, and the three military centres in the district were also excluded. One private, part-time centre was ignored because it did not appear to be fully operational when contact was made.

The category of 'major tourist attractions' includes those establishments aimed directly at tourists, namely: the Aviemore Centre; Santa Claus Land (owned by the Aviemore Centre); Strathspey Steam Railway (owned by a non-commercial private association); Landmark Visitor Centre; Clan Tartan Centre (owned independently, but located
within the Aviemore Centre); and the Highland Wildlife Park. The Aviemore Centre is a resort complex with accommodation, facilities for recreation and entertainment, and shops. The Aviemore Centre owns a caravan park and the Chalets Motel on the site, but these have been surveyed individually along with the other independent hotels in the Centre. Another major tourist attraction in the Spey Valley is the Cairngorm Chairlift Company. It has been excluded from this category in Table 1 and in many subsequent calculations because of its somewhat different nature, but important information was obtained about the company and has been used where appropriate.

Included in the 'sports-related' category are ski-schools, centres for pony-trekking and riding, a fishing-school, and a school/guide service for outdoor activities. Two small operators were missed, owing to difficulty in making contact. The sports-related establishments were all owned privately.

Several other tourism-related establishments were contacted where it was felt that a significant, though not predominant, part of their business stemmed from catering to tourists. In this category were a fishery, a plant nursery with a tea room, an alpine plant nursery, the Highland Folk Museum (owned by the Highland Regional Council), and a manufacturer and repairer of skis. Retail and service establishments were otherwise excluded from the sample, although it would have been necessary to obtain detailed information about the operations if an analysis of economic multipliers had been planned. Local recreational facilities, such as golf courses and tennis courts, were also excluded from the interviews, although information was obtained about them from informed persons wherever possible. Manufacturing industries were also contacted, but the interviews were informal and aimed only at gaining an appreciation of links with tourism, if any.
Operators of establishments had been contacted by letter from the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation in order to request co-operation in the various surveys. Interviews began in April of 1978 and extended through September of that year. Interviews were sought with owners or proprietors, but wardens or managers and the like were acceptable when necessary. In family-owned establishments either the husband or wife were acceptable, although information obtained about owners refers to males wherever appropriate. In some establishments where owners could not be interviewed it was not possible to obtain all the desired information. Consequently, a short postal questionnaire was sent to the owners or head offices requesting answers to questions on key financial points. Eight of ten establishments contacted in this way responded, but the owners of two large hotels did not.

A sub-sample of operators was asked to complete the same subjective questionnaire that was included in the household survey and sent to a conservation-oriented group (see Appendix 5 for details). Those chosen to complete this additional form were intended to represent the district spatially and by types of establishments, although voluntary participation necessitated a non-random sample. It is believed, however, that the sample does represent adequately the population of owners who are resident in the district. Managers were excluded in all but one case.

Questions were asked about the age of the operations and any previous uses, but many owners were new to the district, so information on these points was restricted. Details of current ownership were requested, including the experience and motivations of owners. Some personal information was collected on the background of owners/operators. Facts were obtained regarding any expansions made to the facilities by current owners, and concerning
the effect of any financial assistance received for the original development or expansions.

Regarding the actual operation of facilities, the interviews covered policies on closing for part of the year, advertising and promotion, linkages with other businesses in the area, and the importance of coach tours to places of accommodation. Special attention was given to employment, including types and seasonality, and also the provision of accommodation for staff. Opinions were obtained on problems experienced by the operators, on things desired to improve business, and on the activities and policies of the Boards regarding financial assistance.

To supplement the questions on financial assistance, information was obtained directly from the STB, HIDB and the Countryside Commission for Scotland about their grants and loans given to establishments in the Spey Valley. The requirement to protect confidentiality meant that these data were used only in an aggregated format.

(D) Self-Administered Questionnaire of Visitors

Surveys of visitors are difficult to complete with a high degree of statistical reliability, and this problem was exacerbated by the need to cover a large area with diverse groups of visitors and pronounced seasonal fluctuations in numbers. A critical decision, therefore, was to determine the groups of visitors to be surveyed. This question is complicated even more by the problems involved in reaching visitors with questionnaires. Figure 5 shows the different groups of visitors expected in the study area, divided into sub-categories according to the purpose and duration of the visits. It was not known in advance what were the relative sizes of these groups.

A survey based in places of accommodation will capture all visitors staying overnight, with the exception
of 'wild-campers', those staying with friends and relatives, and users of second-homes. Surveys at specific sites would cover an unknown portion of day-visitors, or could encompass the majority of skiers or others engaged in specific activities. A cordon survey, as conducted previously in Scotland, (Carter, 1974; TRRU, 1975) is necessary to gain a reliable estimate of the whole population of visitors in a large area, but this was not feasible in the present research. Of vital interest to this study is the visitor staying overnight, and it was decided accordingly to canvass this group by distributing self-administered questionnaires in a sample of accommodation establishments. A supplementary survey by interviews was planned in order to obtain greater detail on certain questions and to provide a check against problems with the self-administered questionnaire. Those groups not covered by this approach were assessed to the extent permitted by available data. One exception was made for the survey in winter, when it was decided to distribute directly some questionnaires to skiers on Cairngorm.

Figure 5: Types of Visitors Expected in the Spey Valley

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOLIDAYMAKERS</th>
<th>OTHER OVERNIGHT VISITORS</th>
<th>DAY VISITORS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main Holiday</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centred in Part in Area</td>
<td>Conferences</td>
<td>Passing Through on Holiday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short Holiday</td>
<td></td>
<td>Normal Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centred in Part in Area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many hazards are associated with self-administered surveys (Davidson, 1970; Moser and Kalton, 1971), and the use of operators of accommodation as agents of distribution increases the difficulties. A random sample of establishments would be desirable, but in practice, as with the occupancy survey, one has to rely on voluntary
participation. An attempt was made to balance the types of accommodation by location in the district, although even this was subject to change as some operators withdrew their support or as it became clear that their participation was undesirable owing to a lack of proper attention to instructions (see Appendix 3 for details of the sample).

Once questionnaires had been given to the operators the researcher lost effective control over the implementation of the survey. On the other hand, the over-riding advantage of this approach is that a large number of visitors can be reached through a minimal effort on the part of investigators. Results obtained in this way cannot be used to estimate parameters of the whole population of visitors, as the requirement of a statistically random sample is absent, but valuable information can be obtained nevertheless. Care must be taken to consider any bias and to account for under-represented groups, but if the total response is large enough, some confidence can be expressed in the general representativeness of the sample.

Types of visitors in the Spey Valley change with the seasons, so five one-week survey periods were selected, with one each in the months of May, July, August, and October 1978, and one in February of 1979. May and October were considered to be off-peak times, and both July and August were chosen to cover the expected differences between the main times for English and Scottish visitors. The months from February to April are the main skiing season, but it was necessary to conduct the winter survey as early as possible during that period. Instructions issued to participating operators (see Appendix 3), if followed rigorously, would have assured that all parties arriving during the week would receive a questionnaire.

An attempt was made to keep track of the numbers of
questionnaires distributed by operators or held over from one survey period to the next. Unfortunately, this proved to be very difficult, owing to the casual approach of some operators, changes of staff at larger establishments, and the fact that some operators disposed of forms that were left over. The overall rate of response cannot be calculated without taking into account the wasted forms, and although an arbitrary amount, it is believed that a ten per cent allowance should be made. In Table 2 the number of forms distributed by the researchers to accommodation establishments and those returned by tourists are shown, but the overall response rate is calculated after deducting 10 per cent from the number of forms distributed to operators.

Table 2: Response to the Self-Administered Questionnaire Survey of Visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Period</th>
<th>Given to Operators</th>
<th>Returned by Visitors</th>
<th>Estimated Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May through October, 1978</td>
<td>3157</td>
<td>892</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February, 1979</td>
<td>934</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>4091</td>
<td>1142</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the surveys undertaken in May to October the breakdown of completed returns was as follows: 114 in May; 283 in July; 336 in August; and 135 in October. In addition, twenty-four other usable returns may be assigned to either July or August (owing to an administrative error). A small number of those returned in each survey period were not used, sometimes owing to obvious duplications by members of the same party and sometimes owing to the obvious spoiling of forms. The total number of usable returns was 1130. In February, approximately 270 of the distributed forms were given directly to visitors in car parks on the Cairngorm ski slopes. A random sample
cannot be obtained in this way, but some potential bias was eliminated by giving the questionnaires to all parties that would take them, including those in chartered coaches and public buses. Of 190 forms distributed by the author in mid-week, 112 were returned completed - for a response rate of 59%. It would appear that a personal appeal can achieve a much better response than distribution in places of accommodation. On the weekend an assistant handed out approximately eighty forms, but few of these were returned.

A small-scale test of the questionnaire and method was carried out in February of 1978, and several important changes were made as a consequence. A postage-paid, reply envelope was clearly needed, and this was included with all questionnaires in the main survey. Also, the length was shortened considerably by removing an insert page and redesigning the format. These changes were made somewhat intuitively, as the response to the test survey was very low and did not allow detailed analysis. A free gift had been attached to the pilot questionnaires (a programme for the Queen's Silver Jubilee visit to Scotland, provided by the STB), and this was retained for the main survey.

In part, the questions were to provide standard information comparable to previous surveys, such as the Scottish Tourism and Recreation Study (1973), and in part the questions had to reflect particular interests related to the case study. A map showing the villages of Spey Valley was included on the cover because it was reasoned that many visitors would not be acquainted with the area. With the remainder of the front page taken up by instructions, it was decided to leave the back page for comments and to confine all questions to the inside of the booklet. Following convention, personal questions were placed at the end.
Several questions covered the type and length of trips being made by respondents, as well as the number of nights spent in the Spey Valley. The size and composition of the party were noted, together with the number of children under the age of sixteen. In the case of parties travelling by coach, respondents were instructed to answer on behalf of only their personal travelling companions. In the winter, however, information was requested for the whole group if respondents were travelling by bus. The main mode of travel and the main type of accommodation being used in Scotland were noted, and it was also possible to identify the type of accommodation being used in the Spey Valley by a code placed on all questionnaires.

The countries of origin of visitors were requested, including the town and region of those from within Great Britain. All respondents were asked to indicate the number of times they had previously visited the Spey Valley for recreation or while on holiday, while all non-Scottish visitors were asked how many times they had previously visited Scotland. A short list of possible reasons for visiting the Spey Valley was presented on the questionnaire and respondents were asked to indicate their main reason for the visit, or to write in any other. It was also asked if visitors had intended to visit mainly the Spey Valley, if they had planned to visit the area while touring, or if they had not planned to stay there at all.

A list of major tourist attractions in the district was provided, and respondents were asked to indicate all those which had been visited by any members of their party during that trip. Similarly, a list of the main recreational activities which can be undertaken in the area was provided. This approach fails to cover minority pursuits but does reveal much about the main patterns of activities and preferences of visitors. Two questions
were addressed to expenditures made by visitors, both for their whole trip and while in the Spey Valley. The resulting data are probably not accurate, given problems of recall, but do yield a rough indication of the amount of money being spent in the study area. The interviews were to provide greater detail on this important point.

Personal data were requested about the age and sex of respondents (just the leader of the party), and about income (one of five categories), educational attainment (one of three categories), and employment (one of five categories). Owing to many non-responses in these categories, and to the fact that the status of respondents does not necessarily represent that of the whole party, analysis of these personal data is limited.

A number of questions on opinions were included on the back page of the questionnaire, with space allowed for written responses. Respondents were asked what they particularly liked and disliked about their visit in the Spey Valley, and also what they thought could be done to make the area better for visitors.

With over a thousand questionnaires returned, some confidence can be expressed in the survey's coverage of the major types of visitors and their activities, both in summer and winter. However, a major problem in analysing the data was to account for bias and to consider the implications of non-randomness. It is difficult to see, even with hindsight, how this survey could have been improved significantly, given the impracticality of doing a full cordon survey. Surveys at sites probably would have obtained a better rate of response, but would have been strongly biased towards specific groups of visitors. The key factor in this survey was the variation in care taken by operators of accommodation in distributing and explaining the questionnaires to visitors, and this will always be outside a researcher's control. In large and
diverse tourist areas this major problem will always occur, and it is probable that truly random samples will not be attainable.

(E) Interviews With Visitors

This survey was conceived as being supplementary to the main questionnaire survey described above. It was to provide a check against problems with responses to the self-administered form, by containing most of the same questions, and was to elicit greater detail and accuracy on several important points. Interviewing tourists is much more time-consuming than other methods, but should yield more reliable results. No target number was set, but it had originally been hoped to interview several hundred visitors. This proved impossible owing to various constraints, and this survey can therefore be used only as an exploratory device. Several important points were revealed, but the survey is not representative of the population of visitors as a whole.

As in the self-administered questionnaire, it was desirable to interview visitors at their places of accommodation. In addition, since time would be a major constraint, it was decided to interview only those at the end of their stay in the district (on their last or next to last day). This was important to ensure that information was received about entire visits, otherwise there would be a bias towards those newly-arrived or in mid-visit. Interviewers had therefore to screen potential respondents and talk only with those meeting this criterion. A larger problem was the actual contact with potential respondents, given that some operators of accommodation establishments did not wish to co-operate and most visitors are at their place of accommodation for only a brief part of the day. Campsites and sites for static caravans were the easiest to canvass, since interviewers could walk through the site and approach all visitors
Interviewing took place between July and September of 1978, and in February and March of 1979. A small number of the interviews in February were completed on the ski-hill at the same time that self-administered questionnaires were being distributed directly to visitors. This approach has its advantages, but can only be employed in fair weather. Table 3 shows the number of interviews completed in the summer and winter, according to the type of accommodation used by respondents.

Table 3: Interviews Completed With Visitors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Establishment Used by Visitors</th>
<th>Summer 1978</th>
<th>Winter 1979</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hotels</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Catering Sites</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touring B and B/ Guest Houses</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviews included most of the questions asked in the self-administered questionnaire (see Appendix 3), with several important differences. Fuller information was obtained about the whole group, including age, sex, and marital and employment status. The direction of travel being taken by respondents was queried, and greater detail was obtained on the types and locations of activities undertaken within the Spey Valley. More detail was also requested on expenditures made within the study area, with the amounts for goods and services broken down into specific categories. This question was supplemented by asking how much food, if any, had been brought from home. Questions were asked about any contacts made between visitors and local residents, and whether or not visitors thought the Spey Valley would be a good place in which to live.
Interviews With Staff in Temporary Accommodation

This survey was intended to provide a better understanding of staff using temporary accommodation provided by tourist establishments. Special attention to this group was warranted because it had been assumed in advance of the survey that all occupants of the large blocks of accommodation for staff would be transients, employed seasonally or intending to stay in the area for only a brief period. This was a reasonable assumption in light of the fact that the accommodation provided in such blocks often requires the sharing of rooms. The survey would, therefore, reveal much about an important aspect of the tourist industry and also supplement the household survey which was aimed at permanent residents.

Three staff blocks were surveyed, but permission to canvass a fourth was not given. The Aviemore Centre operates a large block for its staff and the other establishments located in the Centre. Two of the hotels in the Centre also have blocks of their own for staff. Lists of residents in two blocks in the Aviemore Centre were obtained from management and a 25% sample was sought. Interviews were conducted in July and August of 1978, with respondents contacted by visiting the blocks at various times until all were interviewed or until it was established that the intended respondents had departed. Respondents were identified by choosing every fourth name on the lists, but substitutions had to be made when some could not be located. The rate of turnover of staff in these two places was fairly high.

In the third block surveyed, at a large hotel at Coylumbridge, near Aviemore, no list of occupants was available. Consequently, a 25% sample was taken by quota, with the ratio of males to females being estimated on the basis of information supplied by management. Respondents in this establishment were contacted in their rooms, as
available, or in queue when they were paid. Fifty-three interviews were completed in the three establishments, and while they cannot be considered a random sample, there is good reason to believe that it was generally representative of staff in the summer. In winter, the types of staff and their numbers will be somewhat different, reflecting the absence of students and the attraction of skiing to certain types of staff.

It is known that small numbers of staff were missed in both the surveys of households and staff in temporary accommodation. These were staff actually living in hotels in the Aviemore Centre or at Co ylimbridge, and staff living in several static caravans in the Centre. Their numbers are relatively small, but little can be said about them in comparison with staff in the large blocks.

Interviews were brief, taking only five or ten minutes at most. The questions were somewhat exploratory, as little was known about this group in advance. Questions were asked about the background of respondents and their motivations for coming to the Spey Valley. Details of their current jobs were obtained, including wages and benefits such as free food or accommodation. Staff were asked if they had any special training or experience in doing their current work. It was noted whether or not the respondents were students and if they held permanent or temporary positions.

The future plans of respondents were examined, and opinions were sought on the place of work and the Spey Valley in general. Recreational activities and any membership in local groups were covered, and a question was asked about the proportion of their wages which respondents usually spent within the district. Personal information obtained in the interviews included age, sex, marital status, birthplace and home address (if different).
Caution is required when drawing inferences about the whole population of staff in the district. It must be realised that the data apply only to one group of staff, albeit a large and very important one, and seasonal variations occur in this population. It would have been desirable to sample the residents of staff blocks in winter, but this was not possible because insufficient time was available.

(G) Household Interviews

Interviewing residents in their homes proved to be the most complex survey of this research, in terms of preparation, implementation and analysis; but it was also the most rewarding as it permitted the author to speak directly with many local people about a wide variety of topics. It was desirable to obtain as large a sample as possible, and yet constraints of time had to be taken into account when devising the sample. In the event, it proved even more difficult to conduct the survey than had been expected, so the decision to commence with a small sample was found to be justified.

Taking the household as the basic unit of sampling held important advantages, namely, the inclusion of all members in important questions and the ability to select a good mix of respondents by age and sex for the subjective portion. Furthermore, household units are more readily contacted than are individuals. Only two types of lists were available for the selection of the sample, namely the electoral roll and the valuation roll of assessable property. The first of these lists includes only persons able to vote, and the second lists only properties, so that a random sample of all adults, or of all persons aged sixteen and over is not possible if based on either list. By combining the lists virtually all housing units in the district could be identified, and if a unit was later discovered to contain more than
one household it could be added to a list for supplementary sampling. This proved to be unnecessary, however, as no unlisted households were found.

One problem associated with this approach was the fact that the valuation roll dated from 1975 and the electoral list was prepared in November of 1977. As a result, it is possible that a few new dwellings were missed, although it was known that no new housing estates were built subsequent to the compilation of the electoral list. Also, some double-counting may have occurred where addresses or descriptions were ambiguous. These would have been very minor errors. Substitutions were found to replace derelict properties, second homes and housing used for the purpose of commercial self-catering. Hotels and the large blocks of accommodation for staff in Aviemore and Coyllumbridge were excluded. Also left out of the survey were a hospital and a home for pensioners, as it was felt that residents of these institutions would not be amenable to interviews. Residential caravans were another problem, and it is probable that a few were not listed at all. For the largest site for residential caravans the approximate number of units was known, and this was added to the lists before sampling.

To generate a wide geographical spread throughout the district the smallest sub-areas delimited in the electoral lists were employed, and 4% of the households in each were selected randomly by means of a list of random numbers. This method does not affect the overall sample and no weighting is required when combining data from all sub-areas. However, owing to the rounding of numbers, two or three more cases are generated in this way than by the alternative of taking the sample from an aggregated list for the whole district. A total of 153 potential interviews was selected.

Where an address was given in the lists, potential
respondents were written in advance of the survey to request co-operation. Half-way through the period of survey (April-September, 1978) a second letter was sent to those who had not yet been interviewed to say that contact was imminent. Some bias may have accrued from the long period of survey, such as potential respondents moving away, but it was not possible to complete the work quicker. A large proportion of potential respondents were not listed in the telephone directory, and in these cases a personal visit was necessary to arrange an appointment. Several calls were necessary to find some respondents at home, and there is no choice in such surveys but to arrange interviews to suit the needs of respondents.

An overall response of 86% was achieved (132 out of 153) and this high figure can be attributed to persistence in calling respondents until a definite reply was obtained. The number of interviews completed within each sub-area and the relevant number of refusals or cases that were not feasible (because some potential respondents were too old or infirm to be interviewed properly) is shown in Appendix 5.

Samples were too small to permit analysis of individual sub-areas. It is also true that drawing inferences about the whole population on the basis of a 4% sample requires caution. Much of the analysis, therefore, is limited to exploratory work. Some possible biases have already been mentioned, to which can be added the bias arising from non-response. At least nine of the failures to secure an interview occurred in households consisting of middle-aged or elderly women living alone. This group appeared to be most uncommunicative, although it is suspected that a female interviewer has a slightly better chance of securing interviews with this type. Other non-respondents were, seemingly, of no particular group and were probably random refusals due to personal reasons. Analysis of the data must therefore consider the
implications of under-representativeness of older persons, and particularly of older women.

One important objective of the survey was to reveal differences between sub-groups of the population, and it was realised that only a small number of farming households would be obtained in the 4% sample. Accordingly, it was decided to complete a supplementary random sample of farming households using a list provided by the National Farmers' Union of Scotland as the sample frame. The list contained almost all the farmers and crofters in the district, but did not contain farm labourers. Ten potential respondents were selected in a random fashion and eight interviews were completed in the late autumn of 1978 by an assistant living in the district. An abridged version of the household interview was used. In two cases interviews were not completed owing to difficulty in finding the respondent or unwillingness to participate. For analytical purposes this sub-sample is treated separately from the main household survey.

Instructions were prepared for interviewers, and a copy is contained in Appendix 5. Guidance for the preparation of the survey was obtained from several conventional sources and other relevant research (Oppenheim, 1966; Atkinson, 1968; Moser and Kalton, 1971; TDSU, 1976). An effort was made by the author to instruct assistants in the conduct of these interviews, and to check their results. No attempt has been made to quantify any errors which may have arisen from faulty interviewing, but the author is satisfied that a high standard was maintained. Not all interviews could be conducted under ideal circumstances, and two were only partially completed. In others some specific questions were missed, so the total number of responses to each question varies slightly.

The heads of households were to be interviewed, but
it was hoped that all members of households would be present at the time of the interview. This was not always possible, and other members were sometimes interviewed when the head of the household could not be (or would not be) available. Part Two of the interview contained the subjective questions, and it was initially intended to get a random sample for this portion by employing the 'birthday rule' (i.e., the respondent would be the person whose birthday fell next in the calendar). Unfortunately, because all members were not present in many circumstances, this approach was not feasible. Also, because there are many households consisting of only women, the number of male respondents for Part Two tended to be low. In later interviews, therefore, interviewers used discretion in order to secure a better balance of male and female responses and, if possible, a mix of ages. The sample for Part Two is not strictly random, but it does, however, possess the general randomness of the sample of households.

A number of detailed questions were asked about the heads of households, including their birthplace, migrations, total number of years lived in the district, and previous residences. Motivations for moving into (or back to) the district were also queried. Data for all members of the household were obtained regarding age, sex, marital status and relationship to the head of the household. Any plans by the household or individuals to move out of the district were examined, as were previous moves made by close relatives of the head and the head's spouse.

Housing was considered, including tenure and any problems experienced in finding suitable accommodation in the district. Respondents in houses rented from the District Council were asked if they believed they should be allowed to take in paying guests (it was the policy of the Council to forbid this activity), while private households were asked specifically about the provision of
accommodation to paying guests. A series of questions focussed on visits by friends and relatives made in the past year to the respondents' homes.

Considerable attention was given to the subject of leisure. Questions examined membership in groups, visits to tourist-related facilities and places within the district, participation in recreational activities, and the ownership of related equipment. Respondents were asked about any holidays taken during the past twelve months, and about any places or facilities in the district which any member of the household particularly liked or disliked. Patterns of shopping for day-to-day and major needs were also examined.

With a view to assessing social links, respondents were asked about friends and relatives living in the district and the frequency of visits with them. One question required an opinion on the things respondents had in common with their local friends. Several questions focussed on cultural pursuits, including use of the Gaelic language, participation in traditional Highland dancing and music, and the holding of friendly Ceilidhs.

Employment was assessed in detail, with data collected about all members of households (if applicable) on: their occupation(s); name of employer(s); location of job(s); number of years on the job(s); whether or not unemployed during the past twelve months; and income in one of five categories. In addition, extra information was collected about the heads of households regarding (if applicable): the number of persons supervised or employed; the number of other jobs held previously in the district; months in which they were unemployed during the last year; and the proportion of total income derived from the main job, if more than one was held. Heads of households were also asked about their educational attainment.
A set of questions was included exclusively for farming households. These concerned any produce sold locally, problems associated with farming in the district, and opinions on what could be done to improve farming in the area. Although not questioned specifically, interviewers did make notes on the nature of farm operations and produce.

Part Two of the household interview contained the main subjective questions. If there was a different respondent for Part Two, information was obtained about his or her birthplace and the number of years lived in the district. Respondents were then asked what they thought would make the Spey Valley a better or a worse place in which to live. Depending on information obtained in Part One, respondents were asked if they really wanted to leave the district permanently (if they were planning to do so) or, otherwise, if they would like to move away. Several questions were included to test awareness about, and opinions concerning the tourist industry, including views on the benefits and problems brought by the development of tourism.

The portion dealing with satisfactions and attitudes was on a separate sheet which was handed to respondents. It contained a list of items about the area to which respondents indicated their degree of satisfaction on a scale of 0-10, and 24 statements about the area for which a response of agree, strongly agree, uncertain, disagree, or strongly disagree was required. In some interviews this section was completed by one respondent while another member of the household answered questions. To complete the interview it was asked if respondents would like to make any other comments relevant to the research, and these were noted at the discretion of interviewers. No effort was made to tabulate the comments, but in many cases they provided valuable insights and extra information on important points made during the interview.
A special survey of young people was desired as a supplement to the household survey. The main objectives were to reveal perceptions of the area and to determine whether or not the development of tourism had some effect in keeping school-leavers in the district. Rectors of the two secondary schools in Badenoch-Strathspey (at Grantown and Kingussie) agreed to allow the distribution of questionnaires to a sample of students in the 14-17 age group. The survey was conducted in May of 1978, at a time when some students had just left school permanently, though many of those sampled would be leaving in the next year. Only those older students were included because it was felt that younger ones would not have evaluated seriously their prospects and preferences for careers. A random sample was requested, but the actual selection was left to the rectors. It is believed that the final sample is representative, as the total of 77 completions covered a large proportion of students in that age group.

Only 15 or 20 minutes were required to complete the questionnaire, including a short written composition. Respondents were asked for their age, sex, birthplace and the number of years they had lived in Badenoch-Strathspey. A number of questions focussed on leisure, including membership in groups outside school and opinions on what facilities for young people were needed in the area. Nine statements about the area and tourism were listed, and the students were instructed to indicate agreement or disagreement with them.

Respondents were asked if they had a good idea of what they wanted to do upon leaving school and, if so, to write in their intentions. Those indicating that they would be leaving school in that year or the next were also asked to reveal their plans. Several questions
concerned jobs the students may have had in the district during the past twelve months. Finally, the short written composition was to include the students' impressions of the Spey Valley, emphasising its good and bad points and what could be done to make it better.

(I) Postal Survey of Members of a Conservation-Oriented Group

A conservation-oriented group was active in the Spey Valley, and some attention has been given in this thesis to its aims and actions. The Likert attitudinal scale employed in the household survey contained statements designed to assess, among other things, attitudes toward conservation. It was therefore desirable to obtain some validation that the items did elicit feelings for or against conservation, and it was reasoned that members of the conservation-oriented group would display strong tendencies that could be used as a base point when assessing the same attitude in others.

Members of the group were all sent the separate section containing the scales to measure satisfactions and attitudes. A list of members had been provided by the group and out of approximately 35 members, 23 completed forms were returned in the stamped envelopes which had been included. In addition to the scales, some personal information was requested from respondents on their age, sex, birthplace, and the number of years they had lived in the district.

(J) Interviews With Professionals and Community Leaders

Numerous informal interviews were held with officials, professionals and persons in positions of responsibility in the community. A great deal of background information was obtained in this way, but the principal reason was to secure information and opinion about social
issues and problems. Very little published data exist at the local level regarding social concerns, and so emphasis has had to be placed on how informed residents perceive the situation. Of course, there is a danger that local bias is strong, but an advantage lies in the diversity of views obtained. Every effort has been made to compare opinions with available facts.

The number and types of persons interviewed in this way is listed in Table 4. Meetings with officials for other purposes are excluded, as are purely social visits. More than one police officer was contacted, but a formal interview with the Chief Inspector of the district was the main contact.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position/Occupation</th>
<th>Numbers Interviewed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer Group Leaders</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District or Regional Councillors</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Council Members</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physicians</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The content of these informal interviews varied considerably, but the author (who undertook them all) attempted to direct discussions along parallel lines. This was not always possible, but in general all respondents provided some opinion and information in response to the following questions:

- What have been the main social and cultural changes evident in this area?
- What are the main problems and how widespread are they?
- How serious are they, relative to other areas?
- What can and should be done about these problems?
- What are the prospects for the future of your community?

Interviews were spread throughout the area, so that persons in all the main villages were contacted, as well as in rural areas. When interpreting the opinions, variations in locational perspective and in the actual knowledge of respondents about social issues had to be taken into account. The views of some respondents are considered to be more relevant than those of others.
PART TWO - THE CASE STUDY

CHAPTER FOUR

BADENOCH-STRATHSPEY IN PERSPECTIVE

The main function of this chapter is to present the context within which the effects of tourism can be assessed. The location, resources and general pattern of land-use in the study area are discussed first, followed by a review of the main trends and characteristics of the population of the district and of the Highlands. This also serves to delimit major aspects of the so-called "Highland Problem". Attention is then directed toward employment, with a focus on the tourist industry. A more detailed historical sketch is contained in the Appendices for those readers interested in greater historical perspective. The latter part of this chapter assesses the policies of Local Authorities and other public agencies which affect development in the study area. Emphasis is placed on support which has been given to the development of recreation and tourism, including details of financial assistance.

(A) Location, Resources, and Resource-Use

Location: Badenoch-Strathspey is a Local Authority District within the Highland Region. It also lies within the jurisdiction of the Highlands and Islands Development Board, a public agency charged with promoting the economic and social well-being of this remote part of Great Britain. The district is usually considered to be part of the Central Highlands of Scotland, a region dominated by the Grampian Mountains. By road, the study area lies approximately 60 kilometres (100 miles) north of Edinburgh and 32 kilometres (20 miles) south of Inverness. It is approximately 60 kilometres (36 miles) long and its
average width is close to 20 kilometres (12 miles).

Figure 6 shows the study area in the context of the British Isles in general, and the Regions and main cities of Scotland in particular. Within the Highland Region the Districts are also shown. It should be noted that the jurisdiction of the HIDB covers a larger area than that of the Highland Region Local Authority, with the major differences being the inclusion of Argyll and Bute, the Western Isles, Orkney and Shetland within the HIDB area.

Geology and Physiography: The Grampians are a rugged upland area dissected by prominent faults and river valleys, the most pronounced of which is the valley of the Spey. It lies between the predominantly granitic Cairngorm range (Britain's most extensive land mass above 900 metres) and the Monadhliath range to the north and west. This latter range consists of metamorphic schists and is more gently undulating, with elevations between 600 and 900 metres (Price, 1976).

Development has been strongly influenced by the mountainous terrain, and by the fact that most of the district lies above 450 metres in elevation. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate how the main valley is used intensively for settlement, agriculture, forestry and transport. It is a well-defined area, in perceptual terms, as the main roads take motorists over high, bleak passes along the A9, and secondary roads lead through narrow valleys or over passes. This feature helps to shape the district's character and gives it a degree of homogeneity.

Glaciation altered dramatically the landscape of Badenoch-Strathspey. Although the mountains were generally rounded, the Cairngorms contain some spectacular scenery in the form of glacial troughs and corries (cirques) (Sissons, 1967). Fluvio-glacial features now dominate the floors of valleys (Sugden, 1974; Young, 1977),
and this has been an important factor in shaping soils and land-use.

There are no known mineral resources in the area which would justify mining. However, there is an abundance of rock, sand and gravel which are exploited for local uses.

Soils and Agriculture: As is general throughout the Highlands, soils in the study area are thin or absent in the higher elevations and tend to be wet peat in poorly drained portions. Blanket peat bog is common in the Monadhliath range and in some of the valleys (Ratcliffe, 1974). In the valley of the Spey itself, alluvial deposits have provided a narrow belt of arable soils, although drainage and flooding present problems. For the most part, the soils derived from granitic and metamorphic parent material are not suitable for arable farming, especially in the Highland climate (Heslop, 1974). There are approximately 345,000 acres of agricultural land in the district, of which only 1% is arable and 7% consists of improved grassland (Inverness County Council, 1974).

Large estates dominate the agricultural sector of Badenoch-Strathspey, although many of these contain tenant farms as well. Sheep-rearing dominates the upland farms, particularly in the southern parishes, while cattle-rearing is the main activity elsewhere. Arable land is devoted mainly to the production of fodder crops, and there is little production of crops for cash. Only about six dairy herds can be found in the district, with the remainder being for beef or breeding. Long-term trends in agriculture have been towards the elimination of small holdings, either by the consolidation of holdings for better productivity or by estates taking back tenancies (Turnock, 1975), and the reduction of land under tillage (Coppock, 1976). Approximately 1,615 acres of land in the district are associated with crofting,
which is a form of small holdings on estates which falls under special legislation to provide security of tenure. This is not a significant aspect of farming in the study area compared to other parts of the region.

Planners for the Highlands Regional Council have found that farming has become less important to the economy of the Spey Valley, partly because of a decline in related employment and partly because of the upsurge of tourism (Highlands Regional Council, 1978). It was concluded by the planners that probable changes in this sector would not in any significant way affect the district's patterns of settlement or land-use. One major reason for the loss of jobs in agriculture throughout Great Britain has been mechanisation, although other social and economic factors have been contributory causes (H.M. Treasury, 1974).

Climate: The Spey Valley itself is somewhat sheltered from the prevailing south-western winds, making it markedly drier than Scotland's west coast. The Central Highlands experience a more continental climate, relative to other parts of the British Isles, but the Cairngorm massif produces harsh microclimatic effects (Green, 1974). Annual precipitation ranges from approximately 90 cm. or less in the valley floor to over 200 cm. in the high mountains. Temperature and wind velocity often become extreme with altitude, so that visitors to the hills must be warned of potentially sudden and harsh changes in the weather.

A consequence of these climatic conditions is that the Cairngorms are the snowiest part of Britain, with obvious implications for winter sports (Perry, 1971). Skiing, however, is not favoured with European-type weather, and a paucity or surplus of snow often makes the sport impractical. High winds sometimes close the chairlifts, and roads up the mountains can be blocked by sudden
snow-storms. The most suitable conditions for skiing occur in late February, March and April, although it may be feasible in late autumn or in May. In recent years the winters have been colder and snowfalls have been more enduring, so skiing in Scotland has gained considerably. Snow seldom stays long in the valleys, however, and this limits outdoor activities such as ski-touring, curling or ice-skating. Nevertheless, ski-touring has been gaining in popularity, with the forest trails in Glen More providing the best opportunities off the mountains.

Water Resources: High rainfall in the mountains, sometimes augmented by snowmelt, can produce sudden floods along the River Spey and its shallow tributaries. Indeed, the name Badenoch means "drowned land" (Thompson, 1979), and centuries of work on improving drainage in the valley has not eliminated the problem. Of the district's rivers, only the Spey provides a reliable, deep flow throughout most of the year, and this helps to make it a major stream for angling. Canoeists have also been attracted to its waters, leading to conflicts with the fishing interests.

Small and large lochs (lakes) throughout the study area are an important visual amenity and a resource for recreation, although the two largest lochs in the south of the district (Lochs Laggan and Erich) are little used, except as storage reservoirs for the generation of hydroelectricity by plants located to the south. Facilities for water-sports have been developed on Lochs Insh and Morlich, and fishing is available on most of the district's small bodies of water.

The numerous small burns (streams) flowing from the mountains and through forests add immeasurably to the attractive Highland landscape which appeals to so many visitors. Pure, soft water is also an essential ingredient for the distillation of whisky. Three distilleries
Vegetation and Forestry: The centuries-long exploitation of native forests, for both fuel and timber, has reduced coverage to a few highly-regarded remnants of Caledonian pine-woods (O'Sullivan, 1973). Scot's pine in a natural setting is a major feature in Glen More, Rothiemurchus, and Abernethy, and some of the best stands are protected by statutory conservation designations. Elsewhere, modern plantations (virtually all coniferous) and commercial logging operations are an important activity. Native birch is also widespread in the valleys, and the birch-wood at Craigellachie behind Aviemore is a National Nature Reserve. Birch has no commercial value, however, and is often adversely affected by the grazing of cattle in winter. On the high ground of Badenoch-Strathspey trees are absent, and a large expanse of natural alpine vegetation is to be found in the Cairngorms (Ratcliffe, 1974).

Forestry is a valuable economic activity in the study area, and it appears that its potential for growth is limited more by competition with other land-uses than by resources. Unfortunately, forestry does not generate large numbers of employment, largely due to the increased use of mechanisation, and it has been found to be an expensive way to create employment (H.M. Treasury, 1974). Recreational use of the forests has become very important to the tourist industry in the Spey Valley, and is a major function of the Forestry Commission at Glen More. Overall, private plantations exceed the area owned by the Forestry Commission, accounting for some 13,590 ha. out of 19,900 ha. of managed woodland. Only about 20% of this area consists of mature trees (Highland Regional
Several saw-mills operate in the district, utilising local trees. The largest of these are at Boat of Garten and Carrbridge. However, the bulk of locally-produced logs are sent to Fort William for the production of paper or pulp.

**Wildlife and Management of Game:** The great diversity of wildlife in the Spey Valley has long been an attraction for both conservationists and sportsmen. Birds that are rare in Great Britain inhabit the district's moors and forests, notably the golden eagle, crested tit, dotterel, peregrine falcon, osprey, ptarmigan and crossbill (Nethersole-Thompson and Watson, 1974). Red and black grouse and the huge capercaille are common and are popular game birds. Grouse moors are managed by burning to cultivate a new growth of heather, and this practice is especially significant on shooting beats in the Monadhliath range near Kingussie.

Salmon and trout inhabit waters in the district and the Spey is one of the country's best rivers for fishing. The beats north of Boat of Garten and past Grantown are the best for salmon. A wide variety of mammals can be observed in Badenoch-Strathspey, including otter and wildcat. Red deer are managed in large herds for the commercial production of venison and for sport-stalking. The smaller roe deer is also the object of sport-stalking, but this is generally confined to woodland habitat. A small herd of Lapland reindeer has been introduced into the Cairngorms, for mainly commercial purposes, but this also acts as a tourist attraction.

**Advantages:** Although the Spey Valley shares most of the limitations imposed on the Highlands by climate, geology and relief, it nevertheless possesses some advantages over more remote parts of the region. Communications are
better for the study area, both by road and rail, and improvements in the A9 highway are bringing the area much nearer to the central urban belt of Scotland in terms of time and convenience. Farming is better along the valley of the Spey than it is in most parts of the Highlands even though it is quite disadvantaged in comparison to the climate and soils of the Lowlands. Perhaps the most important of the area's resources are those which make it an attractive place for visitors desiring peace and quiet, beautiful scenery, and opportunities for recreation. These assets are of increasing importance to the nation's urban population.

(B) Population: Trends and Characteristics

Trends: A critical aspect of the Highland Problem has been a long-term process of depopulation. This can be attributed to both the meagre resources available for exploitation and to general social and economic changes. The most dramatic and devastating change was the so-called Highland Clearances which involved the forced evacuation of many Highlanders to make room for sheep. Prebble (1963) identified two main periods of clearances: from 1782-1820 and from 1840-1854. Northern counties were affected the most, but Badenoch-Strathspey was cleared to a lesser degree (Nethersole-Thompson and Watson, 1974). Other factors which acted to reduce the region's population were the so-called agricultural improvements, which resulted in the elimination of many small holdings, and the conversion of moorland and forest into sporting estates where red deer or grouse predominated. Emigration from the Highlands was considerable, and those who remained were subjected occasionally to famines (Scottish Economic Council, 1938).

Although the opening of railways through the Spey Valley in the latter decades of the nineteenth century brought some related development and encouraged small-
scale tourism, only the main villages were able to retain their population or actually grow. In the current century the effects of two wars and economic depression exacerbated long-standing problems. Several studies found that the Highlands suffered from a low rate of natural increase in population, rising average ages, and poor social and physical conditions for living (Scottish Economic Council, 1938; Hutchinson, 1949). High rates of unemployment and emigration from the Highlands continued after World War Two (The Scottish Council, 1973), but the trend has evidently been reversed with recent developments related to the discovery and exploitation of oil in the North Sea. The population of the Highlands and Islands has increased since 1971 (Scottish Development Department, 1977), although this growth has been concentrated in a few areas, and in many remoter parts of the region depopulation continues unabated.

Table 5 summarises changes in population for the period 1801-1971, which are the limits of data available from the census. Badenoch-Strathspey is compared with all of Scotland and the Highlands (consisting of approximately the same area as the modern HIDB region). Two other Local Authority Districts within the region, Nairn and Skye/Lochalsh, are also compared with the study area in this and later tables as all three contain current populations of a similar size. There have been changes in the boundary of Badenoch-Strathspey over the years, notably that the village of Grantown and the surrounding parish of Cromdale were within Moray County until 1975, but these have been taken into account when compiling the table. Data for Skye and Lochalsh are not available for the earlier years.

It can be seen that the population of the region was at its greatest in the nineteenth century and then declined until 1961, although Scotland as a whole continued to grow in population during the whole period. Badenoch-
Strathspey followed the regional trend of a decline in population, and also of a modest increase since 1961, but remote districts such as Skye and Lochalsh have continued to decline. Nairn actually remained at approximately the same size between 1961 and 1971, although the presence of naval vessels offshore gave the appearance of growth.

### Table 5: Changes in Population From 1801 Through 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Highlands</th>
<th>Nairn</th>
<th>Skye and Lochalsh</th>
<th>Badenoch-Strathspey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1,608,420</td>
<td>302.8</td>
<td>8322</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>8919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>2,888,742</td>
<td>395.5</td>
<td>9956</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>11987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,472,103</td>
<td>341.5</td>
<td>9291</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>9968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,096,415</td>
<td>285.8</td>
<td>9719</td>
<td>10957</td>
<td>9497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>5,179,344</td>
<td>277.9</td>
<td>8423</td>
<td>10034</td>
<td>9029</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>5,227,706</td>
<td>283.0</td>
<td>11051*</td>
<td>9725</td>
<td>9309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:** Data for the Highlands are given in thousands, rounded; 1901 statistics were not available for the Highlands and the 1911 figure was therefore substituted.

* The population of Nairn in 1971 was swollen temporarily by 2709 naval personnel.

**Source:** Census of Scotland, 1971 (County Reports).

Within the study area a similar trend is evident (see Table 6), with the rural sub-areas experiencing a continuous decline and the main villages remaining stable in population or actually growing. The civil parishes and enumeration districts within the study area are shown in Figure 9.

Two of the most rural parishes in the Spey Valley, Alvie and Laggan, experienced a continuous loss of population since 1801, whereas Abernethy/Kincardine and Cromdale parishes had a high peak in the middle of the nineteenth century with subsequent continuous losses. Kingussie/Insh parish contains the villages of Newtonmore,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Parishes</th>
<th>1801</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>2187</td>
<td>3990</td>
<td>3229</td>
<td>2682</td>
<td>2620</td>
<td>2464</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duthil/Rothiemurchus</td>
<td>1578</td>
<td>1788</td>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2272</td>
<td>2191</td>
<td>2842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abernethy/Kincardine</td>
<td>1457</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>1099</td>
<td>1008</td>
<td>889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvie</td>
<td>1058</td>
<td>914</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie/Insh</td>
<td>1306</td>
<td>2201</td>
<td>2194</td>
<td>2393</td>
<td>2268</td>
<td>2324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>1223</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8919</td>
<td>11,987</td>
<td>9968</td>
<td>9497</td>
<td>9092</td>
<td>9309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Villages</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grantown Burgh</td>
<td>1334</td>
<td>1568</td>
<td>1541</td>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie Burgh</td>
<td>646</td>
<td>989</td>
<td>1075</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>1104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aviemore</td>
<td>(Not Available)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>635</td>
<td>1156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newtonmore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>859</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat of Garten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>376</td>
<td>407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrbridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>303</td>
<td>398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nethybridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>377</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durnain Bridge</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>222</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kincraig</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalwhinnie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>132</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Census of Scotland, 1971 (County Reports) for data on Civil Parishes, Grantown and Kingussie; Data for other villages for 1961 is from: Inverness County Council, Cairngorm Area Plan, 1965; for 1971, from Highland Regional Council, Badenoch and Strathspey (Draft) Local Plan, 1978.
and Kingussie, and its population has remained quite stable in comparison with the other parishes. Cromdale parish contains Grantown village, which has grown in population, so it can be concluded that the rural portion of the parish suffered a great loss in population over the same period. Duthil/Rothiemurchus parish contains Aviemore, and it is this village, of all the settlements in the Spey Valley, which grew most rapidly between 1961 and 1971. Aviemore had been an important junction for the railway until the mid-1960s, and the development of tourism came at a crucial time when employment in the railways was reduced drastically. It has been estimated that the growth of population in Badenoch-Strathspey has been modest since 1971, with its population in 1976 estimated at 9,397 (Highland Regional Council, 1977). Aviemore is thought to have grown to a population of approximately 1,350 in 1976.

Migration: The 1961 Census of Scotland revealed that out-migration from the Highlands and from the study area was occurring at a rate higher than the compensating rates of natural increase and in-migration. This trend continued through 1966, as recorded in the partial census of that year, but has subsequently been reversed. The HIDB has concluded that almost all the growth in population in the Highlands between 1961 and 1971 was due to in-migration (HIDB Annual Report, 1976), and the Scottish Development Department found that during the 1971-1975 period the study area experienced an annual average rate of growth of 1.84%, of which fully 1.32% was attributed to net migration (SDD, 1977).

A closer examination of patterns of migration affecting Badenoch-Strathspey is warranted. The Census of Scotland contained questions on migration in 1961, 1966 and 1971. In 1961 and 1966 data at the level of districts was very limited. In 1971 questions were asked about the address of respondents one and five years previous to the
census, thereby providing an indication of patterns of migration. Data for the five-year period are used herein because they are more revealing of trends.

There are significant limitations in the use of such data. Intervening moves are ignored, so all that is known of migrants is that they had a different address five years previous to the census. Only 10% of the population was queried on migration, and only those at home on the day of census. Also, persons born between 1966 and 1971 were excluded, as were those who died or left the U.K. in that period. Consequently, the census may contain sampling errors and probably under-estimates total migration. The total volume of migration into and out of the study area cannot be estimated reliably from the census because those who both entered and left the area between 1966 and 1971 are not counted at all. Many transient workers would fall into that category. Another limitation, important in the context of this research, is that there is no way of telling whether or not an in-migrant was returning to his/her native home, or whether or not an out-migrant was a previous in-migrant.

A table showing moves within, out of and into the study area for the five-year period preceding 1971 is contained in the Appendices. In all three types of move, females are seen to be more inclined to migrate than are males. Although a direct comparison of figures for in-migrants and out-migrants is not possible, for reasons mentioned previously, it is obvious that total migration was very significant for a district containing approximately 9,000 people. It appears that in-migration exceeded out-migration during the five-year period by 1,700 to 1,080 persons, but the absence of data on out-migration to destinations outside Great Britain precludes firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that such migration was of a small scale and at least partially offset by the estimated 30 persons who moved into the study area
from outside the United Kingdom.

Data on migration for sub-areas of the district are more limited. Table 7 presents figures on migration for the one-year period preceding the 1971 census, comparing the Highlands (roughly the same area as the HIDB jurisdiction), Inverness County (which contained the study area until reorganisation of local government in 1975), the two small burghs within Badenoch-Strathspey (Grantown and Kingussie), and the remaining parts as they were known before reorganisation (Badenoch and Cromdale).

Table 7: Migration During the One-Year Period Preceding 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Immigrants From:</th>
<th>Emigrants To:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>12460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverness County</td>
<td>5330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantown</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badenoch</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Data on emigrants to England and Wales are from a 10% sample and have been multiplied by ten; those shown by * are unspecified figures of 0, 1, or 2 in the 10% tables; all other data are from the 100% sample.

Source: Census of Scotland, 1971 (Migration Tables)

The Table shows that the number of immigrants to the study area was a higher proportion of its total population than were similar proportions for the county and the region. Although these data exclude emigrations to destinations outside the U.K., it can be seen that Grantown and Cromdale experienced a small loss due to migration while the Badenoch and Kingussie sub-areas experienced a gain. The table also shows the relative importance of
Scotland and England/Wales as sources of in-migrants, with Grantown (of the sub-areas) having the highest proportion of immigrants from outside Great Britain.

More detailed data on migration for the sub-areas are available from the small area statistics in the census. Table 8 shows the number of migrants entering each enumeration district during the five years preceding the census. The figures are from a 10% sample and have been multiplied by ten in order to depict more realistically the magnitudes, but it must be cautioned that such data should be interpreted only as a rough indication of trends. These figures also differ from totals for the district as a result of procedures used in the census. However, this does not appear to alter the relative distribution of in-migrants within sub-areas of the district.

Table 8: Migrants Into Badenoch-Strathspey (By Enumeration District) For the 5-Year Period Preceding 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration Districts</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.W.D.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>S.W.D.</td>
<td>M.</td>
<td>S.W.D.</td>
<td>M.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantown ............</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale ............</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverallan ...........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie ..........</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abernethy ..........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvie ..............</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat of Garten ....</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duthil .............</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie N .......</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie S .......</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan N ...........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan S ..........</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rothiemurchus ......</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals .............</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>550</td>
<td>1890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: S.W.D. = Single, Widowed, Divorced; M. = Married. Data obtained from a 10% sample and multiplied by 10.

Source: Census of Scotland, 1971 (Small Area Statistics)
Rothiemurchus, containing Aviemore, attracted more in-migrants than the other sub-areas – particularly in the category of unmarried females. Grantown, Kingussie and Duthil also attracted large proportions of the total number of in-migrants, while rural sub-areas, especially Laggan and Cromdale, attracted very few. It should also be remembered that Grantown and Cromdale in the one-year period preceding 1971 suffered a net loss from migration. This must have held true as well for the small villages and other rural areas which lost population between 1961 and 1971.

The characteristics of migrants are important indicators of how the population is changing in response to development and growth, or of how the existing population is affected by continuing losses. Data for the five-year period preceding 1971 show that more females than males were involved, and more married than single persons. Persons aged between 25 and 49 years constituted the largest group. These dominant characteristics also held true for in-migrants, although single females in the group aged 15-24 years were a more significant component than for out-migrants. For the factors of age and sex, therefore, it appears that net migration was contributing to a better balance within the population, even though a surplus of single females was indicated. This surplus is undoubtedly related to opportunities for employment in tourism.

Turning to the origins of in-migrants, the census showed that approximately 84% of males and 82% of females arriving in the study area from other parts of Great Britain actually came from Scotland. Similarly, the vast majority of out-migrants from the Spey Valley went to other parts of Scotland. The Highland Region as a whole, during the same period, attracted about 35% of its in-migrants from outside Scotland, so it appears that the study area had less appeal to migrants from outside
Scotland. For both the Highland Region and Badenoch-Strathspey, Strathclyde Region was the largest source of in-migrants, while London/South-East England was the largest source outside Scotland. The Grampian and Lothian Regions were the other large sources of migrants into the Highlands, but for the study area other parts of the Highlands contributed significantly.

It may be misleading to examine only the origin of in-migrants, in the sense that their birthplaces are thereby concealed. A proportion of those persons arriving in the study area from outside Scotland are probably returning natives — a point corroborated by findings of the household survey. The census did not provide the birthplace of migrants, so it is necessary to examine this characteristic in the whole population of the study area. In 1961 the proportion of residents of Badenoch-Strathspey who were born in Scotland was 92.7%, while in 1971 that proportion had fallen to 89.1%. By comparison, 99.4% of the population of the Highland Region in 1971 was born in Scotland. The proportion of the population of Badenoch-Strathspey who were born in England or Wales was 7.9% in 1971, compared with a figure of 6.9% for the Highland Region. The Spey Valley does not seem extraordinary in that respect, although the district had a higher proportion of females who were born in England or Wales than did the Region. Within the large villages of the district, there was a higher proportion of persons born outside Scotland. At the extremes (for enumeration districts) were Aviemore/Rothiemurchus, with 84% of its residents born in Scotland, and South Laggan with fully 96% of its residents born in Scotland. This is additional evidence to support the conclusion that rural sub-areas attracted fewer in-migrants than did the villages.

Information on birthplaces was collected in the field surveys of households, students, staff, and operators of facilities, and those data provide an interesting
supplement to the census. In the household survey it was found that approximately 19% of the heads of households were born outside Scotland, while in the survey of students it was found that 18% were born outside Scotland. Neither of these surveys were based on a truly random sample, but it is evident that a significant proportion of the area's population is non-Scottish by birth. This segment also seems to be growing, and much of the increase might be attributable to a high demand for labour in the tourist industry.

The survey of staff found that almost 50% of the respondents in three staff blocks (in or near Aviemore) were born outside Scotland, and 17% of that sample was born outside the United Kingdom. In the survey of operators of tourism-related facilities it was discovered that 31% of owners who resided in the district were born outside Scotland. The combined evidence suggests that recent growth has acted to increase the number and proportion of non-Scottish residents in the study area.

A phenomenon not covered by the census is the propensity for people to leave the Spey Valley and later move back. This could indicate a natural process of seeking new experiences, later to return home, or it could reflect changing opportunities for employment. Whatever the explanation, the household survey found that it was a common occurrence.

The survey considered the most recent move away from and back to the study area, so the data may actually underestimate the scale of this phenomenon. Also, moves strictly for service in war were excluded from consideration and only current heads of households were included. Fully 41% of heads of households in the sample who had been born in the study area had left the district and returned at least once, with an average of 8.1 years spent outside the Spey Valley. This pattern is well established
and undoubtedly reflects a long-standing trend for Highlanders. Regarding those heads of households born outside the study area, it was found that 13% of them had moved away and returned at least once.

As a result of this tendency to migrate temporarily, data contained in the census will tend to exaggerate out-migration by natives and in-migration from outside Scotland. The total effect of this distortion is unknown, particularly because the movement of heads of households in the sample does not necessarily apply to all members of their households at the time of sampling.

Also included in the household survey were questions on past out-migrations by close relatives of respondents. No doubt problems with recall make these data imprecise, but it is, nevertheless, informative. In fully 45% of all the sampled households at least one close relative had in the past migrated from Badenoch-Strathspey. Of 38 households in the sample with heads born in the district, 26 reported some previous out-migrant(s). The family of a head's spouse was also included in these data.

Regarding those persons described as being past out-migrants, it was found that more males than females were mentioned overall, but in the past 10 years apparently more females than males had migrated. At the time of their departure from the Spey Valley the vast majority of out-migrants were between the ages of 16 and 39, confirming the often observed point that out-migration from the Highlands constitutes a drain on young people of working ages. An opposite trend is also at work in the district, with many older people moving in for retirement, but this does not help the district in terms of employment and stability of the population.

Characteristics of Age and Sex: For a population to remain stable there must be a rough balance between the
sexes and an adequate number of persons in the ages conducive to the formation of families. Data on age and sex in the population of the study area, and in the Highland Region, are tabulated in the Appendices. Figure 10 presents a graphical summary of data on characteristics of age and sex in the enumeration districts of the Spey Valley, with the Badenoch portion (i.e., excluding Grantown, Kingussie and Cromdale/Inverallan) displayed separately.

In the Highland Region in 1971 there was a very small excess of females (50.2% of total population), whereas in Badenoch-Strathspey in 1971 the proportion of females was higher, at 52%. This excess was even higher in the two small burghs of Kingussie (53.3% female) and Grantown (53.7%), although both villages had a slightly smaller excess of females in 1971 than in 1961. Badenoch, however, which excludes the small burghs, experienced a slight increase in the proportion of females between 1961 and 1971 (50.2% to 51.5%). No comparable data are available for Aviemore for 1961, but it is certain that the proportions of age and sex in that village changed dramatically in response to tourism-related growth during the decade.

As expected, the difference between males and females as a proportion of the total population is greatest in the older ages, being in part a reflection of the fact that women tend to live longer than men. However, the study area also displayed a higher proportion of older persons in both sexes than was found in the whole Highland Region. Data published by the Scottish Development Department (1977) showed that in 1971 the study area contained 19% of its population in the retired category, compared with an average of only 15.4% in all of Scotland and an average of 18.5% in rural Scottish districts. Conversely, in 1971 only 22% of the study area's population was aged 0-14, compared with an average in all of Scotland
of 25.9% and an average for all rural Scottish districts of 24.3%. It can be seen, therefore, that Badenoch-Strathspey suffered even in 1971 from an imbalance in respect to age and sex which was greater than average for rural Scottish districts and the Highland Region. Much of this imbalance can be attributed to the out-migration of younger persons, and some can be attributed to the popularity of the district as a place for retirement.

The electoral districts shown in Figure 10 are arranged from left to right in ascending order of the size of their populations. Badenoch, which excludes the small burghs of Grantown and Kingussie as well as Cromdale/Inverallam, is presented separately. It is evident from the graph that most of the variation in proportions of ages and sexes in the districts cannot be attributed to the size of population. Rothiemurchus stands out as possessing the most youthful population, and this must be caused in large part by the inclusion of staff in Aviemore and Coylumbridge. The most affected ages are 15-29 years, which account for approximately 35% of the population of Rothiemurchus and only about 25% of the population of Badenoch. The proportion of females in the younger ages in Rothiemurchus is also higher than in Badenoch. In the other enumeration districts their small populations can distort the picture, making them appear to be youthful in nature, although very slight changes in migration can yield large differences in proportional terms.

It can be concluded that, despite a decade of tourism-related development in the Spey Valley, there was no significant, overall improvement in the district's imbalance of ages and sexes. Since 1971 there has probably been more improvement, at least in the larger villages, but there are no data available to confirm this suggestion. The continuing imbalances in the area's population do not detract from the importance of recent
Proportions of Total Populations in Age Groups, and by Sex, in Enumeration Districts of Badenoch-Strathspey, 1971

Numbers in each age group show the proportions of males. (Figures have been rounded)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enumeration Districts</th>
<th>1971 Population</th>
<th>% Male</th>
<th>% Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A - Laggan North and South</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>51.1</td>
<td>48.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B - Alvie</td>
<td>397</td>
<td>49.6</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C - Boat of Garten</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D - Abernethy</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>52.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E - Duthil</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F - Cromdale and Inverallan</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G - Kingussie Village</td>
<td>1104</td>
<td>46.6</td>
<td>53.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H - Kingussie North and South</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I - Grantown</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>46.3</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J - Rothiemurchus</td>
<td>1649</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K - Badenoch Average (excludes Grantown, Cromdale and Inverallan, and Kingussie Village)</td>
<td>5741</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>51.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Scotland, 1971, Small Area Statistics.
developments but they do point to the serious nature of the problem which must yet be rectified.

The Gaelic Language: One other characteristic of the population which has important implications in the Highlands is the proportion of residents who speak the Gaelic language. This may be interpreted as an indicator of cultural uniqueness. In Badenoch-Strathspey the use of Gaelic has fallen along with the general decline in the area's population. This may be attributed to the out-migration of many natives, the in-migration of southerners, and close contact with English-speaking persons through education, the military, and tourism (Nethersole-Thompson and Watson, 1974). Remoter parts of the region, notably the western islands, have retained a greater use of Gaelic because of their isolation.

The 1971 census provided an indication of trends in the use of Gaelic in Badenoch-Strathspey, and these data are tabulated in the Appendices. It was revealed that less than 5% of the study area's population in 1971 spoke Gaelic, and its use was higher in the southern parts of the district. This low usage may be compared with the year 1891, in which over 60% of the district's population spoke Gaelic.

In light of the decline of the Gaelic language and a long history of contact with the south, together with recent developments and consequent in-migration, it is not possible to describe the study area as having traditional culture. Rather, it is more correct to speak of a predominantly rural community, at least until the 1960s when developments began to impose outside influences in a major way. These influences are discussed more fully in Chapter Six.

(C) Employment

Overview: In the first section of this chapter the
study area's resources and primary industries were examined. Employment in all sectors of the local economy is now examined, followed by a closer look at secondary and tertiary industries. Table 9 compares the study area with the Highland Region and Scotland as a whole with regard to the proportion (and for the study area the estimated number) of jobs in major sectors of the economy. The figures are taken from the 10% sample in the 1971 census and, accordingly, numbers for the study area have been multiplied by ten in order to present a realistic estimate. Self-employed persons are included in the tabulation.

Table 9: Employment by Economic Sectors, Including the Self-Employed, In 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Highland Region</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utilities and Transport</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution and Services</td>
<td>2190</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>47.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>4030</td>
<td><strong>4.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>8.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Numbers for the district are from a 10% sample and have been multiplied by ten. Proportions do not necessarily add up to exactly 100.0%, due to rounding in the census. Source: Census of Scotland, 1971 (Compiled by the Highland Regional Council, 1978).

Another view of employment, using a different classification, is presented in Table 10. These data are taken from surveys in 1974, but they exclude the self-employed component. The dominance of services and distribution in Badenoch-Strathspey is apparent in the two tables, and,
compared with other rural districts in Scotland, the study area has a low proportion of employment in manufacturing. The tables refer to persons in employment and do not distinguish between part and full-time jobs.

Table 10: Employment by Economic Sectors, Excluding the Self-Employed, In 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Rural Scotland</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>32.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>73.2</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>55.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Proportions do not necessarily add up to exactly 100.0%, due to rounding.

Source: Department of Employment; Department of Agriculture and Fisheries (compiled by the Scottish Development Department, 1977).

A more detailed examination of employment within the study area is provided by small area statistics in the 1971 census, though only on the basis of a 10% sample. Table 11 shows these data for enumeration districts in the Spey Valley.

Rural sub-areas are clearly distinguished in the table by high proportions in the agricultural sector. Distribution and services are proportionally very high in Grantown, Kingussie, Kingussie North and Rothiemurchus, indicating dependence on retailing and tourism. Manufacturing is highest in some of the rural sub-areas, but the establishments employing these people are not necessarily in the same enumeration districts. However, the location of distilleries in Cromdale and Laggan South raises their proportions in manufacturing.
Table 11: Employment by Economic Sectors In Enumeration Districts of Badenoch-Strathspey, In 1971 (Self-Employed Included)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>Ag</strong></th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Manu</th>
<th>Con</th>
<th>Util/Trans</th>
<th>Dist/Serv</th>
<th>Gov</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grantown Village</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inverallan</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie Village</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abernethy</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alvie</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boat of G.</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duthil</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie N.</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie S.</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>43.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan N.</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laggan S.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rothiemurchus</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>56.5</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

** Ag = Agriculture; Min = Mining; Manu = Manufacturing; Con = Construction; Util/Trans = Utilities and Transport; Dist/Serv = Distribution and Services; Gov = Government.**

**Source:** Census of Scotland, 1971 (Small Area Statistics)

**Activity Rates:** These are statistics which show the proportion of potential workers who are actually working or seeking work. High activity rates are the norm for males, but not necessarily for females. When calculated, males aged 15-65 and females aged 15-60 are included. As some persons beyond the normal age of retirement may actually hold jobs, the calculated activity rates may tend to distort slightly the real situation. Compilations by the Scottish Development Department (1977) from the 1971 census show that the Spey Valley had a rate of 98.1% for males, compared with a Scottish average of 93.8%, and for females a rate of 59.6% compared with the Scottish.
average of 58.3%. The rate for females in the study area takes on a greater significance when compared with all other rural districts in Scotland. No rural district in the Highlands and Islands had an activity rate as high as that of the Spey Valley for females, and elsewhere only several of the textile-manufacturing areas in the Borders Region had higher rates, along with one other district.

Results of the household survey corroborate these observations. Of 215 females covered in all households, of all ages, 47 held one full-time job, 48 worked part-time on one job, six held two or more jobs working full-time, and one held two or more jobs working part-time. Excluding the females at school or those of younger ages, almost 64% of females held a paying job.

An aspect of employment not covered in the activity rates is the number of jobs taken by students and those under the age of 15. In the survey of secondary students in the Spey Valley it was found that fully 84% of respondents held a paying job in the district during the preceding year (or at the time of survey). Of these, tourism-related jobs were dominant (47% of the total) with the majority being in hotels and catering. Jobs in shops accounted for another 33% of the total. There were more females in shops and tourism-related jobs, while the males dominated in recreation and tourist facilities, farms and estates, and in petrol stations. Interestingly, students native to the district were much more likely to have worked in shops than in tourist establishments.

Unemployment: Given high activity rates, it would be logical to expect low rates of unemployment in the study area. This has in fact been the case, when compared with other areas. The proportion of the workforce classified as unemployed in June of 1971 was estimated to be 4% in Badenoch-Strathspey (5.7% for males), compared with an
average of 5.4% in Scotland (7.2% for males). In June of
1976 the estimate was still 4% for the study area (5% for
males) with a Scottish average of 6.7% (8.2% for males)
(SDD, 1977).

During 1971 and 1976 only a few other Highland dis-
tricts had rates of unemployment lower than the study
area, namely Inverness, Orkney and Shetland, while most
had higher rates. These ranged (in June of 1976) from a
rate of 4.2% in Nairn to 16.2% in the Western Isles
(SDD, 1977). The overall trend in the Highlands from the
late 1960s through 1977 was a gradual lowering of unem-
ployment but, ironically, the so-called oil boom actually
resulted in higher unemployment in the most affected
areas of Inverness and Moray Firth (Hughes, 1979).

Details of trends in unemployment in the study area
are tabulated in the Appendices. Males suffer from higher
rates of unemployment than do females, with winter being
worse than summer for both males and females. Summer is
the peak season for tourism in the study area, but it is
also probable that unemployment in the winter would be
much greater without the skiing season.

In the household survey eleven persons were noted as
being unemployed (7 males), of which seven were heads of
households. However, this category included the sick and
unemployable, which may result in an over-estimate of
unemployment. The survey also found eleven others who had
been unemployed during the past 12 months. Seasonality in
the tourist industry probably accounts for some of this
unemployment, while some can be attributed to normal
changes in jobs. On a related point the survey found that
almost 60% of heads of households who had been born in
the Highlands had held more than one job in Badenoch-
Strathspey during their working lives, while only about
one-third of others had done so. Part of this difference
may stem from the relative lengths of residence of
respondents, but it is believed also to be a reflection, at least in part, of a greater propensity to change jobs.

Manufacturing: The traditional manufacturing industries of distilling and saw-milling have already been mentioned. In addition, the district has been able to attract in recent years, with assistance from the HIDB, several small engineering-related industries. These are a manufacturer of engineering machinery at Aviemore, precision engineering at Kingussie, and the making of equipment at Grantown. There is also a game processor at Cromdale village and a foodstuffs manufacturer at Grantown.

More significantly, in the context of this research, are the manufacturers with links to tourism. Crafts have flourished in Scotland, so much so that the HIDB has set up a centre to train and advise workers in the industry. Tourism is responsible for much of the impetus to growth, and this applies to the study area as well. In 1965 an establishment was set up near Aviemore for the making of pottery, the owner being attracted by qualities of the district and its developing tourist industry. The operation expanded in 1976 by the opening of a second plant, this time in Kingussie. Retail selling was at first very important to the firm, but wholesaling and exporting have become dominant. In addition to pottery, ceramics with original designs are now produced. In 1978 approximately 50 persons were employed on a full-time basis in the two plants. Two other small manufacturers of crafts operate in the district, with one in Aviemore — a spin-off from the large firm — and one in Nethybridge.

Another tourism-related industry sprang from the initiative of a ski-instructor who saw a potential for the making and selling of ski hats. This business opened in Aviemore in 1974 and expanded in 1978. Retail selling declined considerably as the firm gained wholesale and export markets. In 1978 it employed eight full-time
workers, three of which were males.

A manufacturer of skis moved into Aviemore in 1974, after several years elsewhere in Scotland, and this firm has expanded to include retailing, repairs, and the making of other equipment for sports. A new expansion was planned for 1979, on the same site, and export markets were becoming more important to their business. In 1978 the firm employed six males full-time and two females part-time.

Kingussie also has two small manufacturers of equipment for sports. The operator of a ski-school has expanded into the making of sticks for the game of shinty, and also into the repair of skis. The operator of a nearby water-sports centre has started to manufacture canoes. These two establishments employ only a few people on the manufacturing side of their operations.

Financial assistance by the HIDB, in the form of grants, loans, and the construction of factories (in advance of need) for rent or sale, has been instrumental in attracting and encouraging the expansion of most of the district's manufacturing industries. Advice and other assistance has also been given on the actual operation of these businesses and in the pursuit of export markets.

**Construction:** In the 1960s and early 1970s there was considerable activity in the local construction industry, mostly related to tourism. This has declined in recent years, with only occasional activity in new facilities or expansions. The slow rate of growth in the district's population generates only a modest need for the construction of houses. More important has been the building of new segments of the A9 highway which has provided many jobs for local people and outsiders (a fact not recorded in the 1971 census as construction in the Spey Valley has been at its peak in the period from 1976 through 1980).
However, many local observers fear a serious increase in local unemployment when the roadworks are completed.

Tourism: Chapter Five contains an outline of the development of tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey, together with a detailed description of the components of the industry. At this point it is desirable to present the main findings of field surveys concerning employment. Table 12 shows the estimated number of jobs provided directly by tourism in the district, broken down by three sub-areas and by types of job. The Central sub-area refers to Aviemore and the corridor through Coylumbridge to Cairngorm. North and South are the remaining parts of the district in relation to the central concentration of development. A more detailed tabulation of these data, including jobs in each specific type of tourist facility, is presented in Appendix 2.

Information collected in the survey regarding employment was quite complete, although there are a number of points which must be considered when analysing the results. First, the categories of extra jobs in summer and winter will hide variations in numbers throughout the year. This is especially true in large establishments where seasonal and transient staff come and go without predictability. Consequently, the figures provided by some operators refer to estimates of "normal" staff complements at various times of the year. Second, estimates have been made for the few establishments which did not provide data on employment. These estimates were based on the numbers and types of jobs available in other establishments of a similar type and size. Not included in the tabulation are individual operators of bed and breakfast places and self-catering operations, although the several large self-catering establishments that were surveyed have been included. Hotels, guest houses, youth hostels, outdoor centres, major tourist attractions and sports-related schools/centres have been included, but several
establishments catering to tourists on an ancillary basis have been ignored. The Cairngorm Chairlift Company and Aviemore Centre are also taken into account for this table.

Table 12: Estimate of Employment Created Directly by Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey (1978)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-Areas</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All-Year, Males</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time: Males</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-Year, Females</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-Time: Females</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Summer, Males</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time: Females</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Summer, Females</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Winter, Males</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-Time: Females</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extra Winter, Females</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table reveals that in 1978 tourism in the Spey Valley generated directly approximately 1,150 full-time jobs, of which 42% were for males. In addition, another 209 part-time jobs for the full year were created, of which 23% were for males, and a large number of seasonal jobs existed - particularly in the peak summer months.

To place these data in perspective, it can be reiterated that the 1971 census found approximately 4,000 persons in employment (see Table 9) and another 205 seeking work in the study area. Regional planners estimated that in 1976 the number of jobs available in Badenoch-Strathspey had risen to approximately 4,250 (Highland Regional Council, 1978). It is reasonable to assume that the growth in jobs available in the district between 1976 and 1978 was small, given a low rate of increase in the population and the fact that no major developments
occurred, so it can be estimated that employment in tourist establishments in 1978 accounted for approximately 30% of all jobs in the study area. This figure does not include many individual operators of self-catering or bed and breakfast establishments, services and retailing, manufacturing, or other establishments catering to tourism on an ancillary basis.

The dominance of Aviemore and the central part of the district in terms of employment in tourism is evident from Table 12. That sub-area accounted for 65% of the full-time jobs for males and 59% of the full-time jobs for females in tourism. Major sources of employment for males are the Aviemore Centre, large hotels, and the Cairngorm Chairlift Company, although small hotels throughout the district are also a significant source.

In many small tourist establishments the families of owners are the only full-time employees. This was the case in 94% of full-time jobs in guest houses, 37% in small hotels, 58% in the several self-catering establishments covered by the survey, and 30% in places offering instruction in sports. However, in the main sources of full-time employment there was found a negligible proportion of staff who were members of the owners’ families.

Extra help in winter is not required by most establishments, other than for short, peak periods such as at Christmas, New Year, Easter and some weekends. Consequently, the figures on Table 12 for extra jobs in winter may apply only to short periods. An exception is the ski-related facilities which take on many part or full-time staff just for the winter. These jobs are listed mainly under the central sub-area in Table 12, where some of the offices exist, but in fact many of the staff stay in hotels elsewhere as resident instructors. The chairlift company is most active in winter, when it doubles its staff, but it is also able to maintain many all-year jobs
by operating the chairlift for non-skiers and doing maintenance or other work in summer.

Women are predominant in part-time jobs in tourism, and a few of these jobs may actually be taken by the same persons. This high demand for part-timers is an important benefit, for it gives local women the means to supplement family incomes. Some facilities, especially in Aviemore, operated regular mini-bus services to outlying villages in order to collect staff, but there are also opportunities for part-time work in all the villages.

Employment in Badenoch-Strathspey is concentrated in the larger villages, although during the previous several years construction of the new A9 road had dispersed many jobs throughout the valley. Aviemore Centre is the largest single source of tourism-related employment, and this has had an effect on patterns of commuting. In the household survey most travel to work was found to be within villages or the same rural sub-area, but all the main villages attracted some commuters. Aviemore drew the most from outside, and from the farthest distances, with more females than males involved. The mini-bus service to some outlying villages assisted this commuting.

Aviemore also sent the largest number of workers outside the district. This phenomenon of local men (with resident families) actually living away from home for employment highlights the long-standing difficulty in finding suitable work in the Highlands. Offshore oil-rigs, roadworks, construction of drilling platforms and other jobs attract some men from the district to travel great distances for short or long periods. The numbers involved were small, accounting for about 3.6% of all jobs recorded in the household survey, but there were many residents who feared that the number will increase when local work on the
A9 is finished. Another 2.7% of the sample worked in Inverness, but this involves commuting on a daily basis.

Respondents in the survey of tourism-related establishments were asked what proportion of their seasonal help was obtained locally, as opposed to brought in from outside the district, and what proportion of this help consisted of students. The data are tabulated in Appendix 2, and although not complete, they do show that at least 300 staff in summer and at least 80 in winter were brought into the Spey Valley. These are low estimates owing to some non-responses in the survey. It should also be noted that many permanent staff have been imported as well.

Small establishments bring in few employees, whereas large operations are forced to import many. Conversely, small establishments appeared to bring in more students, although the total number of students employed seasonally was a small proportion of all such jobs in the district.

Retailing and Services: Tourism generates expansion of retailing and services to meet needs as diverse as petrol, food, souvenirs and laundry. No special survey of employment in this sector was undertaken, but some information obtained from the Census of Distribution and from a field survey of land-use can be presented.

Badenoch-Strathspey, between 1961 and 1971, enjoyed the highest growth rate in retail turnover of all rural districts in Scotland (Scottish Development Department, 1977, from the 1971 Census of Distribution). While average growth in turnover in Scotland was 15.5% and in the rural districts was 17.6%, the Spey Valley experienced an increase of 51.4%. The number of retail establishments in the district during that decade only grew by 5.8%, but this compares with an average decline of 8.4% in Scotland and a decline of 5.9% in all rural districts. Regional planners attributed the exceptional growth almost wholly
to the expansion of Aviemore, with a relatively stable situation being present in the other two important centres of Kingussie and Grantown (Highland Regional Council, 1978). Table 13 shows the growth of retailing in the district between 1961 and 1971, broken down by sub-areas.

Table 13: Changes in Retail Distribution in Sub-Areas of Badenoch-Strathspey, 1961 - 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Shops</th>
<th>Turnover (£,000)</th>
<th>Total No. of Employees</th>
<th>Full-Time Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kingussie</td>
<td>1961 34</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 27</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badenoch</td>
<td>1961 52</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 70</td>
<td>1347</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grantown</td>
<td>1961 49</td>
<td>541</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 46</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cromdale</td>
<td>1961 5</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1961 140</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1971 147</td>
<td>3050</td>
<td>503</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of Distribution, 1971

The data in the table concerning turnover have not been deflated to 1971 value, and the real increase in turnover for the decade was approximately 51% (SDD, 1977). Only the Badenoch sub-area experienced a gain in the number of shops, and this can be attributed mostly to Aviemore. The number of employees and full-time employees increased throughout the district, undoubtedly owing in large part to the spending of visitors to the area.

A survey of services and facilities was conducted by the author in the summer of 1977 to assess the number and types available in each settlement (full results are displayed in the Appendices). The three large villages of Grantown, Kingussie and Aviemore possessed the fullest range of facilities and services, but Aviemore lacked
some of the things which might be expected, such as a secondary school, medical clinic, furniture shops, library, solicitor and jeweller. Instead, with its emphasis on tourism, Aviemore had the best supply of indoor recreational facilities, the largest number of establishments for drinking, more shops and schools for sports, a large number of restaurants/cafes, and many shops selling souvenirs and crafts. Several types of establishment, namely a bookshop, health and beauty shops and a launderette, were found only in Aviemore. The various amusements in Aviemore Centre and Santa Claus Land were also unique to that village.

It is not possible to say which, if any of these facilities and services would not exist in the Spey Valley without the extra spending of tourists, but there can be little doubt that many establishments benefit in a major way from this source of income. The positive effect on increased opportunities for employment seems to be clear, although the concentration of development in the main villages has resulted in little gain, or actual losses in the number of establishments in smaller settlements.

(D) Policy and Planning

Evolution of Responses to the Highland Problem: Early concern for chronic problems in the region was manifested in the Napier Commission of 1884, the Crofter's Holding Act of 1886 and the establishment of the Crofter's Commission in 1887 (Scottish Economic Committee, 1938). These efforts were aimed at providing security of tenure for small landholders and did not tackle underlying difficulties in the regional economy. A policy of free-trade was dominant in the nation until the depression of the 1930s, and then came many measures to combat industrial decline (McCrone, 1969). Most of these actions, however, were not very relevant to the rural Highlands.
Tourism was recognised early in this century as a potential tool in developing the Highlands, as witnessed by the "come to Scotland" campaign launched in the 1920s and the establishment in 1930 of the Scottish Travel Association under the auspices of the Secretary of State for Scotland. This organisation stressed the potential of tourism for creating jobs and checking the trend of depopulation. Also in the 1930s the Scottish Economic Committee was engaged in studying the problems of the region. In 1938 they made recommendations for action to advance conditions in the Highlands; improvement in roads and communications; regulation of charges for freight; appointment of a development commissioner for the whole region; attraction of industry; and support for tourism (Scottish Economic Committee, 1938).

According to the Committee, tourism was to be spread out in the region, and the concept of national parks was rejected because they would tend to concentrate tourists. In 1939 the Committee placed even greater emphasis on tourism, saying that it was probably the Highland's most important source of revenue next to agriculture. This led to recommendations for: better roads and infrastructure; giving financial assistance to hotels; studying ways to lengthen the tourist season; and undertaking more promotion (Scottish Economic Committee, 1939).

A Highlands and Islands Advisory Panel was organised in 1946 by the Secretary of State, but it lacked the resources to undertake comprehensive surveys of the problem (Hutchinson, 1969). A private study in 1949 pointed to the need for a comprehensive regional planning statement based on full local and regional surveys, and "re-colonisation" on a small scale was recommended for some areas (Spaven and Geddes, 1949). That report also favoured the encouragement of tourism, especially middle-income visitors who would use small hotels or private houses, and it called for a development area and the designation of new
towns. Also in 1949 a study was completed concerning the depopulation of rural Scotland. It was sponsored by the Scottish Department of Health (Hutchinson, 1949) and concluded that general dissatisfaction with the rural way of life was the main factor explaining out-migration. Diversity of opportunities for employment and better amenities were needed to support rural communities, the report argued.

In the post-war period, tourism was elevated to greater prominence as a potential benefit to the Highland economy, and its role in social welfare was also recognised (Heeley, 1975). Nevertheless, for some time the traditional economic activities received greater attention in discussions of the Highlands. The first modern governmental statement on policies for development relevant to the region was released in 1950 (Programme for Highland Development, HMSO, Cmnd. 7976), but tourism and manufacturing were not emphasised. In 1959, a review of Highland development in a government white paper did pay greater heed to tourism, but agriculture, forestry and fishing still dominated (Hutchinson, 1969).

Regional policy was a major force in Great Britain in the 1960s. Attempts were made to achieve co-ordination of economic planning at all levels and the integration of economic planning with physical planning (McCrone, 1969). A National Economic Development Council was created, and two government white papers dealt with the economic deterioration in north-east England and central Scotland. Later in the decade, eight economic regions were set up throughout Great Britain, each with an advisory planning board (McCrone, 1969). Scotland was a single region in this strategy, but the problems of the Highlands were vastly different from those of the industrial regions.

In 1962 the Scottish Development Department advised local authorities on countryside conservation and tourism,
recommending that each authority stimulate the provision of tourist facilities by means of development planning procedures. In most cases this was met with a lack of interest, largely because no money from the central government was made available for local developments in tourism and recreation (Carter, 1977). However, government grants were given in 1965 to the Scottish Tourist Board (then a voluntary body) to launch a series of studies of tourism in Scotland (Scottish Tourist Board, 1969).

With the establishment of the Highlands and Islands Development Board in 1965, formal planning for development of the region became possible for the first time. The Board replaced the old Advisory Panel, and was given funds and staff to conduct research and make substantial investments. Responsibility for the planning of land-use, however, remained with the local authorities. Another body pertinent to planning for tourism came into being in 1967 when the Countryside Commission received its mandate, and in 1969 the Development of Tourism Act established the new statutory Scottish Tourist Board as the governmental agent for promoting tourism and administering relevant schemes of assistance. This framework of agencies has given a new impetus to the potential use of tourism in regional development in Scotland. These bodies and other relevant agencies are discussed in the following paragraphs.

**Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB):** The act which set up the HIDB gave it the task of promoting the economic and social development of the region, while assisting the area to "...play a more effective part in the economic and social development of the nation." (Highlands and Islands Development (Scotland) Act, 1965). This remit naturally leads to a strong pro-development stance, although the Board cannot ignore the social implications of any of its plans.
The HIDB may review all matters pertinent to development of the region and it must report on such matters to the Secretary of State for Scotland. Specific powers of the HIDB include: the acquisition of land; construction of buildings; provision of equipment and services; acting as an agent for businesses; giving advice and services to businesses; forming or acquiring shareholdings in companies; and making grants or loans for developments or social projects.

From its inception, the HIDB explicitly rejected the option of formal development plans. In consideration of the region's diversity, remoteness, and the rapid changes which might be imposed on it, the Board believed that a formal plan could not take into account the many factors which would be significant. As well, it was considered to be essential that swift action could be taken to secure desired developments as the potential arose, and for this reason a flexible approach was necessary. This does not mean that planning studies and various strategies for development have not been pursued, but it does point to an important difference between the HIDB and the Scottish Tourist Board on the matter of tourism in the Highlands, and it marks a departure from what is sometimes thought to be 'normal' planning for development.

Tourism, from the very beginning of the HIDB, was recognised as being an important industry for Highland development (HIDB, 1975). Agriculture and forestry were seen to have little potential for creating new opportunities for employment (HIDB, 1966), and manufacturing was thought to be the most urgent need. This would be especially important, reasoned the planners, if the serious problem of out-migration by young people was to be solved. Depopulation was perceived as being the main issue, while the situation in the north-west and in the islands was considered to be in greatest need of attention.
The idea of establishing growth points in the Highlands had been active in the Scottish Office for several years prior to the establishment of the HIDB, but the means of implementation had been absent (Hutchinson, 1969). The new Board came to regard the areas around the Moray and Cromarty Firths (on the east coast, near Inverness) as the principal zone for industrial growth. This idea has become practical as a result of oil-related developments. Minor industrial growth points were also given status in 1966 in a white paper which set out the framework of HIDB policies (The Scottish Economy: A Plan For Expansion: 1965-1970, HMSO, Cmnd. 2864, 1966). In this document the HIDB was directed toward:

- concentrating on labour catchment areas and those places offering the best hope of "viability";
- developing forestry and related industry;
- developing tourism to assist consolidation in some of the main centres, and, where dispersed, to provide supplementary income to workers in the primary and service sectors;
- developing indigenous manufacturing enterprises.

These guidelines implied a strategy of concentration, as opposed to one in which all settlements would be given equal attention. In the white paper, the Moray Firth was seen as the major growth area, while the Dounreay (Caithness) and Fort William areas were also to be important. It was a hope stated in the document that tourism could transform the whole economic base of particular areas, so the then-new developments at Aviemore were greeted as a "...powerful force for the concentration of population and employment and could offer in the long-term the real possibility of some small industrial growth." Following this observation, it was stated that a small number of major tourist centres would be desirable in order to accommodate large numbers of tourists and to absorb them in the landscape.
It has transpired that the HIDB has directed substantial efforts toward tourism, and Table 14 illustrates this point by comparing the financial assistance given to the major economic sectors, and other projects, from 1965 to 1976. Figures for the study area have been included in the table in order to demonstrate the importance of the district's tourism component.

Table 14: HIDB Financial Assistance to Developments, 1965-1976 (£ deflated to 1976 values)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIDB Area</th>
<th>Badenoch-Strathspey</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>4,792,636</td>
<td>81,101</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>7,900,606</td>
<td>669,151</td>
<td>8.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisheries</td>
<td>3,263,252</td>
<td>17,361</td>
<td>.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1,153,995</td>
<td>10,308</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projects</td>
<td>10,046,931</td>
<td>378,322</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2,422,932</td>
<td>46,186</td>
<td>1.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>29,580,359</td>
<td>1,202,429</td>
<td>4.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Values are weighted, with grants at full value and loans recorded at one-third value.

Source: HIDB Annual Report for 1976

The table reveals the prominence of tourism in respect of financial assistance given throughout the region, and especially in the study area. In addition, some of the money recorded under the headings "Projects" and "Other" was actually related to tourism. Some of this prominence can be attributed to the fact that the HIDB is the only major source of financial assistance to tourism in the Highlands (the STB provides only small amounts), whereas other economic activities can be helped by other public agencies. The Spey Valley, which accounted for approximately 2.9% of the region's population, received 4.06% of all financial assistance (as weighted) and fully 8.47% of all assistance to tourism.
Objectives of the HIDB regarding tourism can be determined by reference to a number of documents, and from personal correspondence with the author. There is no single published source which states the policies and priorities of the Board for development of tourism, or for related activities in the region or in the study area.

Without doubt, the major objective is the creation of new opportunities for employment. Related to this objective are others: to increase the quantity and quality of accommodation and catering; to increase the length of the tourist season; to raise occupancy rates in accommodation; and to improve the information available to visitors. Remote areas are of particular importance in this strategy, but it has been difficult to attract substantial investment to some of the neediest districts. Consequently, the HIDB has in several cases developed its own hotels in the islands.

Research has been important in the Board's efforts to maximise the contribution of tourism in the regional economy. In 1973 the HIDB co-operated with the STB and other agencies in the first major study of tourism in Scotland, the Scottish Tourism and Recreation Studies (STARS). A study of the impact of tourism on the Isle of Skye was sponsored by the HIDB (Brownrigg and Greig, 1974), and the Board has undertaken, either on its own or in cooperation with the STB, a series of studies of occupancy in accommodation establishments. Internally, HIDB staff engage in research and monitoring exercises in order to assess trends and potentials. This current research is an example of the close co-operation which exists between the HIDB and the STB with regard to important research efforts affecting them both.

With regard to the study area, the HIDB has been very active in assisting and taking part in the development of tourism in the Spey Valley. The development of
skiing and the Aviemore Centre took place before the HIDB was established, and so it was logical that it took an immediate interest in the area. The Board made financial investments in the Cairngorm skiing facilities and later, in 1972, acquired the Cairngorm Estate by transfer from the Forestry Commission. The HIDB now controls 40% of shareholdings in the Cairngorm Chairlift Company. This gives the HIDB pivotal control of the major skiing developments, and, as a consequence, gives it a large responsibility in determining the future of winter sports in the district and in Scotland as a whole. With this in mind, it is perhaps surprising that the HIDB has not made any specific statement of policy or priority regarding tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey.

A study of the Cairngorm estate was produced by consultants to the HIDB in 1972, though no decisions on policy were based on the report. Criticism of the visual scars left by construction of the chairlift on the slopes was an important consideration, and efforts have since been made to restore damaged areas. Several proposals have been made by investors to develop accommodation and other facilities on Cairngorm Mountain itself, and although the HIDB apparently supported these efforts, they were not permitted because of environmental considerations (Fraser, 1977). In 1978 and 1979 the HIDB was evaluating the merits and problems of extending facilities for skiing into Lurcher's Gully, so it appears that interest in further development is high.

The HIDB has previously engaged in research in Badenoch-Strathspey, including special surveys of occupancy in accommodation in the winter in the early 1970s, sponsorship of a survey of visitors in 1968 to accompany a wider impact study, and co-sponsorship (with the STB and Scottish Sports Council) of a winter sports marketing study in 1974. The Board co-operated with the Countryside Commission for Scotland in an important experiment which
resulted in the creation of a permanent countryside ranger on the Cairngorm estate. In the summer of 1975 the HIDB sponsored an information centre on the ski-hill, this time in co-operation with the Nature Conservancy Council, in order to impress on visitors the pleasures, dangers and responsibilities of using the area.

Most important of the HIDB's activities in the study area has been the financial assistance given to tourism and related developments. Two tables are presented in the Appendices which show details of amounts, types, and recipients of such aid, broken down by three sub-areas of Badenoch-Strathspey. It is revealed that Aviemore has received the largest share of assistance, both in terms of absolute amounts and the number of establishments receiving aid. Between 1967 and 1977 (the first decade of financial assistance by the HIDB) a total of £637,625 of assistance was given to the study area, of which £415,594 was in the form of grants. Aviemore received £194,289 (46.7%) of the grants and £143,700 (64.7%) of the loans. These amounts have not been deflated to current values. It should be remembered, however, that Grantown village and Cromdale parish were not part of the HIDB jurisdiction until 1975, and this fact explains some of the dominance of Aviemore.

It is the normal practice of the HIDB to consider applications for assistance, rather than to pursue them individually. This does not, however, preclude active encouragement of applications from those who have ideas and an interest in development. Once received, applications are assessed on their individual merit, taking into account potential viability, the need for assistance in order to proceed, and the potential contribution of the development to the area. This approach was abandoned temporarily in 1973 when grant assistance was withdrawn from the study area, reflecting the Board's desire to apply scarce resources to more needy areas and the belief
that the existing level of development in the Spey Valley made it possible for further growth with just loan assistance. However, this policy was discontinued in 1976, with the HIDB again returning to the "each on its merits" approach, but with a presumption that higher levels of assistance would normally be more justifiable in remoter parts of the region.

A very recent addition to the HIDB's procedure of reviewing applications has been the introduction of impact analyses. For significant applications the Board now examines the nature of proposed developments in terms of such factors as its ownership and management, the nature of the employment it will create, and the extent of its linkages with the local economy. This represents an important step in refining the process of development in order to make it more responsive to local needs.

Data received from the HIDB regarding assistance given to establishments is subject to the requirement to preserve confidentiality, but information collected by the field surveys does permit an analysis of the recipients of financial aid. It was revealed that the bulk of the money went to large accommodation establishments and major tourist attractions, and these were concentrated in Aviemore. Smaller establishments throughout the district did benefit considerably from assistance, but by the nature of the developments the amounts involved were much smaller. The HIDB is anxious to assist small, locally-based projects, but must rely on the applicants to come forward with proposals. Also, the Board has viewed the major projects in and near Aviemore as being good developments in themselves and necessary for conditions which would make smaller projects in the surrounding area more viable.

Several major policy-related issues stem from the involvement of the HIDB in developing the tourist industry
in the Spey Valley. The question of concentration versus dispersal is significant, reflecting the Board's concern with growth centres or holding points, and the potential for generating secondary growth and a diverse local economy. Its ownership of the Cairngorm Estate gives the HIDB a major role in the development of the district, and in the growth of skiing in Scotland. Development of skiing in the study area must be considered in the context of effects on potential winter resorts elsewhere in the region, and in the context of development versus conservation. Several other sites for skiing have been investigated by the HIDB, the STB and the Scottish Sports Council, and there are two existing facilities to be considered (at Glen Coe in the Highland Region and at Glen Shee in Tayside). Furthermore, there have been suggestions from local politicians and other interests that skiing facilities be constructed at other locations within the study area. These and other issues which are evident in the key policy-related questions listed in Chapter One must be addressed by the HIDB with reference to the study area. Given its great commitment to tourism in the Spey Valley, the Board must be concerned with its economic, social and environmental impact at the local as well as the regional level.

**Spey Valley Tourist Organisation (SVTO):** The SVTO is one of a number of similar organisations established in the region under the auspices of the HIDB. It is not a policy-making body, but is considered here because it does have a significant influence on policy related to tourism. Membership in the SVTO consists of commercial establishments which must pay annual fees, together with the HIDB, and the District and Regional Councils. It operates a central office in Aviemore and information centres in all the other main villages. These other offices are not kept open during the winter.

Provision of information to visitors and promotion
of the district through advertising are the SVTO's main functions, although it also operates a booking agency for accommodation and it channels opinions and information to the local authorities and to the HIDB. The HIDB considers this latter function to be very important in its strategy for tourism in the region. Increasingly, the HIDB has sought to make the organisations more independent from the Board in terms of financing and more innovative in pursuing markets and development.

In a political context, the SVTO acts as a lobby for the tourist industry. This is exemplified every time the local tourist officer goes before the District Council to seek greater financial support. It also acts to pool resources and efforts which might otherwise degenerate into parochial competition. Indeed, there remains a strong suspicion in outlying communities that the SVTO is dominated by the Aviemore establishments, and inter-village rivalry therefore remains an important element in the district.

The tourist organisation also has some influence in the management of tourism and related resources in the study area. This can take the form of recommendations to other authorities, or through the types of information and promotion it supports (the question of promotion and the area's image is discussed in the next chapter). In the Aviemore office the SVTO and the Nature Conservancy Council have provided an exhibition pertaining to the district's natural environment and to conservation. This included the employment of a countryside information officer to make direct contact with tourists.

Scottish Tourist Board (STB): Until 1969 the STB was a non-statutory body, although it had received financial contributions from the government. The Development of Tourism Act in 1969 set up the national tourist boards of England, Wales and Scotland to encourage visits by
overseas and domestic tourists and to secure improvements in amenities and facilities for visitors. Concern for the national balance of payments may have been the primary justification for this legislation, but potential effects on regional development were also considered to be important (Heeley, 1975).

Carter (1977) has said that the Act assumed that tourism was good, but that it did not provide specific, overall objectives for the new Boards. This was both a strength and a weakness, as it allowed the STB to evolve its policies and objectives in keeping with its research programme. Each national Board is responsible for internal policies and promotion within the U.K., but the British Tourist Authority, being the senior body, is the only one which can promote tourism outside the country. This results in some overlap of concerns, and in Scotland there is additional overlap because the HIDB possesses very similar powers in respect of tourism and has the advantage of being able to conduct promotion abroad. In practice, the HIDB and STB have been able to co-operate adequately, and a "concordat" has been developed to guide their actions.

From its inception the STB has desired a national strategy for tourism, to be backed up by extensive research. Prior to 1969 the voluntary Board received government funding for research, and this produced a number of important studies on topics and areas within Scotland which were of particular significance to tourism (STB, 1969). One of these studies was conducted in 1968 by the Department of Geography at the University of Edinburgh (Impact of Tourist Development in Upper Speyside) and it focussed on much the same area as this current research. Being of relevance, that study will be mentioned elsewhere in this thesis.

Other major research efforts of the STB have included
the STARS work in 1973, in co-operation with the HIDB and other agencies, sponsorship of a study into the economic impact of tourism in the Tayside Region (Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1975), and sponsorship of an exploratory examination of the social and cultural impact of tourism on the Isle of Skye (Brougham and Butler, 1976). Perhaps the most ambitious research and planning programme related to tourism in Scotland has been the Scottish Tourism and Recreation Planning Studies (STARPS) which commenced in 1975. Four national agencies are jointly sponsoring STARPS: the STB; the Countryside Commission for Scotland; the Scottish Sports Council; and the Forestry Commission. The HIDB declined to participate, reflecting its regional as opposed to national perspective and its preference for programmes of development rather than formal planning procedures.

STARPS is directed toward the preparation of regional strategies for sport, outdoor recreation and tourism within a national framework. Consultants were employed to conduct much of the initial work (Dartington Amenity Research Trust, 1977). Regional Councils were requested to participate by studying relevant issues within their jurisdictions and then integrating the findings with their structure and development plans. Guidance was provided by the sponsors in the form of statements on national interests (Planning for Sport, Outdoor Recreation and Tourism, Strategic Issues, undated) and a methodological guide (Planning for Sport, Outdoor Recreation and Tourism, A Guide to the Preparation of Initial Regional Strategies, 1976). Complementing these documents has been the STB's own efforts toward preparation of a national strategy (Planning for Tourism in Scotland: A Preliminary National Strategy, 1975), followed by a progress report in 1977.

Six steps in the STARPS procedure were defined, and these are mentioned briefly here in order to demonstrate
the relevance of this current research to the broader efforts being undertaken in Scotland. Step one was to clarify strategic issues through statements from the sponsors on: the context of economic and social changes expected for the period of coverage of the strategies; the basic aims of the sponsors which they believed should guide policy-making in the regions; and the relevant existing policies of the sponsors.

The second step in STARPS was to assess parameters of supply and demand within each region. Assessment of demand was to be standardised in all regions for key activities, plus any others the regions considered to be important. Guidance was given to the regions on expected levels of participation in recreational pursuits and demands by tourists, although this approach, it was recognised, is very general. Supply was to be calculated from inventories of facilities and "activity outlets" in the regions, but this was also kept to a general level. When comparing supply and demand, it was intended that both tourists and residents be considered, and this would yield an assessment of pressures and opportunities for development or other action.

Assessment of impact was the third step in STARPS. It was to produce a more complete understanding of pressures over and above the supply/demand analysis and to give an indication of the probable consequences of various policies. However, the sponsors recognised that a detailed examination of impacts would not be possible, given the paucity of pertinent information and research. At one point in the programme a check-list of recreational activities and possible impacts was devised, but this matrix was later replaced by a set of cards noting the effects of activities on policy objectives that regions might adopt (Darlington Amenity Research Trust, 1977). Consultants to the sponsors noted that regional officials were most interested in the impacts of recreation and
tourism which could be controlled directly by the regions, and this meant that a minimal examination of social effects was normal. Furthermore, the consultants concluded that the variability in understanding about impacts in general might remain a problem until "...adequate techniques are devised for objective appraisals of social and environmental impacts." (DART, 1977).

Next came the formulation of aims and objectives, forming the base of policies in the fifth step. Conflicts within objectives of the region, and between those of the regions and the national agencies would have to be reconciled at this stage. Implementation was then to be considered, with reference to the feasibility of attaining objectives and the agents that would be involved in programmes of implementation. This led to the final step, which was the preparation of an initial regional strategy for eventual adoption at the political level. This strategy could take the form of a separate document or could be integrated with a structure plan. The ultimate intention is that issues pertaining to recreation and tourism should merge with all other aspects of regional planning so as to ensure comprehensiveness in approach and integration of policies and programmes.

In scope, STARPS is ambitious and challenging to both the sponsors and the local authorities. Mixed results have been obtained, largely owing to severe constraints on manpower in the regions and also, no doubt, to the novelty of the approach and the lack of expertise in some quarters to cope with it. Criticism of aspects of the programme could be made on the grounds that its concepts regarding supply and demand, capacity, and impact are too facile, but the true value of the approach lies in getting the various authorities to attempt an integration of policies and to work towards a fuller understanding of recreation and tourism.
There are several important implications of STARPS for the study area. STARPS addresses some of the same questions as does this current research, but it has lacked some of the concepts, methods and empirically-derived data in key elements to enable it to go beyond proffering advice at a general level. In particular, the potential social effects of development of recreation and tourism are understood least and progress must be made in this field if the national agencies and the regions are to be able to make effective policies regarding social issues.

Returning to the Preliminary National Strategy of the STB, that document lists the main objectives of the Board, as follows:

- to provide employment and help prevent depopulation;
- to raise the incomes of individuals and communities;
- to provide social infrastructure;
- to assist conservation and environmental improvement;
- on a national level, to assist efforts to improve the balance of payments;
- to increase the social benefits of Scottish residents from taking holidays.

A possible conflict between certain of these objectives is recognised by the STB, and it hopes that the discussion of the preliminary strategy and the STARPS project can help to establish priorities. Indeed, it would not be possible for the STB to impose policies on the regions because of the control by local authorities over land-use planning and many facilities vital to tourism.

Guidelines issued by the central government for the national tourist boards also act to direct the priorities and actions of the STB. Their essence is to require the
direction of significant portions of the STB's resources to developments in areas of economic need. The effect of this priority might be to prevent the over-concentration of tourism in popular areas and to disperse it more widely in the remoter parts of Scotland.

Early efforts of the STB were directed toward increasing traffic in the off-seasons, dispersing tourism more widely, improving the quality of facilities and services for tourists, and increasing the supply of accommodation where demand was evident. Actions which followed from these objectives included: advertising campaigns; encouraging the establishment of regional tourist organisations; developing national tourist information centres; giving advice; developing Heritage Trails on popular themes; and providing financial assistance to developments. The STB administered schemes of assistance to all new hotels in 1969-1970, but this has been replaced by discretionary assistance to applicants.

Two recent proposals of the STB have implications for the study area. One of these is the concept of "holiday activity centres" which would contain facilities and be available on packaged holidays. The centres would, ideally, be accessible by public transport, cater to active and passive interests, cater to young people and families, offer a range of types of accommodation, and be open all year. The main advantages of such centres would lie in their ability to allow visitors to centre their holidays, the reduction of dependence on touring, promotion of rural conservation by relieving pressures from visitors, and perhaps diverting some holiday-makers from taking foreign trips. A second major proposal is the creation of a series of large chalet/cabin developments for the self-catering market. These would tend to locate near settlements and would not necessarily occupy only one site. It is hoped by the STB that such projects might reduce the demand for caravans and second homes.
Policies of the STB on specific aspects of its work are discussed in the national strategy, and several important points should be mentioned here. In its efforts on marketing and development the STB will concentrate on those types of tourism which will bring the greatest net benefits to receiving areas. This implies an emphasis on serviced accommodation, the use of areas which have spare capacity and can benefit from tourism, encouragement of overseas trade, and the promotion of areas in which conservation could be enhanced as a consequence. An improvement in the quality of facilities is desired, rather than an increase in capacity - especially in remoter areas not served by public transport.

How do these policies affect the study area? Regarding the activity centres, the STB has said:

"Speyside already meets most, if not all, of the criteria for an all-year holiday centre. However its capacity is limited so that in order to cater adequately for the potential market and to spread the regional benefits widely it may be desirable to develop new centres based on the other winter sports areas or on new areas such as Ben Wyvis and Aonach Mor." (STB, Preliminary National Strategy, 1975.)

Analysis of the effects of tourism in the Spey Valley is therefore applicable to the concept and application of activity centres elsewhere in Scotland. The study area might serve as a model of what should or should not be done in similar circumstances.

Other aspects of tourism in the study area hold significance in light of STB policies. The proposal for major chalet developments is relevant in that the Spey Valley has been attractive to the self-catering market in recent years and a number of such projects have been built or proposed. The district also provides excellent examples of development in water sports, catering to the family and youth-oriented markets, and the use of forests for recreation, all of which are mentioned in the STB's proposals for the future development of tourism in Scotland.
Regarding financial assistance by the STB, a table is presented in the Appendices which shows the amounts of assistance given to various types of projects in Badenoch-Strathspey between 1971 and 1976. Prior to 1971 the STB administered non-discretionary programmes of assistance originating from the central government, but no pertinent data are available. The total amount of financial assistance given by the STB in the study area between 1971 and 1976 was approximately £15,000, a sum much smaller than that provided by the HIDB (for reasons mentioned earlier).

The influence of policies of the STB on Badenoch-Strathspey is mostly indirect, stemming from overall promotional activities, the distribution and types of assistance given in other regions, and the evolution of planning methods and concepts applicable to STARPS or other research efforts. In the field of financial assistance the HIDB has much greater impact on the Spey Valley. More important, perhaps, is the relevance of the study area to other parts of Scotland as an example of the development and effects of tourism at a large scale in rural areas.

**Countryside Commission for Scotland (CCS):** The CCS was created in 1967 by the Countryside (Scotland) Act with the functions of promoting both access to the countryside for recreation and its conservation. In exercising its duties the Commission is to have regard to balanced economic and social development in the countryside. Specific responsibilities of the CCS include giving financial assistance to suitable projects by public or private agents, reviewing proposals for developments, undertaking research, and advancing relevant policies. Under the Act of 1967 all government bodies are to have regard to the desirability of conserving countryside amenity, and the Commission attempts to co-ordinate activities which may have an effect in rural Scotland. As the vast majority (98%) of Scotland is classified as countryside, the CCS has a very large jurisdiction.
National Park Direction Areas were created in Scotland in 1948, an action somewhat less ambitious than the establishment of National Parks in England and Wales. The Secretary of State is to be notified of all applications for development within such areas, and the CCS has inherited this function. Figure 11 shows the Cairngorms National Park Direction Area, and partly because of this designation the CCS has maintained a close interest in tourism and recreation in the study area. One of the major proposals of the CCS has been to establish a park system in Scotland (CCS, 1974), with the three main elements in the system being Country Parks, Regional Parks and Special Parks. The Special Park concept is of particular interest to this study, as the Cairngorms and the other National Park Direction Areas would probably fall into this new category.

Special Parks were conceived as being of national significance and would cater for many visitors. Achieving this would require comprehensive management, high capital investment, and new machinery for administration and planning. Progress towards implementing the concept of Special Parks has been slow, and by 1979 no official decision had been taken. Part of the delay can be attributed to the reluctance of local authorities to give up any powers or to risk greater encumbrances on the land which might preclude desired development. If the Cairngorm area was to become a Special Park, the implications would be important for the study area. This issue is given greater attention later in the thesis.

Complementing the proposal for a park system is the Commission's Scenic Heritage policy (CCS, 1978). The Cairngorms and Rothiemurchus portions of the study area, according to the proposal, rank high in Scotland's scenic resources. The Commission wishes to obtain new planning procedures in which local authorities would have to consult with the CCS about proposed developments, the
formulation of longer-term policies for each Scenic Heritage area, and agreements for land management which would be sought with owners. To some degree these proposals overlap with proposals for Special Parks, particularly in the Spey Valley. It would be logical to consider them as part of the same question.

Securing access agreements with landowners and developing long-distance footpaths are other important responsibilities of the CCS. In the study area the Commission has been co-operating with the Rothiemurchus estate to open paths for hikers and to establish a visitor department and other various tourist facilities. The development of the Speyside Way, a long-distance trail, has now begun with funding by the Commission (CCS, 1977). Some controversy surrounded the route which was proposed originally to go through high ground, and revisions were made to keep it entirely on low ground. There was also a debate concerning the possible overcrowding which might arise by routing the trail through Glen More rather than linking villages in the district. In terms of numbers of visitors this footpath will create a very modest addition to tourism in the Spey Valley, but it will be important in catering for a specialist group of growing significance. The proposal also highlights some of the fundamental issues facing the CCS in its attempts to reconcile conservation with recreation.

Lacking national parks, Scotland never acquired a professional park or ranger service. An effort has been made by the CCS to establish such a service, with a major experiment launched in 1970. The Spey Valley was chosen as the subject area because it was intensively used for recreation, and because an appeal from the owner of Rothiemurchus estate stressed that the government held a responsibility to ameliorate effects arising from their promotion of tourism in the area (CCS, 1975). The aim of the project was to co-ordinate activities by rangers and
prove both the need and methods for setting up a permanent service. However, this has not happened, even after the project ended in 1973. The Commission called the experiment a success, but the fact that a permanent service has not arisen subsequently is blamed on a lack of legislative power, the failure of some agencies to cooperate fully and the differing priorities among organisations. To be completely effective, the Commission concluded, "...a comprehensive ranger service must go hand in hand with an overall land use management structure." (CCS, 1975).

Arising from this project, however, was the establishment of a ranger service for the HIDB's Cairngorm estate, and expansion of a private ranger service on Rothiemurchus estate. Other benefits of the Speyside Project were an arousal of public interest in management and ranger services in the Valley, new information and ideas on activities and services for visitors, and revelation of the potentially serious division of responsibilities between public agents and between public and private interests.

Financial assistance by the CCS to projects within the study area is tabulated in the Appendices. Between 1969 and 1978 the Commission offered approximately £100,000 to local authorities, commercial operations, the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, the Scottish Youth Hostels Association, and the Rothiemurchus estate. The assisted projects included expansion of the Grantown Caravan Park and the youth hostel at Loch Morlich, provision of accommodation, warden and ranger services, securement of public access, and construction of amenities for visitors. The effort made to improve public access and amenities on Rothiemurchus estate represents a unique activity for the CCS which may find application elsewhere in Scotland.
Not included in the assistance previously mentioned are amounts spent by the CCS on the Speyside Project (perhaps £30,000), and time given to the HIDB ranger service on Cairngorm, the long-distance footpaths, and the interpretive centre within the SVTO at Aviemore. To the extent that some financial assistance has been given to commercial operations, the CCS duplicates the functions of the HIDB and STB. However, most of the Commission's work and assistance concerns amenities, access to the countryside and conservation-oriented projects.

The involvement of the CCS in the study area has been important for stimulating interest in countryside management and helping to secure greater access for the public. While its financial investments have not been as great as those of the HIDB, the Commission has assisted some key projects. Fundamental to the CCS is the reconciliation of conservation and recreation, and the Spey Valley provides an ideal test case for relevant techniques and policies for management.

In the future, the proposal to designate the Cairngorms/Rothiemurchus area as a Special Park will be very important for the study area. Would a Special Park attract even more visitors and so lead to greater problems, or would concomitant progress in management and planning result in a better balance between use and conservation? What administrative arrangements would be required for such a park, and how would a separate authority differ in its approach from the local authorities? In particular, would a greater emphasis on conservation preclude or limit desired expansion of facilities? Also, could the sometimes competing interests of public and private landowners be resolved better within a park?

**Nature Conservancy Council (NCC):** The NCC originated in 1949 (as the Nature Conservancy) to advise the government on conservation matters, provide and disseminate information, conduct relevant research, and manage nature
reserves (NCC, 1974). Seeing itself as the primary public body speaking for ecological responsibility, the Conservancy can find itself in opposition to developments or the promotion of recreational activities. Its major physical effects are in the designation, management, and sometimes the ownership of nature reserves and Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSIs). There are important designations in the Spey Valley, and a regional office at Aviemore takes a direct interest in tourism and related developments and their effects on the environment.

Figure 11 shows the formal designations pertaining to conservation in Badenoch-Strathspey, along with the National Park Direction Area and reserves managed by the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds and the Scottish Wildlife Trust. The Cairngorm National Nature Reserve, largest in Great Britain, was designated in 1954. It consists of approximately 26,000 hectares, of which only 10 per cent is owned by the NCC. Most of the reserve, therefore, is subject to agreements for management with private landholders. The Cairngorm reserve was created in recognition of its unique mountain and forest environments, with their important wildlife communities. Scenery and geological interest are also considered to be major assets of the reserve. A key objective for management was stated in the first revision of the management plan, when it was declared that the habitats were to be conserved "...with a minimum of interference from man's activities..." (NCC, undated).

When it was established, the Cairngorm reserve was under very little pressure from visitors, but this situation changed radically with the development of skiing on the very periphery of the reserve and with the introduction of large numbers of visitors to Glen More and Rothiemurchus. The second revision of the management plan, for the period 1977-1981, had to give the management of visitors high priority. A system of zoning has now been proposed in order to help protect the most sensitive areas.
Although the second revision had not been formally adopted by 1979, the staff of the NCC in Aviemore were preparing a prospectus to cover a much larger area surrounding the Cairngorm Reserve, taking in most of the study area. This prospectus attempts to place the conservation of nature in a much wider context so that aspects of tourism and development can be evaluated more comprehensively as to their environmental effects. When made public, the document should bring into focus the lack of overall planning for conservation outwith the particular reserves administered by the NCC.

Sites of Special Scientific Interest are protected less than nature reserves, as they involve no agreements on management or warden service as is provided for the major reserves such as Cairngorm. The NCC designates the SSSIs on the basis of their vegetation, wildlife or geology, and they are by statute incorporated in the plans of local authorities. Subsequently, the NCC is notified of any proposed development which would affect the sites and an objection can then be made. Most of the areas so designated in the study area are in remote uplands, but there are several small SSSIs near the main concentrations of visitors.

No financial assistance is given by the NCC, but it has carried out research in the study area. One such study examined use of the Cairngorm reserve by visitors and revealed the importance of the chairlift in transporting large numbers of tourists into the mountains (NCC, 1974). Information about the reserves and the NCC's work is made available to visitors in the Spey Valley by way of a permanent exhibition in the SVTO office in Aviemore and the permanent information centre at Loch an Eilean. Efforts by the NCC are most noticeable at Loch an Eilean, where a nature trail and reception facilities have been provided in conjunction with Rothiemurchus estate and the CCS.
Other concerns of the NCC in Badenoch-Strathspey include the construction of roads on estates, which scar the landscape, the balance between red deer herds and vegetation, and the threat of boating on Loch Insh to habitats for wildfowl. The threat of fire is also a problem, although it appears that while more visitors present a greater risk of starting fires they also provide a better fire-spotting service (Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, 1979).

In assessing the effects of tourism on the host population, attention must be given to issues and objectives for conservation which are counter to the interests of development. How much public support do the conservationists receive? Given that environmental attractions are important to the tourist trade, is there a point beyond which further development or pressure from visitors will begin to negate the attractions? How are objectives for conservation to be reconciled with objectives for development and social progress?

Forestry Commission (FC): The Forestry Commission is a major landholder in the Spey Valley, and its work has implications for conservation, landscape amenity and employment. With the creation of the Queen’s Forest Park in Glen More in 1948, a lasting commitment to catering for visitors was made, although the objectives of commercial forestry have remained paramount.

Glen More has become a very popular area for recreation, served by a large campsite, a beach with facilities for water-sports, places for parking and picnics on Loch Morlich, and numerous forest trails. The Commission operates an information centre and has plans (deferred in 1979) to build a larger one. Accommodation for visitors is also provided in the Norwegian Hostel which was built in 1970 for organised groups. The development of chalets in Glen More was considered, but this has not yet been approved.
In 1972 the FC transferred control of the Cairngorm portion of their holdings to the HIDB, but that land still remains within the forest park so that public access is assured (FC, 1975). Elsewhere in the district much less provision is made for recreation, although the Commission hopes that its modest expansion of amenities in Glen Feshie, which include a nature trail and sites for picnics, might help to divert some pressure from Glen More.

The Forestry Commission faces problems in accommodating visitors, so that its ranger service has had to devote greater attention to providing information, picking up litter and preventing fires. Recreation is accepted by the FC as being of considerable importance on a national level (FC, 1974), while the STB forsees even greater use of Scotland's forests to absorb tourists and chalet-style accommodation. In the Spey Valley the potential of forests to cater to recreation and tourism is being tested, and this will have some effect on policies and approaches to management elsewhere. For the residents of the study area, the FC's policies will be important in determining how many visitors can be accommodated at an already popular destination and in attempts to disperse the pressure more evenly throughout the district.

Scottish Sports Council (SSC): This organisation encourages participation in sports and physical recreation and fosters improvement in the necessary facilities. In the study area its policies and programmes have implications for investment in recreational facilities and for the promotion of skiing.

Annual reports of the SSC document financial assistance given to recipients in Badenoch-Strathspey, and these have been tabulated in the Appendices of this thesis. In the period between its inception in 1972 and the years 1977/78 the Council provided approximately £45,000
in aid, distributed among local authorities/villages, sports clubs, and the Cairngorm skiing facilities. The assistance given to villages and local authorities was for facilities such as golf courses which are primarily for local use, although they may be used by tourists. Aid to the skiing facilities is seen by the SSC as being for the development of the sport, rather than as assistance to the tourist industry.

The Council co-operated with the STB and HIDB on a programme of developing the Cairngorm skiing facilities, following the study of markets for winter sports in Scotland. One of the priorities to emerge from the study was the expansion and improvement of ancillary facilities at Cairngorm, although the SSC also supports improvements at the other Scottish skiing centres.

Also in the study area is the SSC's Glen More Lodge National Outdoor Training Centre. This facility is one of the most important in Great Britain for training instructors in skiing, mountaineering and other activities. As such, the centre can act as a voice for improvement of facilities as well as for conservation of the area's natural amenities.

Local Authorities: Prior to the reorganisation of local government in Scotland in 1975 the Badenoch portion of the study area was part of Inverness County, while the Grantown and Cromdale parts lay within Moray County. All responsibility for land-use planning was with the Counties, but is now vested in the Highland Regional Council. The Badenoch-Strathspey District Council has some important functions in the provision of local services and, especially, in the provision and management of housing.

A number of planning documents applying to the study area have been released during the period since 1960, and it is instructive to review each of these to discern the
In 1962 the Scottish Development Department advised local authorities to consider tourism-related issues and to prepare plans for improving facilities for visitors. The Inverness County Council responded in 1963 with a report on winter sports in Badenoch which was enthusiastic about the potential. It stated:

"The indicators are that skiing in the Cairngorms is on the verge of expanding into a major activity which would bring thousands to the Speyside hotels throughout the winter season, and bring in its train, prosperity to the area and to the County." (Inverness County Council, 1963)

The report seemed favourably inclined to the idea of developing other sites for skiing as well, such as in Glen Feshie, the Drumochter Pass, and on Braeriach mountain near Cairngorm.

Major amendments to the Inverness County development plan covering Badenoch were put forward in 1965. In these it was stated that increases in tourism and road traffic "...are creating changes, the pattern of which is emerging in a form which necessitates revision of the plan if development is not to be frustrated or unduly delayed." It was also stated that the "primary policy" was to encourage development so as to provide employment. Tourism, however, would be supplementary, giving mostly seasonal and part-time jobs.

A pro-development stance is evident in the plans of Inverness County, and this policy enabled the major proposals for Aviemore Centre to proceed, according to one observer, with only technical details to be overcome (Macpherson, 1977). No assessment of impact on the community accompanied the decision to approve this major expansion of Aviemore, and there was evident at that time a general presumption on the part of County Councillors that development was good. Conservation was mentioned, but there was no question of development being impractical because of constraints arising from objectives for
By 1972, however, the County Council was questioning the compatibility of proposed additions to the Aviemore Centre, and the idea of an aerobus terminal and helicopter pad were rejected (Macpherson, 1977). Future development, it was suggested, must be related to outdoor recreation and not to indoor activities. The Council heard at that time how the Glen More area was under extreme pressure from visitors. The rapid growth of tourism led to another amendment for the Badenoch development plan in 1974. A need for conservation was also given as a reason for the new amendments, in that the careful management of resources was perceived as being of growing importance. Policies pertaining to tourism emphasised controls on development, but there was a definite vagueness about some of them, as if much uncertainty remained concerning future developments and their desirability. For example, it was said that powerboating, "if required", should be confined to a loch not used for other water sports. No new snow-field development was proposed, but no ban on such development was mentioned. Static caravans for visitors were "not generally encouraged". Further development of hotels was expected to be situated "normally" in or near the main villages.

The 1974 amendments recognised that an economic dependency on tourism had been created in the study area, and the Council accordingly called for light industry and outdoor recreation to be encouraged in order to achieve more balanced opportunities for employment. It was reasoned that jobs created by outdoor recreation favoured more males and young people than normal tourist-oriented jobs.

The new Highland Region in 1975 carried through the 1974 amendments to the County plan for Badenoch, and they were finally approved by the Secretary of State in 1978 in somewhat altered form. Nevertheless, the new Region
launched a planning programme which required the plan to be updated. In 1976 a Regional Report was prepared, providing a corporate approach to the formulation of policy. A policy for settlement accompanied the Report. By 1978 a local development plan for Badenoch-Strathspey District had been drafted, and this plan, together with a regional structure plan, was being considered by the public in 1978 and 1979.

Of particular interest to the present research are comments in the Regional Report and Settlement Policy dealing with tourism. On a general point, the regional planners felt there was not sufficient information available on the impact made by tourists, although it was said that the extra population in the Highlands in summer led to difficulties for welfare services, water, drainage and infrastructure. More emphasis on centre-based holidays was desirable, together with better wet-weather facilities. Greater use by tourists of public transport was recommended, and bed and breakfast accommodation was seen as being desirable. The Regional Report also defined a need to monitor changes in tourism in order to conserve resources and ensure the provision of facilities and services which would benefit residents.

Consultants on the STARPS programme (Dartington Amenity Research Trust, 1977) have outlined the approach taken by the Highland Region on this project. It was not envisaged by the Region that work on STARPS would be integrated in the regional structure plan, but its implications would be considered in settlement policies and local development plans. A Strategic Issues report concerning STARPS was issued by the regional planners in 1977, but not for adoption as policy. It contained expressions of concern that a balance must be achieved between conservation and development and that the question of concentration versus dispersion of development is important.
In the Highland Region's draft Settlement Policy of 1977 the question of concentration versus dispersal was considered and a middle course was felt to be best. Existing viable communities were to be favoured, and the Council adopted a policy aimed at minimising enforced emigration and retaining natural increases in population by fostering the growth of existing communities where this was possible. Other related policies were: to adjust the pattern of service centres to suit changes in mobility and the distribution of population; to improve accessibility to a range of services and jobs; to make the best use of existing available land and infrastructure; and to maintain services "...at a socially acceptable level throughout the region." (Highland Regional Council, 1977)

On the topic of winter sports, the Settlement Policy recognised that such developments have brought many benefits to the Spey Valley. The potential for similar developments in other districts was seen to be high, and so the benefits of spreading such development widely were emphasised. The policy referred to recent work by the STB, HIDB and SSC which concluded that winter sports could be developed elsewhere without harming Cairngorm's prospects. The Regional Council expressed caution, however, noting that developments for winter sports have "...historically involved local authorities in major capital spending both directly and indirectly related to tourism, i.e., access to snowfields, provision of additional services and infrastructure." (Highland Regional Council, 1977)

These considerations are reflected in the draft local development plan for Badenoch-Strathspey District, released for discussion in 1978. Two alternative strategies for the Valley were considered, one being to encourage more tourists by a concentration of growth in Aviemore, and the second being to consolidate existing uses by attaining an improved and wider range of activities and facilities for tourists throughout the district. The
second alternative was favoured, including the idea of developing new skiing facilities in the south of the dis-
trict at Drumochter Pass and near Newtonmore. It was also
desired to diversify the local economy and thereby reduce
its dependence on tourism, although some increase in the
number of visitors was considered to be desirable.

The villages of Newtonmore, Kingussie, Aviemore,
Carrbridge and Grantown were to be the main centres of
growth in Badenoch-Strathspey according to the draft plan,
while Kincaig, Boat of Garten, Dulnain Bridge and Nethy-
bridge were designated for only limited growth. A third
tier of settlements was to receive little or no growth,
namely Cromdale, Spey Bridge (virtually a part of Gran-
town), Inverdruie/Coylumbridge, Glen More, Insh, Lynchat,
Laggan, Advie, and Dalwhinnie. The Council opposed growth
in some of these small settlements for reasons of amenity,
or because of their location on roads. Dalwhinnie, how-
ever, might be considered for some tourism-related growth
because of its location at the entrance to the District
and the Region.

Although the first draft of the development plan for
the study area stated that no new major developments of
hotels were expected in Badenoch-Strathspey during the
period covered by the plan, the Highland Regional Council
nevertheless gave approval in 1978 for a major commercial
expansion of Aviemore village. This project (now deferred)
would have included hotels, other accommodation for tour-
ists and private housing. The approval appeared to contra-
dict the Council's policy of encouraging the dispersal of
growth - indeed, despite that policy there has been no
limit placed on growth in Aviemore. The main attraction
of the proposal may have been the residential component,
as housing is in short supply in Aviemore, but it raises
the serious issue of how the dispersal of tourism and
related development can actually be achieved in the face
of pressure to expand Aviemore. This point is raised
again in Chapter 7 during discussion of planning alternatives for the study area.

Regarding policies for conservation, the Report of Survey for the local development plan contained the following statement:

"The main constraint is the need to ensure that any development or use does not detract from the overall attractiveness of the area, not only for the resident population, but also the tourist trade on which they depend."

This statement appears to place emphasis on amenity as a commodity with value to the tourist industry. Several other statements in the draft development plan also highlight the focus on conservation's potential impact on desired development:

"The introduction of management schemes may be able to control the impact of use and minimise conflict. However, if tourism in the valley is to continue to prosper and develop, some conflict with areas of natural conservation importance must be accepted as inevitable."

"The Regional Council's policy is to protect Sites of Special Scientific Interest and National Nature Reserves so far as this is compatible with the aim of achieving for the District the development of a sound economic base which provides employment for the local population."

(Highland Regional Council, 1978)

The Regional Council evidently holds the view that the welfare of area residents must take precedence over conservation, although it is recognised that conservation of amenity is important to the tourist industry. Where the main potential conflict between development and conservation arises is with respect to those policies and designations of national-level agencies, such as the CCS and NCC, which are perceived by the Region to be unwarranted intrusions into the local responsibility for land-use planning. Consequently, the Region will probably insist that designations made in the name of national priorities for conservation be accompanied by the means to preserve the features and avoidance of adverse effects
Within Badenoch-Strathspey the most crucial issue which is seen as pitting conservation interests against development is the proposed expansion of skiing into Lurcher's Gully on Cairngorm. The Region would have to construct the road to this facility, but the draft local development plan said only that the question was being studied. Various statements by the Regional Council might lead one to conclude that dispersal of skiing facilities within the district and to other parts of the region was a priority, but that policy apparently does not preclude Regional interest in expanding Cairngorm. One of the implications of further development of skiing on Cairngorm is the potential increase in demand for nearby tourist accommodation which might be generated. This could add to the trend to concentrate new developments at Aviemore and make even more difficult the realisation of dispersal.

In Chapter Six the significance of tourism in the local economy is examined in detail, but at this point it is desirable to mention the direct investments in tourism which have been made by the local authorities. The first such investment involved construction of the road from Aviemore to provide access to the Cairngorm skiing facilities in 1960. There have been major improvements to this road subsequently, and the cost of these to Inverness County for the period between 1960 and 1972 is tabulated in the Appendices. In total, approximately £744,000 was spent by the County on the road, including related parking and depots for vehicles.

Annual contributions to the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation constitute an investment in tourism. A table is presented in the Appendices which shows the amounts contributed to the SVTO by the Region, District, HIDE and the commercial members for the years 1974/75 through 1979/80. The HIDE is the main public supporter of the
tourist organisation (£20,000 in 1979/80), followed by the District (£14,000) and the Region (£5,300). It has been the support of Badenoch-Strathspey District Council which has grown the most in recent years, despite continued controversy within the Council. For example, one councillor suggested that "...an awful lot of people in this valley...don't benefit by a penny from the SVTO." (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, April 7, 1978).

In making a case for increased support from the District, the Area Tourist Officer of the SVTO has argued the benefits of tourism in the area, including employment, revenue from rates, support of public transport, and the provision of recreational facilities. It is partly due to a lingering suspicion and resentment of large-scale, modern development, and in particular the Aviemore Centre, suggested the tourist officer, that the tourist industry has failed to get the respect it deserves. (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, April 7, 1978).

Grantown Caravan Park is the only tourist facility owned by the local authorities. It was inherited by the District from the old Grantown Burgh Council, and it has required continuing investment and running costs to keep it viable. A table in the Appendices shows these costs and annual income from the site for the period 1970/71 through 1979/80. For 1979/80 the running costs were estimated to be approximately £29,000, offset by an estimated income of £34,000. Capital expenditure on the site over the ten-year period amounted to £23,534. Administrative costs are allocated to the caravan site as a proportion of total administrative costs for the District Council, and if these somewhat arbitrary costs are deducted the site would make a small annual profit. However, it is clear that the Council operates the facility for its value in attracting tourists to the area, rather than as a profit-making enterprise.
The Highlands Regional Council owns the Highland Folk Museum at Kingussie, and although this is an attraction for tourists, the facility is primarily for educational purposes. The costs of providing new infrastructure, services and ongoing maintenance for the tourism-related developments are major, and these are assessed against the economic value of the developments in Chapter Six.

Other Public Agencies: The aforementioned agencies are the ones which have an important role in affecting development in the study area, either through direct action, such as giving financial assistance or owning land, or indirectly through the formulation of relevant policies on tourism, conservation, and the like. Several other agencies should be mentioned with respect to actions which may affect the Spey Valley.

The Crofters Commission is responsible for the administration of legislation affecting small land-holders registered as crofters. It does not assist specifically tourism-related projects, but its advice on planning and policy for the crofting areas may have an indirect effect. For example, the Commission has expressed concern over the potential effects on crofters of the many conservation designations proposed for the Highlands (Crofters Commission, 1977). Crofters are able to accommodate up to three static caravans for letting to tourists (on holdings of not less than two acres) without planning permission, and the Commission favour development of caravan sites on crofting land. In the study area crofting is not the important issue it is in more remote parts of the Highlands and Islands, and the Commission's activities in the Spey Valley are therefore limited.

Functions of the Scottish Development Department (SDD) include roads, overseeing the planning process, and giving financial assistance to development. In the Highlands, however, this latter function is left mainly to
the HIDB. In the Spey Valley the SDD's activities have not been major, although the agency did sponsor an important study of tourism in the district (SDD, 196?) which considered questions of conservation and possible future development. The study did not lead directly to any decisions on policy but it did influence later discussions pertaining to the area. In concluding that growth in the Spey Valley "...has now reached a stage at which the limit of this development can be foreseen.", the 1967 report failed to foresee the real potential of the area for attracting and accommodating tourists.

Co-ordination and Integration of Policies: The first part of this chapter assessed the major problems facing the study area, including meagre resources and a long history of depopulation. Responses to the so-called "Highland Problem" have been documented, focussing on policies and financial assistance pertaining to the development of tourism. In this final portion of the chapter it is useful to examine the main objectives and constraints expressed in policies applying to the study area, with a view to identifying difficulties in attaining their integration and the co-ordination of implementation.

Figure 12 shows the principal functions of the agencies and authorities previously discussed, as they apply to development, conservation and the provision of services within the Spey Valley. It is believed that these functions have the greatest significance in the context of this research, although it would be possible to question some of the specific items included or omitted.

It can be observed readily from the Figure that important aspects of tourism and related development are shared among an array of boards, commissions and authorities. Promotion and financial assistance are concentrated in agents of the central government, although the largest source of assistance to tourism is from the HIDB which
has a regional mandate. However, the provision of essential services and many facilities for both residents and tourists rests with the local authorities. Senior government agencies make decisions on strategic policies affecting the nation, or region, but they lack control over land-use planning to implement their policies directly. To a certain extent this fractionalised structure is inevitable, given the wide scope of tourism and its effects, but it is also a reflection of real or potential conflicts between agencies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>HIDB</th>
<th>STB</th>
<th>CCS</th>
<th>NCC</th>
<th>FC</th>
<th>SSC</th>
<th>SVTO</th>
<th>HRC</th>
<th>BSD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Promote Tourism</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give Financial Assistance</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Facilities for Tourists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Services for Tourists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Infrastructure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manage Resources for Conservation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide Services for Residents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

HIDB: Highlands and Islands Development Board  
STB: Scottish Tourist Board  
CCS: Countryside Commission for Scotland  
NCC: Nature Conservancy Council  
FC: Forestry Commission  
SSC: Scottish Sports Council  
SVTO: Spey Valley Tourist Organisation  
HRC: Highland Regional Council  
BSD: Badenoch-Strathspey District Council

Objectives for nature conservation can be in direct conflict with those for development, involving disputes.
between national-level agencies or between national/regional bodies. An unwillingness or inability to provide services and facilities on the part of local authorities can frustrate initiatives by the senior levels. Inter-agency conflicts over policy require the integration of aims, and the STARPS programme seeks to achieve this in the fields of recreation and tourism. If the integration of policy can be achieved, there still remains the problem of co-ordinating actions for implementation.

Failure to attain an integrated ranger service in the Spey Valley is an example of the difficulty faced in attempts to integrate policy and co-ordinate actions in the field, despite common recognition of the problems generated by large numbers of visitors. It would be highly optimistic to expect full integration of policies and programmes, so the task of research such as this current study is to provide the facts and analysis as a basis for fuller co-operation.

Temporal factors must also be taken into account. Policies and objectives change over time, or may entail varying rates of programming. As an example, long-term objectives might require the curtailment of growth in certain areas or in certain types of development, whereas private investors may not be amenable to such restrictions and local authorities may not be able to alter their programmes of servicing fast enough to comply. It is also possible that growth may achieve a momentum in areas of concentrated development, thereby acting against the planned dispersal of benefits arising from tourism.

Overall, the development of tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey has been encouraged and assisted by the local authorities and senior agents of government, notably the HIDE, without any major limits to growth being suggested. Conservation of the area's resources and amenities has not, to date, been seen by the planning authorities as a
significant constraint on development, except within specific, designated reserves. Even in these reserves the policy of the Region is to respect conservation priorities only so far as they do not prejudice the creation of local employment.

The bias toward growth is understandable in light of the long history of decline and disadvantage in the Highlands, but it presents a serious impediment to the integration of policies affecting the study area. From the perspective of the local population, this lack of integration has serious implications for the quality of the local environment, maintenance of a predominantly rural way of life, and the risk of losing a significant component of the tourist market through over-development.
CHAPTER FIVE

TOURISM IN THE SPEY VALLEY

It is necessary to examine in detail the nature of the tourist industry in the study area, and the characteristics and activities of visitors, in order to identify any major trends and potential effects on the host population. The chapter begins with a brief outline of the development of tourism in the Spey Valley, followed by a description of the current (1978) distribution of facilities and accommodation. The next section examines the image of the area as presented to tourists, and related promotional efforts. A number of important aspects of the operation of tourism-related facilities are then examined, including ownership and management, policies on closing, links with other local businesses, and the like. An assessment of the numbers, characteristics and activities of visitors to the Spey Valley is presented in the final section.

Attention is given throughout this chapter to aspects of tourism which may act as mechanisms of change, to the extent that these can be isolated or inferred from available information. Of necessity, the specific linking of aspects of tourism to changes in the community cannot be completed until the key indicators of effects on the host population are examined in Chapter Six.

(A) Development of Tourism in the Spey Valley

A more detailed outline of the historical development of tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey is presented in the Appendices. Figure 13 is an annotated chronology of the main events and periods in the evolution of tourism and related developments in the district, and this provides
a summary of the historical trends. A number of authors and reports also can be consulted for descriptions of the evolution and nature of tourism in the region and the study area (Carter, 1966 and 1974; Scottish Development Department, 1967; Carruthers, 1967; Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, 1969; Fraser, 1977; Macpherson, 1977).

Angling and the shooting of game are traditional sports of the area which became important economic resources in the Victorian period. Although their significance is now reduced, these sports are still important sources of income for some estates and hotels in the Spey Valley. Queen Victoria's visits to the district and the Highlands served to popularise holiday-making in the region, and with the opening of railways through the valley in the 1860s it was possible to attract large numbers of visitors. Actual touring by automobiles had to await improvements in the roads which came in the inter-war years of this century, and in the 1950s this became the dominant pattern of visits in the Highlands.

Large-scale interest in winter sports is relatively new in Great Britain, although the Scottish Ski Club had originated in 1907. Military training in the Cairngorms during the second world war sparked local interest in skiing, and in the years following the war local hoteliers and others began to press for facilities. Several hotels in the district's villages offered instruction in skiing in the 1950s, and it was local interests that were largely responsible for securing the first road and ski-lifts in 1960 and 1961. Subsequently, outside commercial interests were attracted to the area, leading to construction of the large Co ylimbridge Hotel in 1965 and the Aviemore Centre in 1966.

Carter (1966) described the Aviemore Centre as being the climax of important initiatives by the Scottish
### Figure 13

**Annotated Chronology of Events and Periods in the Development of Recreation and Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pre-1860</td>
<td>Shooting and fishing lodges built on many estates.</td>
<td>Spey Valley has always been a popular area for these traditional sports.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Queen Victoria visits Grantown</td>
<td>The Queen helped to popularize Highland holidays, and put Grantown &quot;on the map&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>First railway into the Valley.</td>
<td>Opened the area to a large volume of visits and regular contact with the outside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Cairngorm Club founded.</td>
<td>Climbing and walking in this &quot;wilderness&quot; area was well established.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Scottish Ski Club founded.</td>
<td>Cairngorms and Drumochter Pass were used in walking/skiing expeditions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-War</td>
<td>Road improvements.</td>
<td>Motor touring increased in popularity. Spey Valley is on the main route north.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WW2</td>
<td>Military training in Cairngorms.</td>
<td>Mountaineering and skiing potential was demonstrated, and interest in development was stimulated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Queen's Forest Park designated.</td>
<td>Established the Forestry Commission's commitment to recreation in the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Cairngorms National Park Direction Area Established</td>
<td>This action afforded some extra protection but fell short of setting up a National Park.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Cairngorm National Nature Reserve Designated</td>
<td>Recognized the national significance of the area for conservation of mountain and forest environments.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>First permanent ski-school opened in the Valley.</td>
<td>Reflected local interest in, and pressure for commercial development of Cairngorm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Founding of Strathspey Winter Sports Development Association.</td>
<td>With government encouragement, began serious efforts to promote skiing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>First road to Coire Cas.</td>
<td>Financed by Forestry Commission (resurfacing to Glen More), Scottish Council of Physical Recreation, and local hoteliers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>White Lady Chairlift built.</td>
<td>First major development on Cairngorm, financed by Cairngorm Winter Sports Development Board, a non-profit group set up mainly through local efforts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Coylumbridge Hotel opened.</td>
<td>First major hotel development by outside interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>Aviemore Centre opened.</td>
<td>Conceived as an all-year resort, this development began a new era in Spey Valley tourism; brought large-scale employment and pressures to the area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Speyside Project begins.</td>
<td>Revealed concern by the CCS in conservation and the management of recreation; experimental integrated ranger service commenced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Landmark Visitor Centre built.</td>
<td>Brought major commercial development to Carrbridge; was a new feature in Scottish tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Highland Wildlife Park opened.</td>
<td>Major tourist attraction near Kincaig.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Cairngorm Estate transferred from Forestry Commission to HIDB.</td>
<td>HIDB owns the land on which facilities for skiing are situated, and holds a 40% interest in the Cairngorm Chairlift Co.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Santa Claus Land and Craft Centre opened.</td>
<td>A major addition to the Aviemore Centre, aimed at all-year family interest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Speyside Way long distance footpath designated.</td>
<td>With backing of the CCS; will link Spey Valley trails with adjacent areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Water sports centre built on Loch Morlich.</td>
<td>A commercial development in the Forest Park; signifies growing interest in water sports; similar to earlier Loch Insh centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/1979</td>
<td>A9 road bypasses being completed.</td>
<td>Of considerable importance to the villages; Dalwhinnie was the first to be by-passed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed</td>
<td>Major expansion of skiing facilities to Lurcher's Gully.</td>
<td>Has generated conservation/development confrontation; development seen as being necessary to enable further expansion of winter tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed</td>
<td>FC visitor centre in Glen More</td>
<td>In recognition of heavy pressure from visitors and need for better information/education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proposed</td>
<td>Major commercial/condominial/accommodation complex in Aviemore village.</td>
<td>Would increase Aviemore dominance of tourism in Spey Valley.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Office to obtain a major injection of money into the
development of tourism in the Highlands, Younger (1967),
then chairman of the company developing the Centre, desc-
ribed the project as a highly speculative private effort
which had received assistance from the government. Accor-
ding to the developers, Aviemore was selected because of
its good communications, the amenity of the Spey Valley
in general, and the skiing facilities in particular. Sev-
eral assumptions were made by the private investors to
justify their optimism in this new venture (Younger, 1967):
- provision of supplementary recreational facil-
ities would stimulate growth;
- large-scale facilities would attract far more
people to ski in the area;
- visitors in the summer would increase in num-
bers in response to the new facilities;
- a good facility for conferences could be suc-
cessful in the Highland environment.

When it opened in 1966 the Aviemore Centre contained
two large hotels, an indoor ice rink, theatre/cinema,
indoor swimming pool, shops, restaurants, bars, a caravan
park and a chalet-style motel. Subsequent expansions of
the Centre have added two large hotels (one of which is a
self-catering operation), Santa Claus Land (containing
amusements for children and a number of shops for crafts
and other tourism-related services), a go-kart track, and
the Clan Tartan Centre (owned separately) which combines
retailing with the provision of information.

Aviemore village underwent a transformation with the
new developments, including new accommodation and shops
outside the Centre and new residential developments by
the Council and private builders. Other villages in the
district have experienced some development related to
tourism, such as the Landmark Visitor Centre constructed
in Carrbridge in 1970, but they were not altered as radic-
cally as Aviemore. Another major facility - the Highland
Wildlife Park - was constructed near Kincraig in 1972. In 1979 the Automobile Association opened a major development of self-catering chalets near Carrbridge, and there are outstanding proposals for similar projects elsewhere in the district.

The major developments which took place between 1960 and 1978 affected Aviemore and the Glen More/Cairngorm area the most, with other villages in the district experiencing some growth either as a spin-off from skiing and the Aviemore Centre or from the general upturn in tourism in the Highlands. Proposals for additional developments (that were made known by 1979) indicate that expansion of tourism in the study area will probably continue to favour Aviemore and the corridor to Cairngorm. These proposals include a major expansion to Aviemore village for tourist accommodation, housing and commercial enterprises, the extension of facilities for skiing into Lurcher's Gully on Cairngorm, and the expansion of Aviemore Centre. Following a change in the ownership of the Centre, the new management announced its interest in constructing a chairlift up Craigellachie mountain behind the complex and adding a planetarium (The Press and Journal, February 14, 1979). In addition, the Centre's management have plans for adding up to three new hotels.

(B) Distribution of Facilities and Accommodation

The distribution of facilities for visitors and for recreation in the study area (as of 1978) is shown in Figure 14, with the concentration of facilities between Aviemore and Cairngorm shown in greater detail in Figure 15. All the villages offer something for tourists, but there is a notable lack of development in the southern part of the district despite its appeal from forests, lochs and mountains in unspoilt condition.

In addition to the facilities there are a number of
BADENOCH-STRATHSPEY, VISITOR & RECREATION FACILITIES

- PICNIC SITE
- BOATING
- ANGLING
- GOLF
- TENNIS
- BOWLS
- MUSEUM
- PONY-TREKKING/RIDING
- HIGHLAND GAMES
- GLIDING
- CASTLE RUINS
- NATURE TRAIL
- SPEYSIDE WAY
- OTHER FACILITY
- STEAM RAILWAY

LOCATIONS:
- CARRBRIDGE
- GRANTOWN
- NETHYBRIDGE
- BOAT OF GARTEN
- KINGUSSIE
- NEWTONMORE
- LOCH LAGGAN
- LOCH ERICH'T

MAP LEGEND:
- Osprey Nest
- Visitor Centre
- Landmark
- Wildlife Park
- Other facilities
- Castle ruins
- Nature Trail
- Speyside Way
- Steam Railway
- Named facilities

SCALE:
- 5 km
- 10 km

Figure 14
important events related to tourism which are held in the district. Both Nethybridge and Newtonmore hold annual Highland Games which attract many local residents and visitors for one day, and Newtonmore combines this event with the colourful Macpherson Clan Gathering. Kingussie holds a Gala Week associated with the traditional sport of shinty. Grantown has a major show in summer related to agriculture, and also emphasises festivities over Christmas and New Year. Carrbridge has recently started an annual Ceilidh Week in the late summer. Several sheep dog trials are held each year at different locations and they also attract some tourists. Aviemore has been the host of major events, such as car rallying and tournaments for skiing or curling.

The supply of accommodation in the district is illustrated in Figure 16. The different types of accommodation for tourists are shown in terms of the number of persons who can be accommodated when all rooms, beds, pitches and other units are made available. This is known as the person-capacity of an area or establishment. For each village the person-capacity has been estimated on the basis of information contained in the register of the SVTO and from other sources. Details of this distribution and the assumptions contained in the estimates are presented in Appendix 1. Figure 16 summarises this information in graphical form, so that the relative importance of various sub-areas and the different types of accommodation can be seen. However, these proportions are not exactly to scale.

At peak times, almost 12,000 persons could be accommodated in the district. This figure excludes those staying with friends and relatives, in second homes, in military establishments, in several part-time outdoor centres, and those camping outside formal sites. Touring pitches (for tents and touring caravans) are the single largest component, accounting for almost 38% of total
supply. However, this total is available only in the summer. Large hotels of fifty or more bedrooms provide approximately 18% of supply, and small hotels account for another 16%. Some establishments are not open all year, and the rates of occupancy within establishments determine the actual number of visitors in the area. These factors are considered later in this chapter, together with an estimate of monthly variations in the number of visitors in the Spey Valley.

The central corridor of Aviemore to Cairngorm contains fully 46% of the district's supply of accommodation as measured in person-capacity. Grantown/Cromdale is the second-largest supplier, with approximately 21% of the total. There are no estimates of total person-capacity in the district from the early 1960s, but it is clear that the dominance of Aviemore and Coylumbridge stemmed from 1965 when the Coylumbridge Hotel opened and the Aviemore Centre was under construction. From a position of having approximately 10% of the supply of accommodation in the study area, Aviemore and environs grew rapidly to its present predominance. Furthermore, when the actual occupancy of units is considered the central part of the district enjoys an even greater advantage.

(C) Promotion, Marketing, and the Area's Image

The manner in which tourism is promoted has an influence on the types and expectations of visitors to the Spey Valley. Information on the emphasis of promotional work and advertising was collected in the survey of operators of tourism-related facilities and businesses. Of the main attractions stressed, the features and amenities of each operation commanded the most attention, as may be expected. However, in describing why visitors should come to the district, the leading theme was that of sport and recreation, with scenery, wildlife and general amenities also very important.
Many operators, particularly those in small hotels and guest houses, did not have any special market in mind, but of those who did the focus was on persons with recreational interests. Scotland and England were seen as the major sources of custom. Very few operators aimed their promotion at specific socio-economic groups, although it is clear from their nature that some establishments cater mainly for those with higher incomes.

Coach tours have become a very important component of the market for hotels in the study area. Operators of accommodation places were asked what proportion of their season's custom would be from coach tours, if any. Only estimates could be obtained in this manner, and it is possible that some operators included business from coach parties in the winter, though these are a somewhat different market. The normal season for coach tours extends from April through September or October.

Most small establishments cannot accommodate coach tours, but three guest houses in the district did occasionally receive some overspill custom from hotels which did not have enough rooms on particular nights. Three large hotels were expecting that over 90% of the season's custom would be from coach tours, while four others expected between 60% and 80%. One large hotel estimated an amount of 30-39%, and two had only minor business from tours (one of these is a chalet-style motel and the other is a self-catering operation). In small hotels, three had only minor trade from coach tours, six had between 40% and 70%, and three estimated a high, but unspecified amount of custom would come from coach tours that season.

The number of establishments catering for coach tours was relatively small, but these were the larger serviced establishments in the study area and they accounted for the majority of supply in that type. No estimate of the total number of person-nights spent in the
district by coach parties can be made, but it is evidently a very significant proportion of the total. There is little doubt that this market is important in raising occupancy rates and bringing many domestic and foreign visitors to the area, but there are potential disadvantages associated with this market as well. One possibility is that the market may slump and leave those establishments which catered heavily for it without an established clientele of return-visitors. Another problem is that the size and even the arrival of coach parties cannot always be guaranteed. Sometimes substantial discounts must be offered to coach tour agents to secure their business. Nevertheless, most of those operators interviewed in the survey were satisfied with the increased trade which had accrued from coach tours at a period when the number of domestic tourists travelling by automobiles had declined or remained stagnant.

In keeping with the emphasis on recreation, the packaging of holidays has grown considerably. Skiing packages, usually combining accommodation with instruction and/or passes for the slopes, were offered by 8 of 23 guest houses, 20 of 56 small hotels, and 8 of 10 large hotels (the other 2 large hotels were closed in the winter). Fishing, golf, boating and other sports were also available in packages. The STR and HIBB have been active in encouraging packaged holidays, particularly in the off-peak seasons, and local ski-schools have been instrumental in promoting packages by making available instructors to large hotels.

Potential visitors to the Spey Valley, if they read any promotional material or the numerous publications which have mentioned Aviemore and the district, will be impressed by the wide range of opportunities for recreation and the area's spectacular scenery. Two examples illustrate this point:

- "Pack your sports gear, and make for the Spey
The Aviemore Centre is promoted as a family resort for both active and passive visitors, and as a ski resort for winter holidays. It caters to groups with special interests, such as skiers, children, young people, and those at conferences, which other parts of the district cannot do in the same way. It is set apart by its modernity, wide range of facilities, and appeal to those interested in something other than the traditional Highland holiday. In fact, the marketing approach of the management is to appeal as widely as possible. This seems inevitable, given the large scale of investment and the fact that markets had to be created for holidays in the Highlands outside the summer period. Yet, in seeking a broad appeal, there is a risk of departing completely from the original concept of the Centre as a complement to outdoor recreation.

Several of the outlying villages have produced tourist brochures of their own, and these give an insight to the different marketing approaches considered necessary to compete with, or take advantage of, the developments in Aviemore. Newtonmore has adopted the title of "Heart and Hospitality of the Scottish Highlands", while stressing history, scenery, and potential for recreation. The facilities of Aviemore are mentioned as being only "twenty minutes away". Kingussie is the "Capital of Badenoch" and an "ideal all-year round holiday base". "Close proximity to the Aviemore Centre" is noted, and, like Newtonmore, Kingussie is promoted as a good touring centre with many outdoor activities being available. Other tourist facilities such as the Highland Wildlife Park and Highland Folk Museum are listed in the Kingussie brochure.
Carrbridge is "Scotland's Ski Village", which is a reference to the country's first permanent ski-school opened there in the 1950s. Peace and tranquility, diversity of opportunities for recreation, and touring are stressed. In 1978 Carrbridge initiated an annual Ceilidh festival to promote visits late in the summer. Aviemore is not mentioned in the brochure, but its facilities are. The brochure for Grantown echoes many of the attractions stated by those for the other villages, with emphasis placed on angling and skiing, but Aviemore is not mentioned at all. Many operators of tourist establishments in the Spey Valley seem to resent the dominance of Aviemore, and this feeling appears to be strongest in Grantown. This is no surprise, in view of the traditional role of Grantown as the area's main centre for holidays, and its pioneering work in the development of skiing.

Antagonism between tourist operators in Aviemore and the outlying villages came to a head in 1978 when it was suggested that the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation should change its name to Aviemore and Spey Valley Tourist Organisation. It was argued by the Area Tourist Officer and others that such a change would take advantage of the free and plentiful publicity given to Aviemore and would more readily stick in the minds of potential visitors. Considerable discussion of this item took place at the annual general meeting, and although some outlying operators supported the motion, most condemned it and the motion lost. Opposition to the proposed change came also from various organisations in Grantown, the Newtonmore Community Council, and the District Council.

A different view of the district is put to visitors by organisations interested in conservation. Their appeal is to encourage a greater respect for the environment while visitors enjoy the area's outdoor attractions. For example, the Speyside Wildlife Group (with members from the FC, NCC, HIBD, Scottish Wildlife Trust, and Royal
Society for the Protection of Birds) published a brochure calling for help to protect the countryside and avoid litter and fires. Dangers of recreation in the mountains are mentioned, as are restrictions on access imposed by estates during deer-stalking. A brochure of the Cairngorm Ranger Service (published by the HIDB and CCS) also gives advice about dangers on the mountains. A booklet by the Nature Conservancy Council draws attention to increasing pressures from visitors and potential damage to the environment. It concludes by speculating on the fate of rare birds on the mountains:

"All we can say definitely is that there has been no obvious effect so far; next year or in some future year, the pressure may become too great." (NCC brochure, Wildlife Conservation and Human Access to the Cairngorm Plateau, undated)

This statement should be contrasted with the widespread promotion of the Cairngorm chairlift as a means to gain ready access to the mountains. It is little wonder that conservationists seek to complement, and in some cases counter, the majority of promotional material given to visitors. With recreation 'sold' as the district's main attraction, there is an inherent difficulty for conservationists to make their case known effectively. This is exacerbated by the fact that promotional literature reaches tourists first, or visitors come to the area with some preconceived notion of opportunities for recreation. Messages regarding conservation, however, reach visitors only upon arrival, and then often only if they visit information centres. Furthermore, tourists wanting to enjoy the outdoors may not be very receptive to discussions of hazards in the mountains, restrictions on access, and damage caused by the very presence of the visitor.

Have visitors been influenced by promotions, and how do they react to their stay in Spey Valley? What are their preferences and dislikes? These questions are crucial to effective marketing and are valuable indicators
of how the district's image is being made. The most pertinent finding in the surveys of visitors was the fact that environmental attractions are the most important. Sightseeing was the predominant reason given by respondents in May, July, August and October for visiting the Spey Valley. Outdoor recreation, proximity to the Aviemore Centre, and peace and quiet were the other main attractions mentioned, but in the winter skiing was the main feature. Of the things visitors enjoyed about their stay in the district, scenery and the amenity of the countryside were foremost. Peace and quiet, forests, trails, wildlife, cleanliness and unspoilt nature were also mentioned frequently. Other things liked by visitors were the local residents, other tourists, specific facilities, (especially the Aviemore Centre), the potential for recreation, and "lots to do". Those favouring activities and facilities constitute a minority sub-group of visitors, although that does not preclude a strong interest in natural attractions.

Asked about things they disliked, respondents made far fewer comments and many said they had no complaints at all. Aviemore village and the Aviemore Centre attracted the most criticism. High costs, weather, and road or traffic conditions were also the subjects of dislike. A significant minority of visitors found the area, or at least the part they had experienced, to be too commercialised or over-developed. In winter, poor facilities and crowding on Cairngorm ski-slopes aroused the greatest number of complaints.

Respondents were asked for suggestions of things to make the Spey Valley better for visitors, and many answers simply correspond with the things they disliked. However, the main group of suggestions was that the area should be kept as it is, or not allowed to grow more. Improvement of skiing facilities dominated responses in the winter, although there was a strong sentiment from a minority
that growth should be prevented. In the interviews of visitors, respondents were asked if they thought the Spey Valley would be a good area in which to live. A majority answered in the affirmative, giving mostly aspects of environmental quality, amenities and recreation as reasons for their approval. Many who thought it would not be a good place in which to live actually expressed interest but were worried about jobs or other personal matters, so these can be considered as qualifications rather than rejections. The point to be taken from this question is that qualities which appeal to tourists also appeal to those contemplating residence. An area which is attractive for living is also likely to be attractive for visiting.

Further insight to the issue of promotion and marketing comes from data concerning the activities of visitors in the study area. They show that most respondents were not active in recreation and only a minority participated in sports, except in winter. This fact does not detract from the importance of facilities, but does highlight the greater significance of natural amenities.

In the Spey Valley there is a clear distinction between the markets for summer and winter, with skiing dominating the latter. In other seasons there is an attraction for both the general tourist and the activity-oriented visitor, and this entails a dilemma for planners. It involves a question of balance, as the maintenance of a wide appeal has major economic advantages but carries with it the risk of alienating certain sectors of the market. In the study area there is still available sufficient space and amenity to permit a great deal of choice by visitors, but environmental quality must be recognised as a key factor which acts to limit the growth of tourism.
Ownership and Management: A very large turnover of owners has occurred in the Spey Valley in recent years, particularly in small hotels and guest houses. In the guest houses, 14 of 23 had been acquired between 1975 and 1978, with another 6 acquired between 1970 and 1974. In small hotels, 25 of 56 had been purchased between 1975 and 1978, and a further 16 between 1970 and 1975. Turnover had not been severe in the other types of establishments. Seven of 10 large hotels had been constructed in or since 1965 and the ownership of them had not changed at all.

Seventy-nine per cent of all establishments covered in the interviews (102 of 129) had owners who were resident in the study area. The owners of another 15 establishments lived or had their head offices elsewhere in Scotland, and only four establishments were owned by English interests. These figures include Aviemore Centre and its constituent parts, and it was this complex which accounted for most of the outside ownership. Also, two large hotels in the northern part of the district had owners in England. Local ownership is therefore a feature of small businesses. Various local authorities own several tourism-related establishments (Grantown caravan park, Highland Folk Museum and Lagganlia Outdoor Centre), and other establishments were owned by the Forestry Commission, Scottish Sports Council and the Scottish Youth Hostels Association.

Only 12 of 100 resident owners for which data were available (11.8%) had been born in Badenoch–Strathspey and 10 others were native Highlanders. Of the remainder, 47 came from Scotland, 25 from other parts of the U.K., 5 from Europe and 1 from elsewhere. However, four non-natives had lived in the district before acquiring their establishments and nine others had some family connection
with residents of the area before moving there. Surprisingly, none of the guest houses in the survey were owned by natives of the study area.

As a group, the resident owners were quite inexperienced, as only 19% of them had owned similar establishments previously. Five owners had this experience within the district and 12 others gained it elsewhere in Scotland. A number of other owners had previous managerial or business experience other than in the owning of tourist establishments.

When asked for their main reason in coming to the district (and prompted as to a choice of responses), 50% of the resident owners said that a "business opportunity" was the main factor. A further 12% were motivated by the chance for a better place in which to live and the same proportion came because of a job or a different opportunity for business. "Family reasons" were given by 8% of the resident owners and the same number had "retirement in mind". Six other owners gave mixed reasons, combining business with other factors. It is interesting to note that in small hotels and guest houses as many as 21 (31%) of the owners came to the Spey Valley for reasons other than jobs or business. Looking at sub-areas of the district, it is clear that the northern part, dominated by establishments in Grantown, attracted more resident owners for reasons other than business than did the rest of Badenoch-Strathspey.

For some, tourism presented a means to attain a better quality of life, to come to an area in which they had family connections, or to facilitate retirement. With this in mind, it was interesting to find the purely business reasons for locating in the Spey Valley. Most frequently mentioned was the potential of the valley regarding tourism and its all-year trade. This seemed to be a greater attraction for owners in the south and central
parts of the district than it was for those living in the north.

The second largest category of reasons included those who had a specific interest in the area, either through their knowledge of it or the attraction of its amenities and opportunities for recreation. Apparently opportunities for business dominated with those attracted to locate in or near Aviemore. Another large group of owners chose the study area for business because of a personal association with the district or the property in question, such as the ownership of the land prior to construction of the facility or family connections with the previous owner. This factor was especially significant in small hotels, guest houses and the operators of self-catering establishments, as many of them had lived in their properties before deciding to cater for tourists. Eleven owners, all of whom were in small hotels or guest houses, had no particular reason for coming to the study area. For them it was simply the availability of property which brought them to the district, and in particular mostly to the northern part of the study area. Ten respondents wanted to be near Aviemore or the skiing facilities. Only two of them were in accommodation establishments, with the others including ski-schools and sports-related operations.

Regarding their establishment specifically, the largest group of reasons given for purchasing the property was that it was available, generally "at the right price", or that nothing else was available. This appears to be very indiscriminate, but it does reflect the overriding interest of many owners in factors other than business. The next most important reason was a liking of the property in question, and this was particularly important in small hotels and guest houses. Location of the establishments in relation to villages, roads, facilities or other specific requirements (such as water or
to be a part of a hotel complex) were given by some. Five owners wanted to be near the Aviemore Centre, and three others wanted to be near but not a part of it. One respondent consciously decided to locate away from the Centre. There was also a substantial group who had previous familiarity with the establishments, either through working in them, through family connections, or by ownership of the land or buildings prior to their use for tourism-related operations.

The considerable publicity given to the Spey Valley has evidently attracted a large number of owners to the district, especially in the smaller establishments. The number of locally-born owners is small, with none at all in the surveyed guest houses, but perhaps the natives had sold their properties earlier. Many others have been attracted by considerations of environmental quality or lifestyle. The resulting high rate of turnover of owners may result from disillusionment on the part of inexperienced operators who face many problems or by those whose expectations of the volume of business were inflated. In this respect, according to some local observers contacted by the author, it is possible that the potential of the area has been oversold. Inflated prices for land and premises are one probable consequence of this trend, and another is the absence of a stable business leadership in small communities which require that resource. Also, given the inexperience of many owners and their short duration, it is possible that standards in the industry may not be maximised. On the other hand, the author witnessed a number of establishments that had obviously been improved greatly by new owners who brought capital and enthusiasm to the enterprise. In this respect there is a need for longer-term monitoring of the changes in ownership and the impact on the tourist industry and the community.

Another serious question raised by the high level of
turnover in the ownership of facilities is that of balancing participation in development by natives with attracting needed expertise and investments from outside. It is a common complaint heard in the Highlands that natives of the region lack the ability to operate businesses, and if they have the ability they lack the financial means. This issue is examined more closely in Chapter Six.

Some information was also collected in the interviews regarding managers, wardens and the like, in establishments having such operators. All ten of the large hotels and sixteen other establishments had managers, but of the 22 persons documented in this category only 2 had been born in the study area. Three others came from the Highlands, 9 were from elsewhere in Scotland, 9 were born elsewhere in the U.K., 2 were from Europe and 1 other was from abroad elsewhere. Two of the managers born outside Badenoch-Strathspey had some family connection with the district.

Large hotels in particular brought in senior managers, and these were found to be mostly from England. However, several of the large hotels did say that many local persons were employed at the level of heads of departments. It was asked how long the managers had lived in the district, and results show that over half of them had been resident for five years or less. In all, natives of the district had made no more progress in senior management than in the ownership of facilities.

Expansions by Current Owners: Respondents were asked if the current owners had expanded their business in the Spey Valley since buying or building the facility. Only major expansions were of interest, and, given the large turnover of ownership, the data provide an indication of only recent trends. Also, the scale and cost of expansions were not taken into account, as this would have required
A great deal more information.

A moderate level of activity was revealed, although guest houses were not undertaking many projects. Most noticeable was the trend in older hotels toward installing private bathrooms, no doubt with the overseas visitor and coach tours in mind. It also appears that there was greater activity between 1970 and 1974 than subsequently, and this might be explained by overall economic conditions or the newness of operators in the district. Work to satisfy fire regulations in recent years also affected many operators, as this legal requirement may have absorbed much available capital.

New hotels, built with private bathrooms, had concentrated on expansion of tourist accommodation, other internal improvements, or the building of staff blocks. In the remaining types of establishments, it was notable that accommodation for self-catering and touring had expanded a great deal, as had the hostels and outdoor centres. The small hotels included a large group (28 out of 56) which had no recorded expansions under current owners.

Respondents were asked if they had any serious problems with initial developments or with expansions. This was to reveal possible obstacles in the way of development or difficulties caused by growth. Interviewers prompted respondents by reading out a list of possibilities, so as to ensure consideration of important factors. The answers revealed a situation relatively free of serious problems, and of those mentioned, financial matters were the most frequent (13 out of 117 respondents). Other difficulties included the obtaining of planning permission (8 cases), a lack of water or sewerage (2), shortages of labour (4), and shortages of materials (3). The cost of land or its availability were not mentioned at all.
Ninety-three of 129 respondents (72%) had no firm plans to expand, but the majority of planned activity was in small hotels. This fact helps to compensate for the noticeably slow rate of expansion mentioned earlier. Most of the planned expansions were simple additions, including nine operators planning to add private bathrooms. Only three operators were planning to develop a new site, one of which was to be a different kind of facility altogether. There did not appear to be any significant subareal variation in these plans.

Asked if serious problems were being encountered with their plans, 12 of 28 respondents replied that there were none. However, a lack of money was mentioned nine times, shortages of labour were noted twice, and red tape or uncertainty associated with grants or loans was stated twice. Other serious problems involved only one respondent each. Thus, while problems do occur, it was the individual availability of financial resources which appeared to cause the major difficulty. This conclusion leads on to the consideration of financial assistance obtained from public agencies.

Financial Assistance: The amount and general distribution of financial assistance given to tourism in the study area by public agencies was considered in Chapter Four. It was shown that the bulk of aid had gone to large establishments in the central part of the district, focussed on Aviemore (details of the types of recipients are included in the Appendices). In this section the effects of financial assistance are assessed, based on the postal questionnaires and interviews with owners.

As most owners had acquired existing facilities, the number involved in the initial development of an establishment was small. The surveys found that 17 owners had received some financial assistance from public agencies for an initial development in the Spey Valley, and 17
others who had used only private sources. These figures include the constituent parts of the Aviemore Centre which were all surveyed separately, so that the actual number of owners receiving aid was somewhat less. The new developments were concentrated in or near Aviemore since 1965, so this sub-area received most of the assistance to such projects.

Respondents were asked if the availability of financial assistance had influenced their initial development in terms of size, quality, speed or in other ways. Of those responding, 5 claimed not to have been influenced, 3 said the aid permitted higher quality or hastened the project, and 5 others believed the development would not have been possible without help. When asked specifically if the project would have been possible without assistance, 6 said it would not have been possible (four of these were large hotels and 2 were major tourist attractions) and 3 were uncertain. The Aviemore Centre company was not questioned on this subject (independent parts of the Centre were), although it is probable that financial assistance received from the government was necessary to commence the project.

Assistance to expansions was much more widely dispersed throughout Badenoch-Strathspey. On the question of the effects of assistance on projects, 12 of those responding said they were not influenced by its receipt, 8 were influenced in terms of speed, size or quality, and 3 indicated that the project would not have been possible without aid. When asked directly if the expansion would have been possible without financial assistance, only 5 respondents said that it would not have been possible, including 2 large hotels, 2 small hotels and 1 outdoor centre. Three other respondents were uncertain. Again, the Aviemore Centre company was not included in this tabulation, but independent establishments in the Centre were.
On the basis of responses from owners and operators of facilities regarding the effects of financial assistance it might be concluded that aid goes to many who do not require it. However, the HIDB, which has provided the greatest amount of assistance to tourism in the study area, does include an assessment of need in its review of applications for assistance. It is possible that some owners could afford to develop without assistance but would not do so, and it is also possible that some responses were not reliable in their assessment of decisions made some time ago or by other people. There will always be some doubt about the efficacy of financial assistance in creating development which would not otherwise occur, and so the public agencies must judge each case as to its apparent need of help.

Respondents in the interviews were asked for their opinions on the policies and programmes of the Boards in giving financial assistance. Many of the comments pertaining to the HIDB and STB are not relevant to the current research, although it can be said that much uncertainty existed as to the exact criteria and methods by which applications for assistance were being assessed. More relevant are the comments made by nine operators that too much money was given to large establishments instead of to small operations. Six respondents believed that the Boards wasted money on some loss-making projects, and five others thought that outsiders obtained money more easily than natives. Three other respondents considered that Aviemore received most of the aid, and that it should be spread more evenly throughout the district.

There is some truth to the suggestions that most of the financial assistance went to Aviemore, to large projects and to outsiders, although this criticism can be countered. First, the Boards must respond to applications and cannot influence directly where they come from and by whom. Second, the surveys revealed that large establish-
ments were more dependent on assistance for initial developments and for expansions. It can also be argued that much of the image and attraction of the Spey Valley for tourism stems directly or indirectly from the facilities at Aviemore and Cairngorm, and from the other major tourist attractions which received aid, so everyone benefits from this growth. Many of the resident owners interviewed by the author were quite aware of the value of large-scale development in expanding the area's tourist industry, although some would have preferred that large-scale growth had not occurred.

Policy on Closing: The main objective of promoting a longer tourist season is to enable establishments to remain open all year, thereby increasing full-time employment and raising profits and incomes. In the study area the development of a winter season, and the lengthening of the spring-autumn season through provision of new facilities, has brought such benefits, though not uniformly.

A table is included in Appendix Two which shows the policy on closing for tourism-related establishments in the Spey Valley. The survey found that 89 of 129 establishments (69%) remained open all year. There are no comparable data available for the rest of the region or for Scotland, but it is probable that this level of all-year opening is not found in other rural parts of the country. Seventeen establishments in the district closed for the whole winter, including two large hotels in the northern part of the study area. November and December were the most common months of closure for others, although only closures of one month or longer were recorded.

Fourteen establishments closed for one month or longer in each of the northern and southern parts of the district, compared with only three in the central part. Some closures are not necessarily related to demand from
tourists, as with five sites in the study area which must close for at least one month every year because of licensing requirements for static caravans. Pony-trekking and riding centres find it difficult to feed their horses in winter, and as a consequence only one of these establishments remains open. Ski-related operations naturally peak in the winter, and three ski-schools are open only during the skiing season.

The main reasons given for closing were a lack of business, and this was mentioned by 24 respondents (11 in the north and south and 2 in the central part of the district). However, 9 respondents said they closed in order to take a rest, 8 said they needed the time for repairs or other work on the premises, and bad weather was mentioned as a reason by 3 respondents. Operators of sixteen (41%) of those establishments which closed indicated that they would not stay open all year even if an adequate demand by tourists was present.

Many of the respondents were new to the area, and so it might be expected that their policy on closing will change over time. In fact, the survey found that ten establishments had at one time closed for at least a month but now remained open all year, while six now closed but at one time remained open all year. One of the large hotels which was recorded as being closed in the winter had actually remained open the previous winter as an experiment, but the management decided not to repeat that effort. The other large hotel in the northern part of the district, which closed in winter, had remained open during the early part of the 1960s before Aviemore became dominant in catering for skiers. Overall, small hotels seemed to fluctuate the most with respect to closing, and that might reflect changes in ownership or the preferences of individual operators.

Some research was conducted in the study area in
1968 by the Scottish Hotel School, and although the data are not comparable with those in the current research, it is possible to suggest that the number of closures has diminished over the past decade. This observation accords with data presented herein on past policies on closing and with the general observations of respondents. However, despite the lengthened tourist season, the problem of seasonality has not been eliminated in the Spey Valley. This is revealed in a later section in this chapter which presents estimates of the number of visitors in the district for each of twelve months.

Some respondents indicated that it was not profitable to remain open all year, or they did so only on the basis of profits from their bars. There are advantages in staying open all year, notably in the ability to retain key employees, the building of repeat custom and the potential for improved profits. Small establishments operated by families can stay open with few extra costs, but large hotels must attain high rates of occupancy to justify staying open. Older hotels appear to be even more disadvantaged because of higher maintenance costs and heating. Some of the possible means to extend the benefits of all-year tourism more evenly throughout the study area are analysed in Chapter Seven.

**Local Business Linkages:** One of the objectives of development policy is to encourage the growth of local business linkages, which are the interdependencies between operations. The more of these linkages which form at a local level, the greater will be the diversity and self-sufficiency of the local economy. Research has found that tourism and other forms of industry in rural areas have a very low multiplier value (Archer, 1977), as the level of inter-connection between businesses is low. Therefore, if tourism can help to create linkages, its own multiplier effect will increase.
An analysis of multiplier values was not attempted in this research, partly because of the great amount of information that would have been required, and partly because other studies in Great Britain have found multipliers in rural areas to be uniformly low (Hanna, 1977). Instead, a simple indication of local links between businesses was obtained by asking operators what goods and services they obtained within Badenoch-Strathspey District. An estimate of the value of such costs as a proportion of total normal expenditures was also requested, but in the event it proved impossible to consider anything but the food budget.

A table in Appendix 2 lists those items mentioned by respondents. A large amount of food was purchased locally, with guest houses and small hotels buying the most from local sources, in proportional terms. Large hotels acquired most of their food in bulk from outside contractors, although the amounts obtained locally must still be significant, because of the large scale of operations.

There was a locally-owned dairy in the study area which had grown substantially in response to tourism-related developments, and a dairy in neighbouring Morayshire also supplied some hotels and facilities in Badenoch-Strathspey. The main supplier of baked goods was also from Morayshire. Actual dairy farming in the study area had declined in recent years, despite the increased demand. There were only about six dairy herds in the study area in 1978, and only one was, apparently, supplying milk directly to tourist facilities. Other farm products had not benefitted greatly from tourism-generated demand, as the household survey and its supplement found that only a very small amount of milk, eggs, potatoes and hay was actually provided to tourist facilities directly. In general, farming in the district was not directed at local sales, and conditions do not favour market-gardening.
The local fresh-water fishery found some markets within the Spey Valley, both for food and for stocking. Given the abundance of local game (venison and grouse in particular), and the existence of a game processor in Grantown, it was surprising to find very little game purchased locally by accommodation establishments. One small frozen-food specialist had opened in Kingussie to meet rising demands, but Perth and Inverness seemed to be favoured as sources for these goods. Another important service obtained outside the district was that of laundering, which many hotels obtained from a firm in Aberfeldy. Printing and stationary also came mainly from outside the Spey Valley, although some printing was done in Kingussie.

Local trades have benefitted from tourism, and especially the painting/decorating businesses which cater for hotels and other facilities. Aviemore Centre had its own trades/maintenance staff, and the Cairngorm Chairlift company also retained trades people, including several apprentices, for the full year. Other services used locally included petrol stations and garages, audio-visual (subsequent to the survey this local firm went bankrupt), crafts, veterinary care, photography, and the manufacture and repair of recreational equipment.

Links between tourism and manufacturing were discussed in the previous chapter, where it was demonstrated that several industries have developed in the study area largely because of tourism. It should also be noted that the owners of several other manufacturing industries in Badenoch-Strathspey were apparently influenced to locate there as a result of experiences on holidays.

The local links revealed by the surveys were not substantial in quantitative terms, nor were they the types of forward and backward linkages which stem from manufacturing industries. Leakages were quite high, owing
to a reliance on external suppliers of goods and services. Furthermore, the earlier discussion of ownership revealed a high level of control of the largest establishments by outside interests, so there is a diversion of profits as well as expenditures. Nevertheless, the links which have developed with local shops, trades and manufacturers/repairers are significant in the context of a small rural economy.

Ancillary services could be expanded in the district, to the benefit of the local economy and the tourist industry, but perhaps some of these require a larger market or faster growth. On the other hand, the regional economy is strengthened by demands for goods and services which are generated in the study area and this is a benefit which should not be ignored. Only certain types of goods and services are likely to be provided at the local level in rural areas, and the present research has shown where some of these could be strengthened or cultivated. It would be logical for development policy to focus on these types of local enterprises and perhaps to direct special assistance towards their growth.

Staff and Special Accommodation for Staff: Employment created directly by tourism-related establishments was discussed in Chapter Four. Other questions were asked in the interviews regarding staffing, related problems, and accommodation provided for employees.

Respondents were asked if they experienced difficulty in obtaining employees from within the study area. Fifty-three operators said they had no problem, and another 18 did not use or seek local employees. Some of those establishments which did not seek local staff actually imported permanent employees, and this fact distorts the situation. Of those who had difficulty (approximately 45% of the surveyed establishments), the main reasons given were related to a lack of quality, too few available, or a
lack of skills. Some respondents blamed the shortage on the large demands of Aviemore, and others believed there was too much choice available for employees in the district. Other reasons mentioned by employers were poor working conditions or low wages, poor transport services, the absence of full-year jobs, the lack of accommodation for staff, and a belief that local people did not want the type of work being offered.

Small hotels appeared to suffer worse from difficulty in obtaining local staff, perhaps because of their inability to compete with the larger operations. Sports-related establishments also had many complaints, probably because of their need for skilled instructors on a seasonal basis. However, when asked if they were generally satisfied with the local staff they did obtain, the majority of respondents said that they were satisfied.

With respect to seasonal staff brought into the study area, it was found that fewer operators were dissatisfied with this group than with local staff. Large hotels appeared to have the greatest difficulty with this type of employee, no doubt reflecting their greater reliance on imported workers. Bad attitudes on the part of these staff was the most frequently cited complaint.

In 1968 the Scottish Hotel School conducted research in the study area, and from a sample of accommodation establishments they concluded that the district suffered from a dearth of skilled labour. Although the data from that survey and the current research are not directly comparable, it appears that problems with staff have diminished somewhat since 1968. This trend, if true, may reflect adjustments made after the Aviemore and Coylumbridge projects became established, or it may reflect a higher level of skill on the part of residents.

Regarding skills, respondents were asked if they
provided any special training for employees. The majority did not, other than specific instruction on the conduct of jobs. A few of the larger establishments did offer some training programmes, particularly in the chain hotels which have developed a career structure and can move around their staff for purposes of training. The chairlift company employed several apprentices, and this was the only example of such training found in the tourism-related facilities.

Sports-related establishments require trained instructors, and residents can take advantage of the Glen More Lodge facility to obtain the necessary qualifications. Inverness Technical College has a day-release training programme, but only a very few staff in the surveyed establishments were found to be taking advantage of that opportunity. Secondary schools in the study area have a job sampling programme which enables students to work briefly in tourist establishments, but this does not constitute formal training. In general, the absence of a training facility and formal programmes of training within local establishments reflects the predominant use of unskilled labour in tourism. Many respondents said they had to import their senior managers and other skilled staff, while seasonal employees and part-time female workers satisfied most of the remaining needs.

Information obtained in the interviews with staff in 3 staff blocks in or near Aviemore supports the conclusion that most employment in the tourist industry is of an unskilled nature. It was found that 15 of 29 females had no previous experience in their type of work, and only 9 had special training. However, a number of those who said they had training were actually performing relatively unskilled work, including 4 chambermaids. Ten of 24 males had previous experience, and 8 said they had special training for their type of work.
Housing is in short supply in the study area (see Chapter Six for details) and tourist establishments must provide the bulk of accommodation for their seasonal and imported permanent staff. This is particularly a problem for the large establishments in and near Aviemore where the demands for staff have led to the building of a number of staff blocks. Data obtained in the interviews with operators of facilities revealed that approximately 900 persons could be accommodated by their employers, with approximately 273 spaces available in the northern part of the district, 450 in the central part and 142 in the south. These figures represent the maximum for both males and females, and many of the spaces are used only in the peak summer season.

Thirty-five establishments provided internal rooms for staff, and 39 had staff blocks, although some places had both types so the figures overlap. In addition, the surveyed establishments provided staff with a total of 29 static caravans, 11 rented houses, 13 owned houses and 1 rented room. Large hotels were the main suppliers of these types of accommodation.

When asked if a lack of accommodation was a problem in recruiting or keeping employees, 19 operators said that it was. Of these, 5 said they had lost potential employees, 3 believed they could get better staff or married staff if housing was easier to obtain in the district, and other respondents felt their own provision of accommodation for staff was inadequate. Even though all 10 large hotels in the study area provided accommodation for staff, four of them still considered it to be a problem.

Problems and Prospects: Operators of tourism-related establishments were asked about the main problems facing their businesses. Twenty-one respondents provided no answers, some because they had no problems. Of those
mentioned, the largest group of problems concerned high costs and difficulty in the financing of operations. Wages, maintenance, advertising, rates, construction, cash flow and new developments were all mentioned in this regard. Of these cases, 17 were located in the northern, 11 in the central and 10 in the southern part of the district. All five of the guest houses experiencing financial problems were located in the north.

Low levels of demand by tourists were a problem for 27 respondents, with 16 of these located in the northern, 6 in the central and 5 in the southern part of the Spey Valley. Guest houses and small hotels accounted for 12 of the 16 establishments in the northern part which complained of low demand. Although Aviemore and the large hotels in the district enjoyed the best rates of occupancy (data on this point are presented later in this chapter), three large hotels in Aviemore nevertheless mentioned low demand in the shoulder seasons as being a problem.

Competition, or the over-supply of tourist establishments in the area worried twenty respondents. Nine of these were located in the northern, 3 in the central and 8 in the southern part of Badenoch-Strathspey. It was mainly the guest houses and small hotels which feared competition, but it is noteworthy that two large hotels in the north mentioned this problem. Included in this category were those who specified the large supply of bed and breakfast places, a fear that the number of self-catering units was growing too rapidly, and a resentment of the dominance of Aviemore.

The weather was mentioned as a problem by 5 operators. Conditions affecting snowfalls can vary greatly through the skiing season and from year to year, thereby adversely affecting that sport. Bad weather can also interfere with normal business and keep potential visitors
from attempting the journey to the Spey Valley. On the other hand, occasional blockages of roads by snow can result in bonuses to some places of accommodation, particularly near the infamous Drumochter Pass.

Operators of 10 establishments were worried about consequences of the construction of the A9 road and the by-passing of villages. Eight of these were located, not surprisingly, in the south of the district where access to the A9 was most important. Most of these respondents believed that changes had already taken away business or would do so in the future, and one desired access to the new road (which the government was refusing in all instances). Many more operators throughout the study area, it should be stressed, actually thought that improvements to the A9 would, at least in the long-term, benefit their business by attracting more trade or retaining visitors longer in quieter surroundings. There is little doubt that environmental quality in the villages being bypassed will improve, especially from the absence of lorries, coaches and other heavy vehicles.

Two major tourist attractions in the Spey Valley had conducted surveys of their clientele which revealed the importance of unplanned visits by passing motorists. The owners of these establishments were naturally concerned about the potential effects of losing direct access to the main road. On the other hand, it is this type of attraction which is most likely to draw motorists off the new A9 road and keep them in the study area longer.

A study by the HIDB in 1979 examined the effects of by-passes on villages to the south of Badenoch-Strathspey. It was found that some businesses did lose custom permanently, but others were able to shift their emphasis and change markets. The villages, overall, appeared to recover somewhat from the initial loss of visitors within a few years. With respect to the Spey Valley, the HIDB
report speculated that larger villages, such as Aviemore, might be able to recover better from the effects of being by-passed because of their wider range of facilities and services.

It might also be expected that improvements to the A9 could attract more visitors to the study area as a result of increased comfort and savings in the time taken to reach the district from the populous south of Scotland. This trend might apply particularly with respect to weekend visits for skiing, as this segment of the tourist market is very susceptible to constraints imposed by time and distance.

Respondents were also asked what could be done, by themselves or public bodies, to improve business. Predominant among the ideas mentioned was the need for more or better promotion and information for visitors. This was true in all types of establishments, but was stressed by the larger ones. Numerous specific suggestions were made, of which many pertained to the need for: better or more amenities for tourists in the district; improvements and expansions in the establishments themselves; improvements in the Boards' schemes of financial assistance; and better or more staff.

A fuller appreciation of the views of operators of tourism-related facilities can be gained by referral to the analysis of satisfactions and attitudes contained in the next chapter.

(E) Visitors in the Spey Valley

This section begins with a brief overview of contemporary patterns of tourism in Scotland and in the Highlands, followed by an examination of seasonal variation in the number of visitors in the Spey Valley. Drawing on surveys of visitors conducted for this research, and on
several other studies, the characteristics and activities of visitors are examined in the final part of this chapter.

**Patterns of Tourism in Scotland and the Highlands:**
Following the oil crisis of 1973, tourism in Great Britain suffered a decline, with Scotland's share of the total number of holidays falling approximately 15% (STB, 1977). It is a feature of tourism in Scotland that, because of its remoteness from British and European markets, it suffers worse from a fall in holidaymaking. Since 1974, however, there has been a recovery in demand from overseas visitors and from tourists staying in the self-catering types of accommodation, including camping. Hotels and other serviced accommodation have remained relatively static in terms of occupancy (STB, 1977).

Table 15 summarises the volume and value of tourism in Scotland in 1978, as estimated by the STB. This reveals the dominance of domestic travel in terms of bednights and the proportionally much greater value of overseas visitors in terms of expenditure within Scotland. In gross economic terms, the STB estimated that tourism in 1978 yielded approximately £523 million in spending (including travel for business) and sustained over 100,000 jobs in Scotland.

In the years from 1972 through 1976 the Highlands and Islands (HIDB area) obtained approximately 2% of the domestic holiday trips taken in the U.K., with its share of bednights being slightly higher. With regard to overseas visitors, the HIDB area in 1976 received approximately 1,142,000 visitor-nights, compared with 9,400,000 spent in Scotland and 55,216,000 in Great Britain as a whole (HIDB, 1977).

Detailed research into tourism in the Highlands must rely heavily on data obtained in the STARS surveys of
1973. That year preceded the main effects of the oil crisis and so its findings are not necessarily applicable in all aspects to subsequent years. Also, the surveys covered only seven months of the year, ignoring the winter season. Thus, while STARS estimated that in 1973 a total of 12.2 million bed-nights were spent by visitors in the HIDB area (TRRU, 1976), the actual total for twelve months would have been somewhat higher.

Table 15: The Volume and Value of Tourism in Scotland, 1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Residents of G.B.</th>
<th>Overseas Visitors</th>
<th>Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trips (millions)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays: 1-3 nights</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<td>2.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Bednights (millions)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays: 1-3 nights</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>51.0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expenditure (£millions)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holidays: 1-3 nights</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>202.0</td>
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<td>236.0</td>
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<td>97.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>44.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>365.0</td>
<td>158.0</td>
<td>523.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: STB Tenth Annual Report, 1979
Touring by automobile dominates patterns of tourism in the region, and the A9 highway which passes through the study area is a key link in the system. As a consequence, the Spey Valley has developed many services and facilities which cater for the passing motorist and visitors who stay only briefly in the district. STARS found that 15.4% of holiday groups stayed in the Spey Valley, but the district accounted for only 6.8% of the total number of bed-nights spent in the HIDB area (TRRU, 1977). Carter (1974) noted that 69% of visitors in 1968 (excluding winter) passed through the study area, but only 8% of person-stops and 7% of bed-nights in the Highlands were spent in Badenoch.

In 1973 the principal destination of visitors in the Highlands was Oban on the west coast, attracting approximately 952,000 bed-nights or 7.4% of the total number spent in the HIDB area. Aviemore ranked sixth in the region and thirteenth in Scotland as a destination, on the basis of approximately 347,000 bed-nights spent there. Grantown came eighth in the region (263,000 bed-nights) and Newtonmore placed fifteenth (TRRU, 1977). If visitors in the winter had been considered, the ranking of Aviemore and perhaps some of the other villages in the Spey Valley would have been higher.

Seasonal Variation in the Number of Visitors: Ideally, data on the occupancy of accommodation should be based on random samples and permit detailed analysis of variations in the number of visitors by month and for sub-areas of the district. However, in the current research and all other similar studies in Scotland these criteria have not been satisfied totally. Consequently, there are limitations on interpretation of the available data. In Appendix One the methods and assumptions used in deriving estimates of occupancy in Badenoch-Strathspey are explained fully.
Figure 17 contains three graphs which show estimates of the rates of occupancy in the serviced, self-catering (including camping) and hostel/outdoor centre types of accommodation. The samples on which these estimates are based are documented in Appendix One. Rates of occupancy have been estimated by assuming that figures obtained from the sample applied to all establishments of that type in the study area for the period under examination. Fluctuations in supply have also been taken into account, based on information obtained in interviews concerning the policy on closing. The actual occupancy rates were calculated for each month by dividing the number of visitor-nights spent in accommodation by the capacity as measured in terms of person-spaces.

Serviced accommodation is depicted in the top graph in Figure 17, showing the estimated rates of occupancy for twelve months for large and small hotels, and for guest houses and bed and breakfast places combined. The sample of small hotels was not representative of the northern part of the study area, but the sample of large hotels was reliable. More guest houses than bed and breakfast establishments provided data, and the limited information available suggests that B and B establishments obtain lower rates of occupancy than do guest houses.

In the second graph in Figure 17, the occupancy rates for self-catering establishments are shown. For houses, flats, chalets and static caravans the occupancy rates are based on unit-weeks, which means the number of one-week lets available on each Saturday. Touring pitches are available on a nightly basis, so a person staying all week could be counted seven times. Tents and touring caravans could not be separated. The sample of touring sites accounted for approximately 43% of all such supply in the study area, but it was biased toward the central part of the district. None of the sites for static caravans remained open in November, and the sample for this
ESTIMATE OF ACCOMMODATION OCCUPANCY RATES
IN AVAILABLE SUPPLY, SPEY VALLEY

Figure 17

MONTH

PERCENTAGE

HOTELS: SMALL --- LARGE
GUEST HOUSES +
BED + BREAKFAST

SELF-CATERING
STATIC VANS
TOURING PITCHES

YOUTH HOSTELS
OUTDOOR CENTRES

MONTH
type of accommodation was biased in a way that under-represented Aviemore. The sample of flats, houses and chalets was reasonable, although it also under-represented Aviemore.

Data were obtained for all three youth hostels, so that graph is very reliable. Some outdoor centres supplied only partial information, and one did not provide any, so that graph may not accurately reflect detailed variations in occupancy in outdoor centres.

Examination of all the graphs reveals that large hotels and flats, houses and chalets (self-catering) enjoyed the best overall occupancy rates for the twelve months. Only in the peak summer season did other types of serviced accommodation close the gap with large hotels. It can be suggested that much of the advantage of large hotels stems from their ability to cater for coach tours and conferences, and the fact that the large hotels in Aviemore and Coylumbridge are able to dominate in the skiing season. That season can be seen as a clear second peak on the graphs, with its highest level of occupancy being in February and March. November was the lowest month in all types of accommodation.

Houses, chalets and flats had much better occupancy rates than did static caravans and touring pitches, with especially large advantages in March, May, June and October. In the peak summer months, all the self-catering types approached complete occupancy, and several respondents said that the actual occupancy of touring sites often exceeded the nominal capacity by as much as 5%. This additional occupancy has not been included in the data presented in the graphs. These peak times also lead to substantial wild-camping away from formal sites.

In outdoor centres and youth hostels the winter peak nearly equalled that of the summer season, no doubt re-
reflecting the attraction of cheaper accommodation and instruction in skiing. It is difficult to explain the third peak in May for outdoor centres, except to suggest that it may reflect individual differences in programmes.

A closer examination of occupancy in hotels was possible because their data were recorded daily. It was found that a minor peak in demand occurred over the Christmas and New Year holiday, but otherwise December and January were very slow months. As the skiing season began in February a clear pattern of peaks at weekends emerged, and this extended to the end of March when Easter holidays resulted in a busy week. From June until the end of August the weekday rates of occupancy generally matched weekend custom, but there were some fluctuations which can be attributed to individual arrangements made for coach tours. At the end of August occupancy fell off sharply, though less noticeably in the large hotels where coach tours continued into September and October. A pattern of peaking at the weekends emerged again in the autumn, but by November there was very little custom for any establishment.

An estimate of variations in the number of visitors in the study area was derived from the occupancy data, and from information on closures obtained in the interviews, and from those establishments participating in the occupancy surveys. Figure 18 displays the estimates for twelve months, together with the estimated maximum capacity during each month. It must be remembered, however, that these estimates are based on assumptions made about both supply and occupancy, so the graph should be interpreted only as a general indication of variations.

The estimates show that a large surplus of accommodation exists during most of the year, and only the peak summer months display a level of occupancy close to the capacity in all types of accommodation. However, any
ESTIMATE OF VISITOR-NIGHTS IN SPEY VALLEY (November 1977 to October 1978)

APPROXIMATE PROPORTIONS ATTRIBUTABLE TO:

TOURING PITCHES
SMALL HOTELS
LARGE HOTELS

(Monthly shows only large hotels)

MONTH: N D J F M A M J J A S O

TOTAL FOR YEAR: 1,589,000
available surplus in the summer may be nominal, reflecting a theoretical supply, or it may be spread thinly throughout the district.

Over the twelve months it is estimated that approximately 1,589,000 visitor-nights were spent in Badenoch-Strathspey ranging from 304,000 in August to a low of approximately 20,000 in November. For each month the graph shows the estimated proportions of all visitor-nights attributable to the three main types of accommodation. It can be seen that touring pitches are the most important in summer, but large hotels account for the greatest number of visitors during most of the year.

Several other studies have included estimates of the number and distribution of visitors in the study area, although none have been based on occupancy surveys as complete as the current research. Butler (1973) suggested that the whole district received approximately 1,037,156 bed-nights over twelve months in 1965. Carter (1974) estimated that the whole district in 1968 obtained about 7% of all visitors to the Highlands and Islands on peak summer nights, but this was not translated into an estimate of the number of visitors over one year. For 1973, STARS estimated that 6.8% of all visitor-nights in the HIDB area (May through September only) were spent in the study area. This yields a total of approximately 800,000 bed-nights for the main six-month season (TRRU, 1976). The 1968 study of impact in Speyside (Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, 1969) also derived an estimate, based on occupancy surveys, which suggested that between 1,000,000 and 1,100,000 bed-nights were spent in the district in a full year.

The earlier figures compare with the current (1978) estimate of 1,589,000 visitor-nights spent in the district over twelve months. This comparison suggests that the Spey Valley has experienced significant growth in a
period of little overall growth in Scottish tourism, but it must be noted that the current estimate is probably more reliable than all previous estimates. Growth would have been expected, in any event, owing to increases in the supply of accommodation and the growing popularity of skiing during this period.

No information was available for the military establishments in the district, although their presence in all seasons, for training and for recreation, is very noticeable. An estimate for the number of visitors staying in second homes in the Spey Valley can be derived, in part, from information contained in an earlier study (Second Homes in Scotland, Dartington Amenity Research Trust, 1977). That research found approximately 237 second homes in the Badenoch portion of the study area, and it can be assumed that the total number in the study area was close to 300 in 1978. Further assuming the use of second homes for 100 nights each year by an average of four persons (the 1977 study gave no estimates on these points), then approximately 120,000 visitor-nights were spent in this type of accommodation. However, some of the estimated 300 second homes may have been counted elsewhere as self-catering establishments, as some owners rent their properties to tourists.

Only a very rough estimate of the number of wild-campers can be made. The STARS survey for 1973 estimated that 3\% of the total number of visitor-nights spent in the study area (for a six-month period only) were attributable to wild-camping. If patterns were similar in 1978, approximately 34,000 visitor-nights may have been spent in the district by wild-campers. This would almost certainly be confined to the summer season, and mainly on peak nights when touring sites were full. However, it is evident that a minority of tourers do prefer to avoid formal sites. In any event, this estimate should be treated with extreme caution.
Significant trends in rates of occupancy cannot be discerned easily from available data, owing to the different samples and methods of collection which have been used over the years (see Appendix One for details). Surveys by the STB for the years 1975-1978 showed that 1978 had a lower rate of occupancy in hotels than did 1975 and 1976. In summer, the Highlands enjoyed a higher rate of occupancy than the rest of Scotland. In the only period of twelve consecutive months for which the study area can be compared with Scottish and Highland figures it was found that the Spey Valley had a higher rate of occupancy than the Highlands in every month except September. In the months of December through April the Spey Valley obtained much higher rates of occupancy than the rest of the region and Scotland.

Owing to deficiencies in the samples, it is not possible to undertake a detailed analysis of the sub-areal variation of occupancy within the study area. However, similar research was conducted by the HIDB for the winters of 1972-1974 in Badenoch, in a special assessment of the skiing season. These data revealed that Aviemore had the highest rates of occupancy in the Badenoch portion of the study area during the months of November through March. Aviemore's average rate of occupancy for those five months was 46.6%, compared with averages of 28.4% north of Aviemore (excluding Grantown/Cromdale) and 21.6% to the south. From the current research it can be concluded that Aviemore retains its dominance of the winter season, as witnessed by the higher occupancy rates for the large hotels which are concentrated in Aviemore/Coylumbridge.

Surveys of occupancy in self-catering establishments were undertaken between 1975 and 1977 by the HIDB and STB jointly, but the data for districts cannot be compared directly. The general national pattern was one of higher rates of occupancy in houses than in other types.
There are no comparable, detailed data available for assessing occupancy in touring pitches, but it can be suggested that the location of the study area along the main touring route and its winter season give it substantially higher rates than most other parts of Scotland. Similarly, despite the absence of comparable data, it can be suggested that rates of occupancy in outdoor centres and youth hostels are higher than average in the Spey Valley because of the emphasis on all-year recreation and facilities. Very little research has been done regarding occupancy in guest houses and bed and breakfast houses, so nothing can be said by way of comparison between the study area and elsewhere.

Characteristics of Visitors: This discussion relies mainly on the questionnaire survey of visitors conducted in the Spey Valley for this research, together with earlier studies which provide similar information (see Appendix Three for details). As well, a survey sponsored by the HIDB in 1979 to examine markets for winter sports in Scotland (Research Bureau Ltd., 1979) obtained relevant data. As there have been no truly random samples of the population of visitors in the Spey Valley, it is necessary to qualify the following observations as being drawn from imperfect data. It has also been necessary to be selective, so that only the more important and more reliable observations are presented.

Visitors to the Spey Valley in the summer are predominantly in groups of families, although less than half contain one or more children under the age of sixteen. Parties of friends are also significant, and there is a minority who travel alone (although they may be in coach tours). It is believed that the surveys for this research under-represented coach tours and visitors attending conferences, owing to the difficulty of sampling these groups. It cannot be estimated what proportion of all visitors are in such groups, but from the previous
discussion of coach tours it can be concluded that coach parties constitute a very high proportion of visitors in the summer in large hotels.

In winter, families are also dominant in terms of the number of groups, but formal parties are more important in terms of numbers of visitors. Interest by clubs and schools, and packaged holidays for skiing have evidently grown considerably in recent years. Fewer groups in winter contain children (as a proportion of all groups) but there are many groups consisting mainly of young people who come for skiing. Villages within the study area appear to cater for somewhat different types of visitors, with Aviemore evidently attracting more young people and families with children, while Grantown and some of the other settlements have greater appeal to older visitors.

In both summer and winter, Scottish visitors in the Spey Valley are outnumbered by those from other parts of the United Kingdom. Europeans and other foreigners are significant as a proportion of all visitors only in the summer, accounting for 24% of respondents to the questionnaire in the May-October samples and a negligible amount in the February sample. This observation conforms to other research which has found that Scottish holiday-makers do not tour as much in Scotland and prefer the seacoast. Visits in the winter by English and Welsh tourists have become much more important in recent years, particularly because a majority of them stay through the week for skiing. Weekend visitors in the winter are mainly from Scottish origins. The other skiing facilities in Scotland attract considerably fewer visitors from outside Scotland than does Cairngorm.

Socio-economic data are difficult to obtain, as many respondents in surveys are reluctant to divulge such information. There also can be expected a bias resulting from a higher rate of response from better educated
persons. However, it can be concluded that tourism in the Highlands attracts disproportionately those from higher income groups. This means that higher proportions of professionals, managers and skilled workers can be expected, particularly in the winter. The Research Bureau Ltd. study was conducted in March 1979, and it found that young males were the largest group of skiers, with 40% or more in the top social class. In the summer, overseas visitors usually have higher incomes than the domestic tourists, but there are also to be found many young foreign visitors having low incomes.

Visitors in the summer are predominantly on their main holiday of the year, and short and second holidays are more likely in the other seasons. In the questionnaire sample in February only 18% of respondents were on their main holiday of the year. Many summer visitors are passing through the district or stay only a short time, whereas in winter the Spey Valley is the specific destination for most visitors. The largest group of respondents in the summer samples were sightseeing and had planned to stop in the study area as part of their tour. Accordingly, travel by private automobiles dominated the summer season, with the use of trains being higher in winter than in summer. Coach tours bring a large number of visitors to the district in the summer, and although the proportion of all visitors attributable to coach tours cannot be estimated, it is probable that this has increased in recent years. Coach parties in winter are also of greater importance in recent years, but these are special charters for skiers.

Most foreign visitors in the study area have never been to Scotland before, but a majority of other British visitors have been there. In the winter the number of first-time visitors to Scotland is low, although there are many first-time visitors to the Spey Valley who come for skiing. This is an important component of the English/
Welsh market. Most native Scots and about half of other British respondents to the questionnaire in summer had been to the Spey Valley previously for a holiday or for recreation.

Activities of Visitors in the Spey Valley: Respondents to the questionnaire were asked to state their main reason for coming to the Spey Valley, and the answers corresponded with the pattern which has been found throughout the region. In summer, sightseeing predominated, followed by outdoor recreation, the Aviemore Centre, peace and quiet and nature study. For a small minority there was no reason other than a place to stop while touring. In winter, skiing predominated, although some came to the study area for other forms of recreation or just to be near the Aviemore Centre. Older respondents were less inclined to give skiing, the Aviemore Centre or outdoor recreation as the main reason for their visit.

Regarding places visited while in the Spey Valley, the questionnaire revealed that the Aviemore Centre was the focal point of the district for tourists. This facility attracted approximately 76% of the groups in summer and 91% in winter, although the samples were probably slightly biased in favour of visitors staying in or near Aviemore. Other leading attractions, often visited in conjunction with others, were (in descending order): Loch Morlich beach; Glen More trails; Santa Claus Land (within Aviemore Centre); Landmark Visitor Centre; the Osprey nest at Loch Garten; Loch an Eilean; and the Highland Wildlife Park. These and other places were listed on the questionnaire in order to cover all the known tourist attractions and various parts of the study area.

Activities were questioned in the same way as places visited. Most popular in the summer were sightseeing by car, walking in woods, hill-walking, having a picnic, riding the Cairngorm chairlift, and going drinking.
Of the active sports, only indoor swimming ranked high, although canoeing and ice skating were also popular with many. Skiing naturally was most popular in winter, with drinking, indoor swimming, sightseeing, ice skating, walking in woods and going to the cinema also popular. It appeared that visitors staying in or near Aviemore were more active than other visitors, owing in part, no doubt, to the availability of facilities. It is also probable that active visitors are more attracted to stay in and near Aviemore.

Results of the surveys undertaken for this research confirm observations made in earlier surveys in the Highlands, leading to the conclusion that most visitors in the region in summer are passive in their leisure pursuits. Only a minority of them take part in an active sport. Groups with children are more inclined to visit attractions and take part in activities, and this helps to explain the popularity of facilities at Aviemore for families and young people.

There is some sub-areal variation in the activities of visitors, reflecting different opportunities and preferences. However, there can be no question of the heavy concentration of activities in the Aviemore to Cairngorm corridor, and this places considerable strain on that environment. The process of concentration appears to stem both from natural amenities and opportunities for recreation, and from the planned provision of facilities such as the Aviemore Centre. Restrictions imposed by the Forestry Commission in Glen More and by designated conservation areas preclude most development in the Loch Morlich area, and this acts to reinforce the dominance of Aviemore. Nevertheless, it appears that great potential exists for spreading much of the pressure from visitors throughout the study area, because most visitors in the summer are touring and could be influenced by new facilities and information regarding other attractions. In the
winter, some demand could be diverted from Cairngorm if other facilities for skiing were developed.

A detailed analysis of spending by tourists is not possible from available data, but some general observations can be made. There is, naturally, an increase in local spending as the length of stay in the area increases, although those staying in serviced accommodation spend more on a daily basis. Total expenditure by groups staying for a week or more in self-catering accommodation is not as important as that from visitors staying in hotels because serviced accommodation accounts for many more visitors. Those staying in serviced accommodation are also more likely to have higher incomes and therefore may spend more on ancillary goods and services or on entertainment. Tourers (tents and caravans) spend little on a daily basis, but in the summer their large numbers contribute significantly to local spending.

More important than the total amount of spending, however, is its local multiplier value. On the basis of earlier discussions of ownership and links between businesses in the study area, it is possible to identify the different economic impact from tourists using various types of accommodation. Large hotels and facilities are prone to high leakage of income through the purchase of goods and services outside the district, and they are also mostly owned by external interests so that profits are diverted. Nevertheless, large hotels and other major facilities provide the most all-year employment. The jobs created in small establishments are also important, and an extra advantage lies in the greater propensity of small establishments to buy locally and to be owned by residents. Self-catering establishments create very few jobs, but their clientele does support local shops and services because they stay longer in the area. Even those touring with tents and caravans must purchase goods and services, although it is their large numbers rather than
average expenditure which creates value for the district. Interviews of visitors in the study area found that most tourers and self-caterers brought some food with them, but only a minority brought most of their food needs from home.

A comparison of surveys conducted in Scotland on the subject of spending by tourists is made difficult by the use of different categories and methods of measurement (see Appendix Three). Furthermore, spending will vary between areas and among types of visitors, so that generalisations can be misleading. The reliability of such data is also questionable, owing to problems of recall on the part of respondents.

Spending on accommodation appears to take approximately one-third of average expenditure by tourists, but in many cases this will be augmented by extra spending on meals, entertainment and other items. In serviced accommodation this component will naturally be higher than in self-catering or touring sites. Spending on transportation will probably be the next largest component, followed by meals, snacks and shopping for food. Recreation and entertainment can be important costs, and the evidence available suggests that visitors in the Spey Valley spend more on this component than do tourists in other parts of Scotland. This difference may stem in part from the inclusion of skiers in the Spey Valley data, but it also seems probable that the availability and attraction of facilities in the study area leads to greater spending.

It would be difficult for a community to decide on what types of accommodation or facility they should permit or encourage, solely on the basis of spending or the creation of jobs. Much depends on the need for various types of jobs, the ability of villages to provide related services, and the feasibility of attracting a specific type of development. The present research
suggests that in the Spey Valley there is considerable value derived from having a wide variety of facilities and accommodation, thereby expanding the tourist market and enabling all settlements to offer something for visitors. Small settlements such as Boat of Garten evidently benefit from the provision of sites for camping and self-catering as these help to maintain local shops and services. That village also has guest houses, bed and breakfast establishments and a small hotel, not to mention a golf course and the steam railway. This package of services to visitors undoubtedly helps to make the community more viable, although it would be extremely difficult to discern the relative importance of each facility to the community.

The final information available from the surveys of visitors involves opinions obtained on their likes and dislikes, and suggestions made about what could be done to improve the area for visitors. Of the things liked, aspects of the natural environment were foremost. Scenery, mountains, forests, wildlife and unspoilt countryside were all mentioned frequently. "Peace and quiet" was another amenity enjoyed by many visitors. The people, both residents and other visitors, were liked by many tourists. Another group of visitors specified facilities, especially the Aviemore Centre, and opportunities for recreation and "lots to do". In winter, skiing was enjoyed by most respondents. The quality of staff, food and accommodation was very important to tourists, together with the conditions of roads, traffic and parking.

Many of the things disliked were items mentioned by many visitors as good features, thus revealing differences arising from individual experiences and preferences. There were fewer things mentioned as being disliked than were liked, and perhaps this indicates a generally favourable impression of the district. Of those things specified, criticism of Aviemore and the Aviemore Centre
dominated. The weather and insects bothered many visitors, but other aspects of the environment were not mentioned often. A significant minority found the study area, or the part they visited, to be overdeveloped or too commercialised. Complaints about high costs were frequent, and in winter the skiing facilities and ancillary services on Cairngorm attracted the largest number of complaints.

Of suggestions made to improve the area for visitors, the most frequent response expressed the sentiment that the Spey Valley should be kept as it is, and not developed further. Improvements in public transport, roads, traffic, information, signs, and campsites were also mentioned often.
Chapter Six
Key Indicators of Effects on the Host Population

Figure Three presented a checklist of key indicators which can be used to assess the effects of tourism and related developments on the population of Badenoch-Strathspey. The indicators are grouped as output types, which are major objectives considered to be attainable by using tourism as a tool in regional development. A review of the nature of the 'Highland Problem' and responses in policy toward solving the problems of the region was instrumental in identifying these objectives.

For each output type a number of specific criteria are used in order to assess the efficacy of developments and policies in attaining the stated objectives. Some are quantifiable (quantity measures) and some are subjective in nature (quality measures). The output types listed in Figure Three are assessed in this chapter in the same order, although specific measures are in many cases combined. Not all the measures can be analysed with equal depth and precision, but it is nevertheless instructive to point out any deficiencies in the data available.

It is not possible to offer 'proof' of effects, given the absence of experimental controls or 'before and after' data. Accordingly, much of the analysis is deductive, rather than based on the inferential analysis of statistics, or suggestive, rather than conclusive. Four principal methods of analysis are employed, including the establishment of trends and deductions concerning what would have been the situation in the study area had tourism-related development not occurred. Second, some data on conditions in the study area are compared with other districts in the region, and with the region and
Scotland, in order to reveal significant differences which can be related to the dominance of tourism in the Spey Valley. Third, data on the tourist industry in the study area can be linked to certain measures to demonstrate mechanisms of change directly or indirectly attributable to tourism. And, fourth, the opinions and attitudes of knowledgeable residents and officials reveal changes, and also point to effects which may arise in the future, owing to differences in attitudes and preferences.

Information and analysis from the previous two chapters is referenced in the following discussion, where appropriate, but new data and analysis are also presented, particularly from the household survey. Readers are again advised to consult the Appendices for greater detail on the data obtained in surveys, as the following discussion considers only the main findings and more reliable observations.

(A) Population Stabilised

One of the most important objectives in the Highlands is to reverse the decline in population and to correct imbalances of age and sex in its structure. The encouragement of growth is implicit in this objective. Either the reversal of out-migration or the encouragement of in-migration will be required, with emphasis placed on retaining those of working age and families with children. But it also must be considered what types of in-migrants are encouraged, and whether or not their motivations, expectations and characteristics are suitable to the needs of the region and the district. The location of in-migrants is also important, given the more rapid decline of rural sub-areas, and the ability of in-migrants to choose their location is important in attracting and holding population.
Growth and Migration: In Chapter Four it was shown that the population of Badenoch-Strathspey had grown modestly between 1961 and 1971 and continued to grow at a slow rate through the 1970s. This parallels the regional trend, but for different reasons. Much of the recent growth in the HIDB area is attributable to activity stemming from the exploitation of oil in the North Sea, and this has been concentrated in the areas around Inverness and the Cromarty Firth. More remote parts of the region have continued, in the absence of oil-related activity, to decline in population. The study area has experienced no oil-related developments and no other substantial growth than that related to tourism. A continued attraction for persons seeking a place to retire may be important in some of the villages in the Spey Valley, but this factor does not lead to sustained growth because families are not formed.

Out-migration continues from the study area, but has been exceeded slightly by the rate of in-migration. Natural increase in the population accounts for only a small part of the area's growth, although with the settling of young families this factor can be expected to become more important. Young people and those in the working ages dominate both the groups of in-migrants and out-migrants, although there is an excess of females resulting from in-migration which can be attributed to the demands of the tourist industry. The imbalance in the district's population, with higher proportions of older persons and females than other parts of Scotland, was not alleviated significantly between 1961 and 1971 by in-migration. This problem stems in part from the continuing out-migration of young people and continuing in-migration by older persons. However, the settling of younger families in the district should act gradually to ameliorate this problem.

The apparent youthfulness of the population in the Rothiemurchus portion of the study area is in large part
attributable to staff staying in special accommodation provided by tourist establishments. This distorts data from the census, although there can be no doubt that the general growth of Aviemore has also contributed to a new youthfulness in the village. The presence of many young single females, however, cannot be seen as a factor contributing to stability in the population. Rural areas will continue to decline in population and possess disproportionate numbers of older persons because in-migration and growth is occurring mainly in the large villages. It has been the declining agricultural sector (in terms of employment) which has worsened this problem, and only the dispersal of new developments could alleviate it.

The census hides the fact that many in-migrants are actually returning Highlanders. This demonstrates the possibility of attracting back former emigrants by creating new opportunities for employment. However, as discussed in the next section of this chapter, the tourist industry has not solved completely the problem of providing suitable jobs for native males.

Expectations and Motivations of Migrants: With new opportunities for employment provided by tourism, why is there still a high rate of out-migration from the study area? In the survey of students in the area's secondary schools a majority of respondents agreed with the statement that there were not very many good jobs available in the district for young people leaving school. Most would not take any kind of job just to remain in the area, and a majority agreed that having a lot of ambition would take one away from the Spey Valley. Although almost all the students agreed that it was a good area in which to be brought up, a large majority also agreed that they would not want to stay in the Spey Valley for the rest of their lives.

Regarding plans for the future, 14 of 50 (28%)
students who were leaving school within a year indicated an intention to look for permanent work in the study area, but only 15 of 77 (19%) expected to be living in the study area five years after leaving school. The majority of the students planned to leave the area for higher education or to seek employment. Asked about their ideas on future occupations, the professions and skilled employment dominated, although 8 of 56 (14%) indicated an interest in jobs in hotels or catering. Only one of those indicating work in hotels or catering expected to be living in the study areas five years after leaving school.

Whatever the advantage of a rural upbringing, opportunities for education and employment will always be greater in urban areas. This will exert a strong pull on young people from the Highlands, and even more local employment will not retain most of them. A survey in remoter parts of the Highlands and Islands (University of Aberdeen, 1976), confirmed that the questions of choice in jobs and perceived local opportunities for work are critical in the decision to migrate. Furthermore, many children were brought up in an environment where parents perceived little opportunity for the young people to remain in the area, even though the parents themselves had no interest in moving away.

However, for the 19% of the sample of students who planned to remain in the study area, tourism does offer an increased opportunity to do so. Also, the growth of the area in general will make it more probable that some of those seeking skilled or professional work may find the opportunity to return.

Respondents in the household survey also provided an indication of reasons for migrating from the district. Seven entire households were planning to leave the area (5% of the sample), and in eight other households at least one member was planning definitely to leave. Taking
up new jobs, transferred jobs, or leaving to seek employment were the reasons mentioned most frequently, while several were leaving for educational reasons.

Regarding past out-migrants from the families of respondents, it was again found that employment dominated the reasons given, with education being the second most frequently mentioned reason. Interestingly, it was indicated by respondents that a significant minority of their close relatives who had emigrated would probably return to the Spey Valley if suitable work was available. Of those respondents who were not planning to leave the district but expressed a desire to do so (approximately 10% of the sample), reasons related to employment were actually in the minority. Other factors, notably the harsh climate or a desire to be closer to facilities or friends/relatives predominated. This indicates, perhaps, that employment-related factors are an immediate cause of emigration, but other factors are important in leading people to desire a move.

Turning to in-migrants, it can be repeated that a substantial minority of owners of tourism-related facilities had moved into the Spey Valley for reasons other than business or jobs. For them, tourism provided the means to achieve a personal preference in location, although the high rate of turnover suggests that this group is not completely stable. Respondents in the household survey were queried as to their motivations for moving into or back to the study area and employment-related reasons were mentioned most frequently. Family-related reasons were also very important, as was the desire for a better place to live. Retirement accounted for 8% of the reasons given, with 8 of 9 respondents who gave this reason having been born outside the Highlands.

As 17% of the sampled heads of households had never lived outside the study area, this question applied only
to 83% of households. For those heads who had been born in the district or the Highlands and had left and returned to the district, and for other long-term residents, family-related reasons predominated. Those who had lived under ten years in the study area were more likely than long-term residents to give as a reason the desire for a better place to live. Younger respondents were more inclined to give employment-related reasons than were older heads of households.

From the interviews with staff in special blocks of accommodation it was found that the district had a reputation for being an easy place in which to find work and a good place in which to spend some time. Almost one-half of the sample had a job offered to them before coming to the district, but of those who did not the reason most frequently mentioned for coming to the Spey Valley was to have a change or to find a good place in which to spend some time.

On the question of plans upon leaving their current jobs, the most frequently mentioned reason was the desire to travel or "bum around". Fully two-thirds of the sample had lived there for six months or less, and only 3 respondents (6%) planned to stay on longer than a year. However, 3 out of 53 (6%) respondents planned to stay permanently in the district, and another 2 (4%) planned to look for another job in the study area.

When asked directly if they would like to stay permanently in the Spey Valley, if suitable work was available, approximately 50% of the sample replied in the affirmative. In fact, 15 of 53 (28%) respondents had lived in the staff block for one year or more, so there was a substantial component of this sample who might be considered as semi-permanent residents. Ten of those longer-term residents came from one of the three staff blocks canvassed, showing that its higher quality of
accommodation probably influenced the employees to stay longer.

It appears that residents of the study area are often compelled to leave for reasons of employment, or the perception of better opportunities elsewhere, whereas many in-migrants are attracted by factors other than those related to employment. The census does not permit an analysis of the changing balance between newcomers and natives, as the data on migration do not record birthplace, but there exists a potentially serious process of social change as a result of migration. This issue is discussed further in later sections of this chapter.

(B) Opportunities for Employment Increased

In Chapter Four the employment created directly and indirectly by tourism in the study area was assessed, pointing to the conclusion that approximately 30% of all jobs available in the district were to be found within tourist establishments. Many other jobs related to tourism through the spending of tourists and through links with tourist facilities. With tourism being the main economic activity leading to growth in the population, it is also possible to suggest that many jobs not directly linked with tourism are indirectly dependent on the tourist industry.

Two other effects of tourism have been to keep unemployment in Badenoch-Strathspey lower than average for the region and for Scotland. Concurrently, the economic activity rate for both males and females is higher than average, showing that tourism has led to fuller employment than would normally be expected in a remote, rural area.

Several other criteria must be considered, however, before drawing conclusions on the suitability of tourism
for satisfying the needs of the host population. It must be asked if other jobs have been lost or threatened as a consequence of the dominance of tourism, or if some jobs have been retained which might otherwise have been lost. More subjectively, it must be asked if the jobs created by tourism go to those persons or groups with special needs, and whether or not there is any choice for residents seeking work. What is the level of satisfaction with opportunities for employment, and are there adequate opportunities for advancement on the part of local people?

Avoidance of Displacement; Retention of Jobs: Displacement might occur if tourism absorbed labour which was needed by other economic activities in the area, or if conditions were altered by tourism in such a way as to adversely affect the viability of other activities. Conversely, jobs in other activities existing might be retained because of new linkages established with tourism. It might be possible to quantify these effects through an input-output analysis, and by examining the opportunity costs of investing in tourism as opposed to making the same investments in other sectors, but there are not sufficient data available.

It has been shown that agriculture has not gained substantially from the development of tourism, as it cannot adapt readily to satisfy local demands. On the other hand, no evidence was found to suggest that agriculture had suffered because of tourism, although a number of farmers in the household survey complained of litter or occasional disturbance of livestock and crops from careless visitors. These nuisances, however, were less severe than could be expected in areas close to large urban centres. In terms of the use of land resources, agriculture and tourism do not directly compete in the Spey Valley, and it may be said that farming adds to the appeal of the area for visitors. Decline in the number of persons employed in farming can be attributed to
mechanisation and the consolidation of holdings.

Similarly, tourism and forestry do not compete for land resources, except in the sense that the risk of fire is increased by visitors. Employment in forestry is restricted by competition for land with agriculture and the management of game, and it has been found to have a very high cost of investment per job created.

Manufacturing has expanded in Badenoch-Strathspey, partly because of tourism and also in response to incentives by the HIDE. One adverse reaction has been documented by Fraser (1977), who found that a firm manufacturing woollen goods which set up in Grantown in the late 1960s had to close in 1972 for want of permanent female labour. If that was the case, then it appears that tourism offered the employees better opportunities or better conditions for employment. The advantages presented by tourism would include flexibility of location and timing, the opportunity to work at home (by providing bed and breakfast) or the desirability of working only during peak seasons.

Of five manufacturing industries contacted in 1977 and 1978 by the author, none suffered seriously from problems of staffing. Skilled labour was noted as being scarce in the district, but respondents felt this was a problem common throughout Scotland. It was suggested several times that local women were difficult to obtain for work, but they were best when hired. The engineering industries were dependent on male labour and so did not clash with the main needs of tourism.

In the firms manufacturing crafts some skilled workers had to be imported, but there was a waiting list of residents who wanted to be employed. Together with the engineering firms, these small businesses appeared to be hindered more by national economic conditions and
prospects for international trade than by local factors when considering expansion. As money has been made available by the HIDB for assisting and encouraging growth, it cannot be said that investments in tourism have diverted money away from other economic sectors. Properly zoned industrial land is available in the main villages, some of which has been assembled with financial aid from the HIDB. There are problems with regard to servicing or gaining access to some of these lands, but this does not seem to have hindered any major developments.

It can be concluded that tourism has brought advantages in helping to stimulate manufacturing, while it has not created any significant obstacles for the retention or expansion of employment in other sectors. This question is considered in greater detail in Chapter Seven when examining the key policy-related question of diversification in the local economy.

Jobs to Benefit Special Needs: The primary need in declining regions is for all-year jobs for males, as these lead to the retention or attraction of families. This criterion has been used many times to show the disadvantages of tourism, but in the study area it has been found that fully 42% of full-time jobs within tourist establishments were for males. Recreation facilities, and large establishments such as hotels and tourist attractions employed the greatest number of males. Full-time employment was made possible in many establishments because of the winter tourist season.

The apparent success of tourism in generating jobs for males in Badenoch-Strathspey must be qualified by pointing out several detracting facts. Although no estimate of the numbers involved can be made, it is clear that many of the positions of ownership and senior management in tourism have gone to in-migrants. Many of the nominally permanent jobs are actually taken by transient
workers or short-term residents, as witnessed by findings of the interviews with staff. The high proportion of all-year jobs for males therefore tends to exaggerate the real significance for natives of the area, although the presence of such jobs, even though taken by newcomers, is beneficial to the stability of the population.

In some areas jobs for females may be a special need as they can augment the incomes of families. Similarly, the many jobs available on a part-time or seasonal basis for students in the district adds to family incomes and provides an opportunity for young people to gain experience in employment. On the other hand, if the income of heads of households was adequate, there would be less need for females to seek work. This complaint was heard often in interviews in the Spey Valley.

Opportunity for Choice and Advancement: Job Satisfaction: These are related measures which provide further insight to the value of tourism in satisfying local needs. It is a truism to say that a paying job is better than no job at all, but choice in employment is important for several reasons. It increases the attractiveness of an area to in-migrants, and to natives who might otherwise leave. Choice may also encourage competition for labour and help to raise wages or improve working conditions.

With tourism dominating the local economy, most choice is limited to different types of work within that sector, although it can be observed that considerable variety exists between, say, work in hotels and instruction in sports or labour on skiing facilities. Tourism has also encouraged diversification by leading to manufacturing, while the growth in population has provided new jobs in services. For males, choice has increased in the trades and crafts which are related to tourism, and also in the professions associated with conservation and ranger services. These are all of a small scale, but are neverthe-
Choice of jobs could be improved if residents were able to acquire new skills. It has already been noted that very little special training is available within the tourist industry in the study area, except in a few large hotels. Jobs for specialists are usually filled by immigrants, and most jobs are for unskilled workers. The provision of a special facility for training in the Spey Valley could improve considerably the opportunities for advancement into managerial positions, although a satisfactory alternative might be to subsidise the temporary replacement of staff so they could take courses in Inverness or elsewhere. Indirectly, improved skills in the native population could also lead to increased local ownership of facilities.

Although the level of satisfaction with current jobs was high, the scales administered to respondents in the samples of households, operators of facilities and members of a conservation-oriented group revealed a very low level of satisfaction with the choice of jobs available in the district (see Table 17). In the scales measuring attitudes (see Figure 19), there was a moderate degree of support for the statement that the area needs more manufacturing industry, and this can be interpreted as a desire for greater choice in employment. When asked what was desired to make the area a better place in which to live, respondents in the household sample emphasised more jobs and industry, although there was also expressed a substantial fear of overdevelopment.

The survey of students clearly revealed that most young people in the study area perceived little suitable choice in employment, although the sample was almost evenly split with regard to the desirability of work in hotels and tourist establishments. Surprisingly, most students disagreed with the statement that more
manufacturing industry would be good for the area's residents. Questions concerning migration in the household survey also supported the conclusion that much needs to be done to improve local choice in employment, particularly for males. Furthermore, as revealed in the scale measuring attitudes toward tourism, approximately half of the respondents in the household sample believed that "The truly local people do not benefit much from the tourist industry".

(C) Incomes Increased

Increased opportunities for employment should be accompanied by higher incomes, either through all-year employment, higher activity rates (i.e., more members of families working), or through more profitable establishments. The community as a whole should also benefit from development in the form of greater income from taxes. However, inflation must be minimised or many benefits might be negated, and it must be asked if a dependency on tourism places the host population at risk from a collapse in demand. Another important subjective issue which must be assessed is that of the distribution of benefits. Do some segments of the population gain more from development than others? If so, overall growth might disguise serious disparity within a developing area.

Personal and Household Income: Very little information is available with respect to personal or household incomes at a national or regional level, so only a general comparison can be made. The household survey asked about incomes and found that workers in construction, trades, manufacturing and government had higher incomes than did workers in tourist establishments. Those employed in shops and restaurants had the lowest incomes.

In the interviews with staff in three blocks of accommodation in or near Aviemore it was found that most
respondents earned between £25 and £39 weekly, plus accommodation and/or food. Most of these positions were classified as permanent. In Scotland as a whole, the average gross weekly wage in catering and personal service occupations in 1977 was £55.80 for males and £40.30 for females, compared with £78.30 for males and £48.90 for females in all occupations (The Scottish Office, 1978). It is evident, therefore, that many tourism-related employers do not pay as well as those in other sectors.

Many households gained income directly from tourists. It was found in the household survey that 11% of privately owned or rented households were providing accommodation for paying visitors, while an additional 9% had done so in the district in the past. In the sub-sample of farming households it was found that 4 of 15 were providing tourist accommodation of some type, and one of the remainder had done so in the past in the study area. A major study of the provision of facilities for tourists on farms and estates in Scotland (Denman, 1977) concluded that the Spey Valley was an area with a very high level of provision.

Tenants in houses owned by the district council were forbidden to take in paying guests, but the household survey revealed that many respondents knew of others in houses owned by the council who did accommodate tourists. One tenant actually owned a static caravan which provided some income from tourists. Three-quarters of the tenants interviewed in the survey favoured a policy to allow catering for paying guests, and it was apparent in 1979 that the British government intended to bestow this right on all tenants of councils in the country. Should this occur, many operators of guest houses and bed and breakfast accommodation may feel threatened by competition, although it is notable that the household survey found that in-migrants dominated private housing and natives and long-term residents dominated housing owned by the council.
As discussed earlier, the abundance of jobs for women and students helps to raise incomes for families and jobs in tourism are available readily for males who want them. Even though wages may be lower in tourism than in other sectors, there is some security involved in knowing that jobs can be obtained. This factor may become more important with completion of the A9 road improvements, as many local men will have to find new jobs.

Inflation: There can be little doubt that the cost of land, housing, food and services will probably rise with rapid development and the demands of visitors. It is not possible to quantify the effects of recent development in the study area on costs, partly because no comparable data for other areas exists and partly because overall inflation in the country had been high during the period of research. Furthermore, studies have shown that rural areas in Scotland, and in the Highlands in particular, have higher costs of food than do urban centres (Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, 1979).

The effects of development and growth on housing and land are assessed in the next section of this chapter, and these appear to constitute the main problems. With regard to the cost of services and goods, it can be noted that one compensating factor is the greater availability of some products and services, and the fact that some small operators of shops admitted to the author that tourists made their businesses feasible.

Both tourists and residents complained of high local costs for food, services and other products, and it may be presumed that tourism leads to higher costs for several reasons. First, tourists in large numbers will distort local markets by raising demands and probably by higher levels of spending. This will induce some businesses to raise their expectations for profits, or to divert some
of their business to souvenirs and other tourist-oriented goods/services. Second, higher costs for land and rent, owing to demands by new developments, can be added to the cost of goods. This latter problem will be exacerbated if land is not readily available.

To ameliorate inflation, supply and competition can be increased. However, this is difficult to influence through public policy. A wider dispersal of tourists could help maintain the viability of remoter shops and at the same time reduce pressures in places of concentration which might otherwise be manifested in higher costs. This option of dispersal must be weighed against the advantages which might accrue from concentration in the form of a wider range of goods and services. In the Spey Valley, the concentration of tourism at Aviemore has expanded retailing and services, but the village does lack a number of types which would be of benefit to locals. Also, high costs were most noted by respondents and tourists in Aviemore.

The effects of tourism on inflation and the viability of local services and shops should be examined more closely. Ultimately, the Norwegian approach of subsidising all shops in rural areas could be adopted (Institute for the Study of Sparsely Populated Areas, 1979), but it would be preferable if objectives could be realised through private enterprises, if only because local people could then take part in their development.

Local Authority Costs and Income: In Chapter Four the investments in tourism made by local authorities and other public agencies were discussed. It was seen that the main investments of the local authorities were in the building of the road to Cairngorm, provision of the Grantown caravan park, and annual contributions to the SVTO. However, it is also necessary to examine ongoing costs of services and infrastructure provided because of tourism and
There is a major difficulty in assessing the costs and benefits of tourism to the local authorities in that their policy to encourage growth carries with it the obligation to provide certain expensive services and works. Consequently, the key issue is to find any costs or benefits stemming from tourism which would not arise from other forms of development. There have not been many other studies of the costs of tourism to local authorities in Great Britain, but in one major study in England it was found that the extra costs imposed by tourism were small relative to the local income generated (Jackson, 1977).

When the Aviemore Centre first opened, the need for a new district-wide system for the supply of water was foreseen (Macpherson, 1977), even though the complex was required initially to supply its own water and sewerage. As of 1978, work on linking the villages had cost approximately £750,000 and an additional £500,000 is estimated to be needed to complete the system. Prior to the inception of this scheme all villages in the study area had individual supplies of water, but now (1978) Aviemore, Boat of Garten, Nethybridge, Dulnain Bridge and Grantown are all linked. In the future, the other villages of the district will be linked, except for Dalwhinnie. In the meantime, some of those villages experience shortages of supply, especially in the peak summer season (Highland Regional Council, 1978).

The cost of this water system is high, but it also can be viewed as an investment in improving the potential for attracting new development and providing a more reliable supply to residents. It had environmental costs as well, in that the remoteness of Glen Einich and its loch has been adversely affected by construction of a road and pipeline.
Improvements in the sewerage systems of the main villages have been necessitated by recent growth, especially in Aviemore. There remains some problems of limited capacity, and several villages cannot support additional developments without expansion of their sewerage systems. A district-wide system is not proposed for sewerage, but there is a similarity to water in that any improvements will constitute a benefit to residents and make possible more growth.

Other forms of development leading to growth would have generated expansion of the infrastructure in Badenoch-Strathspey. There may be extra demand imposed by the large number of visitors in the area in the peak summer months, but it is not possible to say if this difference would justify investments beyond those necessary to support other forms of development. Regardless, it can be concluded that tourism has led to improvements which should be able to provide for additional growth, and hopefully, diversification, and which have improved the reliability of services for residents. The cost of both water and sewerage is met by the Highland Regional Council, so it is not imposed directly on the host population. To the Region, benefits accrue from increased revenue, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

Information comparing expenditures and revenues in local authorities is compiled annually by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy (Scottish Branch). It is available for small authorities only since 1975, and its data are estimates which may differ from final revenue and spending. It is useful to compare Badenoch-Strathspey with two other Districts in the Highland Region which have a similar population: Skye and Lochalsh, and Nairn (see Table 5). These have the smallest populations of all districts in the region.

To place the three districts in perspective, some
data from the STARS survey of 1973 can be mentioned. For the May-October period of that year, Badenoch-Strathspey accommodated 6.3% of all person-nights spent in the HIDB area, compared with figures of 6.2% in Skye/Lochalsh and 2.9% in Nairn (TRRU, 1976). While all three districts have an established tourist industry, only the study area possesses a full winter tourist season. Tourism in these districts also differs in the sense that the Aviemore Centre complex is a type of facility unique to the Spey Valley.

Several tables are presented in the Appendices which document the main differences between the three districts in terms of expenditure on selected services, capital expenditure and debt, and rateable values. Regarding all services provided, the three districts in 1975/76 and 1976/77 had the lowest levels of expenditure in the region, although expenditure per person was consistently higher in Badenoch-Strathspey. In the two subsequent years the study area also had higher expenditures (per person) than Inverness District with its much larger population.

Two services were examined more closely, as they might be expected to become more costly as a result of tourism. Cleansing, which included the disposal of waste, was more costly in the Spey Valley than in the other two districts being compared. This can in part be attributed to the extra cost of removing waste from tourist establishments, although Badenoch-Strathspey imposed an extra charge in the summer to compensate for this service.

Expenditure on leisure and recreation (excludes libraries and museums) was the lowest in the region (per resident) for the study area and for Skye/Lochalsh. The absence of large towns in these two districts might be a contributory factor, but it is also probable that the availability of commercial recreational facilities in the Spey
Valley leads to some of the savings by the district council. Regional planners also have suggested that the former lack of obligation for districts to provide recreational facilities or services has resulted in a wide variance of expenditure (Highland Regional Council, 1978).

Some information was obtained from recreational facilities and various organisations in the study area which demonstrates that spending by tourists is significant in supporting local facilities and events. Golf is a popular sport with residents, and one informed person suggested to the author that all golf courses in the district were dependent on tourists for income. Data obtained from the main courses at Grantown, Boat of Garten, Kingussie and Newtonmore revealed that income from temporary memberships was more important than that from annual memberships. The two nine-hole courses at Carrbridge and Nethybridge were said to be even more dependent on tourists.

Facilities for tennis and bowling are of less appeal to tourists, but it was found that income from tourists did assist in their viability. The tennis courts at Aviemore/Rothiemurchus were recently repaired with the hope that tourists would be attracted. Contributions from a nearby hotel were helpful in the operation of this local facility. Tennis courts at Boat of Garten and Grantown also reported significant income from visitors.

Highland Games staged each year for a day in Nethybridge and Newtonmore attract many residents and tourists. Income from the games, if any, is put back into sponsoring the games in the following year, so they are not profit-making operations. Attendance at Newtonmore has been approximately 4,500 in recent years, with 70-80% of the spectators estimated to be from outside the village. The Grantown show (which attracted approximately 6,000 persons in 1978) and the Kingussie Gala Week are also dependent to a large degree on the support of visitors.
In respect of capital expenditure and debt, it can be observed that for three of the four years for which data are available the study area had the lowest capital expenditure of the three districts. However, it also had the highest capital debt on a per resident basis. Housing was the main capital cost, taking three-quarters or more of expenditure in the three districts each year. In Badenoch-Strathspey, where it has been difficult to keep up with demand (the subsequent section deals with this issue), housing appears to account for a higher proportion of capital debt (per resident) than in the other two districts. All three districts experienced a similar rate of growth in the number of houses owned by the councils, but the study area acquired a higher proportion of its debt from this item.

Turning to the income of local authorities, a comparison of the rateable values of properties in each of the three districts reveals that Badenoch-Strathspey had a considerable advantage. This is attributable mainly to the commercial sector, although the value of manufacturing in the study area was also greater (in monetary terms) than in the other two districts. However, all three of these districts were well below average in the region in the proportion of their rateable value stemming from industry.

In 1978 the study area contained approximately 5% of the population of the Highland Region and accounted for 6.7% of its total rateable value. But in the commercial sector, the district accounted for approximately 9% of the region's rateable value. Tourism and related facilities constituted the major component of rateable value from commercial premises in Badenoch-Strathspey, and, ignoring the residential component, it was the largest source of income from rates. Table 16 illustrates this point, although only major elements of the tourist industry could be extracted accurately from the most recent
valuation roll. Guest houses, bed and breakfast establishments, self-catering accommodation, pony-trekking and riding centres, and many recreational facilities could not be identified. Consequently, the tabulation underestimates the true value of income from the tourist industry.

Table 16: Rateable Value of Some Components of Tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey, 1975/76

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Rateable Value £</th>
<th>% of District Total</th>
<th>% of Industrial and Commercial Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aviemore Centre (including shops)</td>
<td>63741</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Hotels</td>
<td>62549</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing/Shooting Rights</td>
<td>22498</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairngorm Ski Facilities</td>
<td>12580</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hostels and Outdoor Centres</td>
<td>7953</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touring Sites</td>
<td>6763</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landmark Visitor Centre/Highland Wildlife Park</td>
<td>6080</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>182,164</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>69.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Extracted from the Badenoch-Strathspey Valuation Roll, 1975/76 as prepared by the Highland Regional Council

In Nairn and Skye/Lochalsh the gap between income (from rates) and expenditure is much wider than in the study area, and the difference must be met by grants from the central government. For example, in the 1976 Rating Review by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy it was shown that the resources element of rate support grants to Badenoch-Strathspey was £5.74 per resident, compared with £9.31 in Nairn and £13.38 in Skye and Lochalsh. This indicates that the study area
required less support from the central government.

The advantage of the study area with respect to rateable value has political implications. One regional councillor from Badenoch-Strathspey complained that the district contributed almost 7% of the region's budget but received under 2% of its spending (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, August 5, 1977). From the perspective of regional development, however, this redistribution of income is a significant benefit.

The available data do not reveal any serious financial difficulty for the district arising from tourism and related developments. Indeed, the income from rates generated by tourism appears to be a major benefit in the regional context. This observation in no way lessens the seriousness of large investments in tourism and the costs of infrastructure, services, or maintenance, but because growth is encouraged these costs are to be expected. In general, while tourism may impose some extra demands on services in peak seasons, it cannot be said that these lead to costs which exceed the benefits accruing to the authorities from new employment and higher rateable value. Nor does it appear that tourism generates substantially greater costs to the authorities than would other forms of development and resulting growth.

Risks of Dependency on Tourism: The dominance of any one economic activity carries with it the risk of serious local problems if that activity should experience difficulty. Fluctuations in demand from year to year will occur, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Spey Valley has suffered from its dependency on tourism during a period when tourism in Great Britain was stagnant owing to effects of the oil crisis. Many single-industry towns would appear to be at greater risk, particularly where only one employer is predominant. The Spey Valley has managed to grow at a slow rate in both population and
employment and has remained relatively prosperous within a national context of economic problems.

A loss of permanent jobs for males would be the most serious risk in an area dependent on tourism. The most obvious way to lessen the risk is a diversification of the local economy, and it has already been shown that tourism has led to a modest growth of manufacturing and trades in the district. The development of two tourist seasons reduces risks, as does catering for a wide range of interests in sightseeing, recreation and entertainment. Then, if one market slumps, there are other potential visitors who can be attracted. Spatial dispersal also can reduce risk, in that the attractiveness of many local villages can compensate for any loss of appeal in one centre.

Ironically perhaps, the large demand for outside workers helps to reduce the risk to permanent residents, as the transient element can be released first if tourist establishments must reduce their number of employees. The many part-time jobs offer a similar cushion, as these could be cut back rather than full-time positions.

Although diversification within tourism has many advantages, it could also present a problem if there occurred too much development or commercialisation. The surveys of visitors in the Spey Valley revealed the significance of natural amenities in attracting visitors, and the fact that most tourists would not want the predominantly rural atmosphere to be replaced by a developed environment. Changing patterns of travel, such as might result from the realignment of the A9 highway could pose a risk, but this problem could be countered through promotional activities of the SVTO and other bodies. A more subtle risk might come from changing attitudes in the resident population, so that expansions and developments might be opposed. This is discussed in greater detail in
In the household survey a large majority of respondents believed that most jobs in the district were dependent on tourism, and these people were almost equally divided on whether or not this was a good thing. Those thinking it was good emphasised the employment and income brought by tourism, while some thought there were no practicable or desirable alternatives. Those who thought that dependence on tourism was bad emphasised the risk of unemployment. Most residents appeared to be cognisant of the risks and were able to articulate their views on the relative benefits and costs of the tourist industry. Overall, the opinions and attitudes of respondents in the various surveys lead the author to conclude that while diversification was desired, there was no significant antagonism toward tourism.

Who Benefits Most? The distribution of income and other benefits from tourism within the study area is not uniform. Spatially, it has been shown how development has been concentrated in Aviemore and the other main villages, while the rural sub-areas have continued to decline in population. The small settlements in Badenoch-Strathspey have some accommodation and services for tourists, but the pattern of commuting to jobs within and outside the study area shows that local opportunities for employment are not dispersed equally.

Newcomers to the area dominate in positions of ownership and senior management, so that the best incomes in tourism are not accruing to natives of the area. To a certain extent this is inevitable, as the skills available in remoter regions will not be able to satisfy the demands of rapid development. However, it should be expected that natives and the children of in-migrants will eventually be able to attain higher positions. The absence of training facilities in the Spey Valley will hinder the process.
In order to encourage greater participation of natives in the ownership of tourism-related businesses, it may be necessary for the development agencies to direct financial assistance specifically at that group. A policy of assisting those who already have capital makes sense in economic terms but does not solve the problem of bringing more benefits directly to Highlanders. On a more modest scale, a lifting of the restriction which prohibits tenants of the council from taking in paying guests would provide some opportunity for natives to benefit directly from tourism.

(D) Viability of Communities and Efficient Use of Resources

These are related objectives to planners who seek to deploy resources as efficiently as possible. Policy on settlements, including decisions on which communities are to be given the infrastructure and services necessary for retaining viability or encouraging growth, has considerable implications for the development of tourism. The Highland Regional Council favours a type of key settlement strategy in which only the larger villages in Badenoch-Strathspey are to grow significantly, with others growing only in a small way and some being precluded from further development. Combined with this policy is the desire to disperse more widely the benefits of tourism.

In analysing this objective, it is necessary to look at infrastructure and services, including housing, shops, transport, and education. Patterns of employment are obviously of vital concern, and patterns of commuting can also affect the viability of communities. More subjectively, it must be asked what are the attitudes of residents toward growth and change, how satisfied they are with conditions and prospects, and what leadership is available to guide communities.
Infrastructure, Services and Facilities: As discussed earlier, some problems in the supply of water and sewerage have arisen as a result of recent developments in the district. Without additional investments, several villages will not be able to expand. The development plan for the district gave no immediate prospect of such investment to Carrbridge and the villages intended for only limited growth. On the other hand, the new sewerage works and district-wide water system can, in the long term, increase the viability of at least the main villages.

Shops and local services must be provided in all settlements if they are to remain viable. An inventory was conducted in all the villages of the study area in 1977, and the results are displayed in a table in the Appendices. In the household survey, respondents indicated that most shopping for daily needs was done in the closest village, although the three largest villages attracted some shoppers from outside, presumably in association with commuting to work. Only one mobile shop was mentioned as being relied on for daily needs, and that was in Laggan parish. For major shopping, only Grantown attracted many shoppers, with most others preferring to travel to Inverness, or to Perth, Elgin and more distant places.

Some respondents complained of a poor range of shopping, and, despite its new shops, Aviemore was also criticised on the grounds of high prices and too many tourist-oriented goods. As mentioned earlier, some of the smaller settlements have lost shops in recent years, although those that remain do benefit from spending by tourists. Part of the loss of shops may be attributed to a more general trend toward larger operations and centralisation, but the loss of local population is another contributory factor. In this context, tourism has had mixed effects, with benefits going mainly to the larger villages.

There are primary schools serving all the main
villages, although the one for Carrbridge is located a considerable distance outside the settlement. New secondary schools in both Grantown and Kingussie were stimulated by growth in the 1960s, and Aviemore similarly acquired a new primary school (which is already near capacity). The primary school at Newtonmore is being expanded. Both secondary schools are near capacity, but the Regional Council believes that temporary classrooms will suffice until the expected easing of pressure.

Respondents in some of the smaller villages, such as Boat of Garten, were worried that they might lose their schools if the number of young families did not increase. There has been a tendency to centralise schools, even though the busing of children is not favoured by many adults. The supply of housing in smaller settlements is often the key factor in determining how many children will be present. In some cases, the presence of second homes and retired in-migrants was pointed to as a cause of decline, as these houses are more expensive and so are not available to young families.

Many of the benefits of centralised growth and a concentration of facilities (as is essential to a key settlement policy) would be negated if adequate public transport is not provided to enable those in outlying settlements to reach the services. Regular train service is available in Dalwhinnie, Newtonmore, Kingussie, Aviemore and Carrbridge, but it was withdrawn from Grantown, Nethybridge and Boat of Garten in the mid-1960s. More recently it has been taken from Kincraig. Inaugeration of the steam railway from Boat of Garten to Aviemore has brought limited connections between those villages, but so far only in the summer. In terms of the volume of passengers, the Aviemore station is the largest in the Spey Valley, and its importance increases in the winter.

Regular daily bus service links Grantown, Aviemore,
Cairngorm, Kingussie and Newtonmore, and there are several buses provided by the post office which provide more limited service in remoter parts of the district. Several villages are missed completely by bus services. Rural areas can be expected to have less service than urban areas, but in the Spey Valley it was almost universally condemned by respondents in the surveys. Limitations in the routes, its cost and infrequent connections were criticised, particularly by young people who otherwise lacked mobility. Local volunteer groups assisted elderly people by providing transportation, as the public service was not adequate. Skiers also complained in the surveys that connections by bus from the villages to Cairngorm were inadequate, so an improved service would benefit tourists and residents alike.

Tourist establishments in Aviemore Centre, and at least one manufacturing industry in the district, provided their own mini-bus service to employees. This obviously was necessary to overcome deficiencies in the public systems. Commuting patterns were well established, but if better public transport was provided the viability of outlying communities would improve. A concentration of opportunities for employment will not benefit surrounding areas sufficiently unless this need is satisfied.

**Housing and Land:** Housing has been under severe pressure in the study area since the large-scale development of tourism began in the mid-1960s. Although the subsequent growth of population has been modest, an influx of migrants has raised demands while effective supply has been reduced by second homes and provision of self-catering or other forms of tourist accommodation. Furthermore, it is probable that incomers can better afford private housing, and this has raised costs.

The construction of major facilities in and near Aviemore imposed a temporary problem for the housing of
construction workers, but the build-up of staff and the
general growth of Aviemore quickly overcame the capacity
of permanent housing. This led to the building of special
blocks of accommodation for staff and increased use of
internal rooms in hotels for employees. For example,
Carruthers (1977) reported that both the Aviemore Centre
and the Coylumbridge Hotel originally envisaged obtaining
half or more of their staff locally, but it was found that
most had to be imported. Consequently, the Coylumbridge
Hotel converted a large number of rooms into accommoda-
tion for staff.

The Badenoch-Strathspey District Council, believing
that housing was essential to support development, allo-
cated fifty new houses in Aviemore to "key workers"
designated by the Aviemore Centre. This practice ended
in 1975 after growing resentment of special treatment for
newcomers. The council now uses an allocation system
which assigns points to applicants, and natives or re-
turning natives are favoured.

Between 1966 and 1968, 84 new housing units were
built by the council in Aviemore, whereas in the preced-
ing three years none had been constructed there (Macpher-
son, 1977). An ambitious programme of construction has
followed, both in Aviemore and other villages, but this
has not eliminated the shortage. A table is presented in
the Appendices which shows for each village the number of
houses owned by the council, the number built prior to
1960, and the number proposed to be built between 1978
and 1984. Aviemore stands out as having the largest pro-
portion of new houses and as being the target for the
largest number of planned units.

The 1978 housing plan for the district indicated a
total of 515 applicants for housing in the district, with
the largest demand being for Aviemore. Significantly, 99
of the applicants (78 of these were married) lived in
caravans, revealing a major trend resulting from the shortage of permanent units. Another 31 applicants were listed as living in overcrowded accommodation and 22 others were staff living in accommodation provided by hotels.

Residential caravans have become a disturbing feature of the study area. Approximately forty caravans were situated in an unlicensed site just outside Aviemore in 1978, and there were many other caravans in the district which might have been used to accommodate staff, tourists, or residents. The policy of the council has been to require a license for all caravans so as to ensure the meeting of minimum standards, but it has proved difficult to force the abandonment of some for want of suitable alternatives.

A study undertaken by the council in 1975 to investigate residential caravans revealed that a large proportion lacked one or more of the essential services. As homes for children, few caravans could be considered ideal, and yet the council felt that the problem would probably increase "...due to the demands of the tourist related industries outstripping the supply of rented accommodation in public and private housing sectors." (Badenoch-Strathspey District Council, Second Five Year Housing Plan, 1979-84)

With regard to overcrowded housing, the housing plan noted that most overcrowded dwellings were in the main employment centres of Aviemore, Grantown and Newtonmore. Other groups in need of special consideration in the allocation of housing were said to be staff in hotels, elderly persons, and those in "tied" houses. This latter form of housing is common on estates, and with some employers such as British Rail or the Forestry Commission, and it presents a problem when workers who leave their jobs must give up the house that went with employment.
On the matter of inadequacies in housing, data from the 1971 census reveal some important points. There was a high proportion of vacant dwellings in the district (12.9% of total supply), despite a shortage of housing. The explanation probably lies in the abandonment of many older dwellings which would be difficult to modernise, or the reluctance of some estates to dispose of properties even if buyers can be found. The number of households lacking exclusive use of all basic amenities was given as 12.2% of the total in the district, although this was not particularly high when compared with other rural districts in Scotland (Scottish Development Department, 1977).

Regarding overcrowding, the census actually revealed that Badenoch-Strathspey had one of the highest proportions of undercrowding of all Scottish rural districts. This can be attributed probably to the many older persons living alone in the study area, although it is possible that the problem of overcrowding has increased since the census.

An estimate of the effects of tourism and second homes on housing can be made from available data. It was earlier estimated that approximately 300 second homes existed in the district, but an unknown number of these were caravans and some may have been used for self-catering as well. Another estimate of second homes was given in 1974 in the last amendment to the Inverness County plan for Badenoch. That document stated that Badenoch had the highest proportion of second homes in the county, with the exception of Skye. The proportion of all dwellings used as second homes was given as 7.1% in Abernethy/Kincardine, 5.9% in Alvie, 3.9% in Kingussie/Insh, 3.5% in Duthil/Rothiemurchus, and only 0.5% in Laggan. The average for Badenoch was 4.5% of all dwellings. If the average is applied to the housing stock of 3,980 units in 1978, an estimate of 179 second homes in the Badenoch-Strathspey district is derived. That estimate is used in
the following calculation so as to discount the possible overlap with self-catering and caravans included in the higher estimate.

In addition to second homes, in 1978 there were approximately 30 guest houses and 53 dwellings (other than staff blocks and internal rooms) made available to staff of tourist establishments. The 1979 register of the SVTO listed 103 bed and breakfast houses and 109 self-catering units (purpose-built chalets excluded). Together, there were approximately 474 dwelling units used as second homes, for tourist accommodation, or for staff, equalling 16% of all private housing in the district in 1978. However, if bed and breakfast units and guest houses are subtracted, considering that they are used by residents, the resultant estimate is still approximately 11.6% of the total supply of private housing. The reason for including B and B and guest houses in the estimate stems from the fact that any space available to tourists could theoretically be made available to residents, although this would not occur in many cases.

In 1978 there were 2,936 private and 1,044 publicly-owned housing units in the district (Badenoch-Strathspey District Council, 1978) so that approximately 26% of the total was in houses owned by the council. In the household survey almost 33% of respondents were in council-owned houses, yielding a slight over-estimate (however, accommodation for staff may have been included in the council's estimate). Respondents were asked if they had any major difficulty finding housing of the right kind in the district. Almost one-third said they had a problem, with the main reason being a lack of supply. Others said that housing was too expensive to buy or that land could not be obtained for building houses.

Overall, owner-occupiers were more satisfied with housing than were occupants of council-owned houses. It
was also found that newcomers were more likely to live in private housing while most natives and long-term residents were tenants of the council. The shortage of council-owned dwellings, and the allocation system, force many immigrants to buy or rent private housing whether or not they prefer to do so.

The household survey also found that tenants of the council had moved within the district more often than owner-occupiers. This might reflect a greater preference to move, but it also probably stems from less choice in public housing and the re-allocations which occur when new estates are built by the council. Some respondents suggested that many young families had been forced to move into Aviemore or the other large settlements because of a local shortage of housing. The council has recognised the problem and its plans for new housing include units in all the villages of the district. This policy, however, seems to run counter to the adopted policy of the region in concentrating infrastructure and development. The trend to concentrate housing in Aviemore has been paralleled by the preference of owners of second homes and retired newcomers to locate in villages other than Aviemore, thereby increasing the shortage of housing in smaller settlements.

In the scale measuring satisfactions (see Table 17) there was a roughly equal split in opinion regarding choice in housing in the study area. It was not possible to determine which group was most satisfied, but it can be suggested that those owning their houses would be less likely to complain.

Availability of land for building is a related issue, and there is always reason to believe that some shortage and increase in cost will arise in rapidly growing areas. Tourism does not necessarily demand a great deal of land as existing buildings and settlements can provide many
needed facilities, particularly in terms of accommodation for tourists. However, the major new facilities in the Spey Valley, such as the Aviemore Centre, Highland Wildlife Park and Landmark Visitor Centre have required large properties and it is this type of development which is most likely to influence the cost and overall choice of land. Even so, from the interviews with operators of tourism-related facilities it appeared that no major projects had been held up because of a shortage of land.

The Badenoch-Strathspey District Council has found reason to complain of difficulty in obtaining land for housing, but, as compulsory purchase can be used if necessary, it appears that the cost of land is the problem. As elsewhere in Great Britain, restraints on spending by councils have adversely affected the programme of building, but other problems (the weather, construction of trunk roads, and drainage) have also delayed new housing. In at least one case the council failed to acquire through compulsory purchase a property in Kingussie which was intended for housing, because the reviewing authority was not satisfied that alternatives were not available. (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, July 14, 1978)

One regional councillor from the study area holds the view that inordinate control of land by a few, large estates is holding back development in the Spey Valley. That issue lies outside the scope of this research, but it is observed that a semi-monopoly on land could be detrimental to the viability of communities by restricting the amounts available, and thereby inflating costs and forcing the authorities to resort to compulsory purchase. Furthermore, estates can and do influence the types of development by their control of land. For example, the owner of Rothiemurchus estate refused to sell land to the original developers of the Aviemore Centre, because of personal preferences, but later sold the same land to the Coylumbridge Hotel (Taylor, 1977).
The district council has also been concerned about the growing imbalance between private and public housing, as revealed in this quotation:

"Many of the young families registered on the Council's waiting list would undoubtedly opt for owner/occupier status in the private sector but are frustrated by inflated land development costs, leading to high mortgage repayments." (Badenoch-Strathspey District Council, unpublished document)

To remedy the imbalance, the council has considered the selling of its houses to tenants, and has explored the idea of buying land to make available to private builders (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, July 15, 1977). Other remedial action can be suggested. A study of rural housing by the HIDB in 1974 concluded that various forms of assistance could help to alleviate problems in the region, with other possibilities being to insist that housing be incorporated in developments or for the HIDB to actually construct dwellings.

With regard to the Spey Valley, it has been shown that large hotels and facilities generated the greatest need for housing, and the problem was concentrated in Aviemore. Requiring major projects to provide adequate housing for their staff in advance of need would help to avoid a shortage, as would restrictions on conversions of dwellings to second homes and self-catering units. These latter two measures, however, would be difficult to implement.

Encouragement of types of development which do not generate substantial demands for housing would be another means of avoiding shortages in smaller settlements. For example, touring sites employ few full-time staff and can draw on local women for their part-time needs. Small hotels, guest houses and B and B establishments can accommodate their owners. Purpose-built units for self-catering might reduce the demand for conversions. But it must be
determined in such cases that new development will not be using land and services needed more for housing.

The problems of supplying adequate land, housing, and services in developing areas are legitimate targets for action by development agencies such as the HIDB. It is probable that all large-scale projects in rural areas will cause some shortages or inflation of costs, and the objectives of development could be prejudiced if housing was not available for workers. Also, the social costs of inadequate housing might outweigh benefits from new employment and growth in population. This issue also points to a potential conflict between development agencies and the local authorities who must, under present arrangements, provide needed services and infrastructure.

**Satisfactions and Attitudes:** Policies directed toward attaining stability or growth in communities are more likely to succeed if they correspond with the preferences and attitudes of residents. An understanding of these factors can assist planners in devising strategies appropriate for specific populations. In part, attitudes are shaped by experience, including the level of satisfaction with existing conditions. Table 17 shows the results of scales measuring satisfactions from samples of households, operators of tourist establishments, and members of a conservation-oriented group. Further details on the scores are presented in Appendix 5.

Items for the scale were selected to cover important local issues and to reveal any potential problems as perceived by residents. They were scored on a scale of 0 to 10 and, for the calculation of averages, converted to a scale of 1 to 11. As some respondents did not answer completely, the table gives the number of respondents (cases) for each item, in each of three samples. The rather simple nature of this technique requires that only substantial differences in scores be considered significant.
### Table 17: Comparison of Scores on Satisfaction Scales, Household Survey, Conservation Group, and Facility Operators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items: How satisfied are you with/that...</th>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>Number Choosing Each Score</th>
<th>Average (out of 11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- your present job?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>- the choice of jobs you could have in this district?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
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<td>4.33</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5.84</td>
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<td>F:45</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>4.93</td>
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<td>- the way in which the Spey Valley is changing?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>6.82</td>
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<td>C:22</td>
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<td>5.09</td>
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<td>F:45</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>6.42</td>
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<td>- the choice of housing you could have in this district?</td>
<td>H:127</td>
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<td>5.00</td>
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<td>6.38</td>
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<td>F:46</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>- the health services here, compared with the rest of Scotland?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>9.19</td>
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<td>C:20</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>- the public bus transportation service in this district?</td>
<td>H:126</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>F:47</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>- sport and recreation facilities in this district?</td>
<td>H:128</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>7.85</td>
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<td>C:22</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>- the way in which local people have a say in important decisions made for this area?</td>
<td>H:126</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<td>C:22</td>
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<td>F:46</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
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<tr>
<td>- that crime and vandalism are being kept under control in this area?</td>
<td>H:127</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C:22</td>
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<td>F:47</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>8.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- that your village (or nearest village) provides all the facilities and services you think are needed?</td>
<td>H:128</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>7.05</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C:23</td>
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<td>F:47</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>6.43</td>
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<td>- that schools and education are as good here as in the rest of Scotland?</td>
<td>H:127</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>9.31</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>8.62</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F:45</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>8.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- that social and welfare problems are being well looked after in this area?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>8.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C:22</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>7.95</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>F:47</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>7.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- that the Spey Valley is a good place in which to bring up children?</td>
<td>H:125</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>9.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C:22</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>9.05</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F:46</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10</td>
<td>9.39</td>
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As can be seen, the three samples did not vary greatly in their responses to any items. Things highly satisfactory to most residents were: health services; facilities for sport and recreation; schools and education; their present jobs; control of crime and vandalism; and the treatment of social and welfare problems. Low levels of satisfaction were expressed in the choice of jobs available, public transport, and the way in which local people have a say in important decisions made about their district. Three items received mixed responses: choice of housing; the way in which the Spey Valley is changing; and provision of facilities and services in the villages.

The satisfaction scores may in part reflect misconceptions about the items in question, or about how good things are elsewhere, but they nevertheless reveal local perceptions. The final statement in the scale ("the Spey Valley is a good place in which to bring up children") can be viewed as a summary item regarding the general quality of life in the district, so the very high level of satisfaction scored on this item suggests an overall favourable impression.

Students in secondary schools were asked several questions which reflect the level of satisfaction with life in the study area. Echoing the favourable response from the household survey, students agreed overwhelmingly that the "Spey Valley is a good place in which to grow up." In short compositions about life in the area, good points were said to be opportunities for recreation, the countryside, and a freedom or quality of life not to be found in cities. Bad points were said to be the limited choice of entertainment and facilities for young people, over-concentration of facilities at Aviemore, poor and expensive public transport, high costs, and poor prospects for jobs.
Figure 19 (two pages) illustrates the response profiles of scores for the attitude scales. Each topic, called a domain, consists of six statements. The overall response of each sample on the six items constitutes an attitude which is favourable or not favourable to the domain. As plotted on the graph, the profiles reveal differences in direction between the attitudes of samples (details on sub-samples of the household survey have also been computed and are presented in Appendix 5), but the magnitude of attitudes is not measured in this technique.

It was hoped that each statement would elicit a response which truly reflected the respondent’s attitude to the domain, but in practice this was difficult to achieve. It was not possible to avoid statements which were either too extreme or too neutral, although this could be corrected by repeated testing on a sample. Nevertheless, the use of six items in each domain increases confidence in the results, even though one or two of the items may receive scores which appear to contradict the others.

The results of attitude scales cannot be used to predict the future, as they are not directly related to concrete alternatives for action. Their main use is in providing an insight to attitudes which are held deeply and are likely to influence the population. As well, differences in attitudes between groups can indicate effects of tourism by showing how changes in the population result in potential conflicts.

Scores on Figure 19 are in the form of an index of plus or minus 1. This technique takes into account the mathematical difference between the numbers agreeing and disagreeing with each statement (ignoring any indication of "strongly" agreed or disagreed) and then a positive or negative sign is added according to the intent of the statement to elicit a favourable or not favourable response. Those items which attracted a large number of
ITEMS
5: TOURISM CAN BE THANKED FOR BRINGING GOOD FACILITIES TO THIS AREA.
9: TOURISM IS THIS AREA'S BIG ADVANTAGE OVER OTHER PARTS OF THE HIGHLANDS.
11: TOURISTS BRING MONEY AND JOBS AND THAT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE NUISANCE THEY CAUSE.
13: THE TRULY LOCAL PEOPLE DO NOT BENEFIT MUCH FROM THE TOURIST INDUSTRY.
15: THE TOURIST INDUSTRY HAS BECOME AN INSULT TO THE SCOTTISH HERITAGE.
22: TOURISTS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MORE DAMAGE THAN THEY ARE WORTH.

12: WE MUST PROTECT WILDLIFE EVEN AT THE EXPENSE OF SOME DEVELOPMENT.
2: IT WOULD HAVE BEEN NICER LIVING IN THE SPEY VALLEY TWENTY YEARS AGO.
4: NOT NEARLY ENOUGH HAS BEEN DONE TO PROTECT OUR ATTRACTIVE COUNTRYSIDE.
10: IT IS MORE IMPORTANT TO GET JOBS FOR LOCAL PEOPLE THAN TO PRESERVE SCENERY FOR OTHERS.
14: MORE SKIING FACILITIES WOULD NOT HURT THE CAIRNGORMS TOO MUCH.
16: NATURE RESERVES ARE HERE FOR PEOPLE TO USE AND MORE ACCESS SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO THEM.
Figure 19

RESPONSE PROFILES ON ATTITUDE SCALES

SAMPLE: HOUSEHOLD ——>
          FACILITIES ——>
          CONSERVATION ——>

GROWTH AND CHANGE

ITEMS

-1  .75  1
Favourable

NOT FAVOURABLE

1: NOW THAT THIS DISTRICT HAS STARTED TO DEVELOP, MORE MUST BE DONE TO KEEP IT GROWING.
7: WE NEED MORE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY IN THIS AREA.
19: NOT ENOUGH EFFORT IS BEING PUT INTO MODERNISING THE HIGHLANDS.
8: MUCH OF WHAT WAS THE BEST OF SPEY VALLEY HAS ALREADY BEEN RUINED BY NEEDLESS GROWTH.
20: THE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED WHEN NO MORE GROWTH SHOULD BE PERMITTED IN THIS AREA.
23: EACH NEW DEVELOPMENT JUST ADDS TO OUR PROBLEMS.

NEWCOMERS

ITEMS

17: NEWCOMERS HAVE BECOME A VALUABLE PART OF THIS COMMUNITY.
21: IT IS GOOD TO SEE THIS DISTRICT ATTRACT AMBITIOUS PEOPLE TO LIVE HERE.
24: THE HIGHLANDS NEED MORE NEW FACES AND NEW IDEAS.
3: IF WE GET A LOT OF NEW PEOPLE MOVING HERE, IT WILL SPOIL THINGS FOR EVERYONE.
13: I SOMETIMES FEEL LIKE A STRANGER IN MY OWN COMMUNITY BECAUSE OF ALL THE NEWCOMERS.
18: A LOT OF TROUBLE-MAKERS HAVE MOVED INTO THIS AREA LATELY.
"uncertain" responses will tend toward a score of zero, while a score of plus or minus 1 could only be achieved if all respondents in a sample agreed or disagreed and none were uncertain.

Some of the attitude domains are discussed more fully later in this chapter, but at this point they are examined as to their significance for the viability of communities. Overall, the attitude toward tourism and tourists was favourable, with operators of tourist facilities giving, as expected, the most favourable responses. Households containing at least one member employed in a tourist establishment also were more favourably inclined than the total household sample. The item regarding tourism which generated the most disagreement in the household sample was: "the truly local people do not benefit much from the tourist industry". Native Highlanders and longer-term residents were more inclined to agree with this statement. Even members of the conservation-oriented group were generally inclined favourably toward tourism, although some members were clearly not. It can be concluded that a strong antagonism to tourism had not arisen.

Regarding conservation, members of the conservation-oriented group were the most favourably inclined on all six items. It is evident that several of the statements did not polarise the samples, nor did the statements attract total agreement or disagreement from the conservation-oriented respondents, so the scale is not completely suitable. The items are discussed in a later section, but the overall conclusion of the author is that residents are not against the ideals of conservation but, rather, they do not want abstract notions or outside interests to deprive them of opportunities for economic betterment. A policy of total preservation in the Spey Valley would probably receive little local support.

Statements concerning growth and change tended to
polarise the samples, with conservation-oriented respondents being largely opposed to growth and change and the two other samples being favourably inclined. The one item of common agreement for all three samples was that the district had not been ruined by needless growth. The widest divergence of opinion showed that conservation-oriented respondents did not desire continued growth, but a majority of the household sample did.

The attitude toward newcomers is also discussed in a later section, but it should be noted here that there existed a fear that too many newcomers might spoil things for everyone. Otherwise, they were generally well received.

Results of the attitude scales suggest general support for additional growth in the district, including in the tourist industry, although there is a significant minority who would be in opposition. Native Highlanders seemed more inclined to accept change than did newcomers, and this might reflect economic as well as social differences.

It is also suggested by the attitude scales and the other surveys that there are limits to the types and extent of growth which would be acceptable to the majority of residents in the study area. When asked what might happen to make the area a worse place in which to live, the largest group of respondents in the household survey emphasised a fear of over-development or too much commercialisation. As to what would make the area better, more jobs and manufacturing industry were mentioned frequently, although many respondents opposed the idea of manufacturing.

From general comments made to the interviewers it is concluded that some light industry of the type already established in the district would be welcomed, but many residents feared heavy industry. Some further growth of
tourism would not be opposed, but residents in the outlying villages were definitely opposed to the idea of a complex such as the Aviemore Centre locating in their villages. A major increase in the population would not be welcomed, particularly if the shortage of housing was not eliminated. In summary, it appears that future developments should respect the preferences of residents to maintain the rural context.

Sub-groups within the host population will argue for more or less growth and change. It appears that many newcomers have settled in the district for its environmental quality, and they would oppose major changes. On the other hand, many operators of tourist facilities are newcomers, and they can be expected to support changes that would improve their businesses. There are conservationists from the Highlands and from elsewhere, but many residents perceived that conservation was most important to newcomers. It also appears that newcomers will be more likely to take a leadership role in arguing their cause. Communities with a high proportion of retired people also can be expected to oppose major changes. There is a danger, therefore, that the viability of some communities could be prejudiced by groups which favour little change.

Leadership: This is an intangible asset for communities, but it can be critical in helping to shape policies or directing activities. Two types must be considered - those who lead groups, and those who provide moral, political or economic direction. A useful starting point in this discussion is to repeat that respondents in the surveys indicated a low level of satisfaction with political decision-making as it affected the district. This may be attributable, in part, to the multitude of authorities and agencies which have some effect on the area, as discussed in Chapter Four.

There are three levels of elected representatives
for the study area, with the lowest level being the Community Councils introduced in 1975. They have no authority to legislate, operate on very small budgets, and are only able to give advice on policies. The main function of the Community Councils is to ensure a local elected contact for residents. Most of the new councils were contacted by the author, and it was found that a good mix of local people and newcomers existed on most of them, with many members of old village councils or hall committees having been elected.

The Community Councils were active in lobbying the senior authorities for action on housing, traffic, lighting and amenities. Several had organised Job Creation programmes with financial assistance from the government, a number of them operated village halls, and many raised funds and held events. In one village the Community Council had a membership very similar to that of the village’s tourist organisation, showing perhaps that it was difficult to attract leaders. It was also reported by some respondents that tenants of council-owned houses were difficult to attract onto councils or to other positions of leadership.

District councillors are elected on a ward basis, so local representation is assured. It is therefore natural that the council consistently favours a dispersal of development throughout the district. At least two of the councillors (in 1978) were relative newcomers to the district, and one was involved directly in the tourist industry. However, there was no indication that long-term residents were threatened by a dominance of newcomers. Three Regional councillors are elected from Badenoch-Strathspey, and they also serve specific wards. In 1978 one of the three was a relative newcomer to the district.

Even though regionalisation has reduced local control over planning, there is still a great deal of scope for
residents to become involved in the formal decision-making process. Probably the most important function of local councils is to ensure an adequate voice for small settlements and specific interest-groups, and the new Community Councils can satisfy this need. There is also reason for believing that the Community Councils can help to bring together divergent interests within communities and thereby avoid serious conflicts.

Moral leadership in the Highlands came traditionally from the churches, but there was general agreement on the part of respondents that the influence of the church had declined with increased modernisation. Local clergymen have been active in attempting to reach tourists, and two church-related outdoor centres have been established in the Spey Valley with the intention of providing an alternative to the commercial tourist facilities. Alcoholics Anonymous is also supported by local clergymen, although not all villages in the district are served by chapters of this organisation. The churches are also active in organising events in the communities and they provide facilities for meetings and recreation.

Economic leadership should stem from the operators of facilities, although, as noted earlier, the rapid turnover of owners in small tourist establishments detracts from this function. The SVTO and other local tourist organisations, together with several business-related groups, do exercise leadership. It could be expected that the interests of tourist establishments might attempt to gain dominance in local politics, but it appears that this has been unnecessary in the study area because of the pro-development policy of the District and Region. The absence of unionisation in many of the large tourist establishments should also be noted, as this fact might deprive workers of adequate representation. It seems that the abundance of transient and part-time workers in the tourist industry makes difficult the establishment of unions.
Turning to the leadership of groups, the household survey contained questions on this point. The number and types of groups in a community can have a major influence on its viability as a social unit, and they are a reflection of opportunities for leisure. It was found that 31% of all members of households belonged to no groups (outside school), but that proportion was only 19.3% in Aviemore compared with 22.5% in Grantown, 25% in Newtonmore and 44% in Kingussie. Varying rates of 'belonging' can be explained partly by the availability of groups and facilities and partly by the age and other characteristics of the local populations. For example, respondents in rural sub-areas were less active than those in villages. Males belonged to more groups than did females, especially in sports, and young people and children were more 'belonging' than older persons.

It was discovered that only a few organisations contained an over-representation of persons from households with heads born in the Highlands. Those persons from households with heads born elsewhere in Scotland dominated many groups, and newcomers in general seemed to be more active. The average age of heads of households from the Highlands was higher, and this explains much of the difference. Positions of leadership were also more likely to be in the hands of persons from households with heads born outside the Highlands, although the difference was not so great as to suggest a complete takeover. Of 98 positions of leadership found in the households, 63% were held by households whose heads came from outside the Highlands, whereas this group accounted for only 55% of the sample. Households with children were proportionally more inclined to hold positions of leadership, while those in council-owned houses were under-represented.

As to the quality of leadership, this cannot be measured directly. Because of opportunities for sports and recreation, some respondents noted that the district
has the advantage of attracting many skilled persons. The Glen More training facility enables residents to acquire higher skills in sports. In other sectors of life in the communities, all that can be said is that an increase in the number of young people and better educated newcomers may act to raise the level of leadership. However, this also carries a risk that the balance between natives and newcomers may be upset in terms of social activity. Also, as most in-migrants settle in the main villages, rural sub-areas and the smaller communities may benefit little from the skills and interests of newcomers.

(E) Welfare and Social Integration Fostered

Welfare in this context refers to the efficient provision of vital services to the host population, while social integration is seen as the attainment of harmony within the population or, at a minimum, avoidance of conflict. Both these objectives can be affected by the consequences of tourism and related developments.

Three services are examined in this section, namely health, police and social work, together with related problems. The integration of newcomers is a major issue, and this is examined by referral to the main characteristics of in-migrants as they differ from natives, and by noting the pertinent attitudes of respondents.

Police Work and Crime: In the surveys it was found that most residents of the district were satisfied with the control of crime and vandalism. Nevertheless, some problems are apparent and data from annual reports of Chief Constables for the area reveal the nature and magnitude of them.

In response to developments and the growth of tourism in the district, the police force has expanded considerably, even though the growth of population has been
modest. The pressures for expansion have arisen from increases in traffic, staff in tourist establishments, and tourists and their activities. In 1965 the Badenoch force (excluding Grantown/Cromdale) consisted of 3 officers at Aviemore, 4 at Kingussie (district headquarters), and 1 at each of Boat of Garten, Carrbridge, Nethybridge and Newtonmore. That force of 11 served a population of approximately 5,400 residents. By 1974 the force had expanded to 26, and Aviemore had the largest number with 7 officers. Also in 1974 (the last year for which such data are available) it was reported that Badenoch had 1 officer per 300 residents, compared with ratios of 1/575 in Lochaber, 1/740 in Skye and Lochalsh, and 1/566 in Inverness.

A somewhat ominous aspect of tourism in the Spey Valley has been the proliferation of places and events licensed to serve alcohol. Data in the annual reports of the Inverness Constabulary are presented in the Appendices to show the number of licensed establishments and special permissions in Badenoch villages during selected years between 1965 and 1974. Over that period the number of licensed premises in Badenoch increased from 40 to 74, while the number of special permissions in a year increased from 233 to 1519. Changes in the licensing laws in 1977 resulted in a decrease in the number of special permissions, as it then became possible for establishments to apply for them on a yearly basis rather than for each event.

Aviemore accounted for the major proportion of these increases, expanding its licensed premises from 8 in 1965 to 20 in 1974 and its number of special permissions from 57 to 1158. In 1977 the number of special permissions issued in Badenoch-Strathspey District almost equalled the number in the Inverness division of the new Northern Constabulary, even though Inverness contained approximately seven times as many residents. Nairn, with a
population similar to that of the study area, had 53 licensed establishments in 1977, compared with 108 in the study area.

Data are also available on crimes and offences within sub-areas of the study area for the period 1965-1974, and these are shown in the Appendices. There was a general upward trend in the number of crimes and offences made known to the police, but the increase was dramatic in the case of Aviemore. The number of offences arising from drunkenness increased considerably (from 10 to 166) but this might come as no surprise in light of the number of premises and events available for serving alcohol. Other offences increased steeply at Aviemore, from 92 in 1965 to 651 in 1974. Variations in the strength and emphasis of police forces may account for some of the variation between sub-areas, but it also must be accepted that developments at Aviemore resulted in a major increase in the number of crimes and offences.

It is instructive to return to a comparison between the study area, Nairn, and Skye/Lochalsh, together with another division of the Northern Constabulary, Lochaber, which has a population almost double that of Badenoch-Strathspey. In 1976 and 1977 the study area had almost twice as many crimes and offences as did the two districts having a similar population, and an almost identical number as that in Lochaber. As to the nature of offences, it was revealed that the number involving the abuse of drugs in the study area was quite small. This contradicts the complaint of a number of respondents in the district that tourism has resulted in problems caused by drugs, although it is possible that some offences related to drugs are included under other categories in the records of police.

Traffic and automobile accidents occupy a great deal of work by the police. Tourism does result in heavier costs for this work, because of higher volumes of traffic,
especially in winter when roads often are hazardous because of snow and ice. Tourists probably suffer the most from congestion and accidents, but residents will also be affected adversely. Reconstruction of the A9 road will improve conditions, particularly within the by-passed villages.

Mountain rescue work continues to increase in the Spey Valley, and for this task the police work alongside volunteers. The report of the Northern Constabulary for 1978 listed a total of 79 incidents in their jurisdiction, including 59 injured persons and 12 fatalities. Ben Nevis and Glen Coe were the worst areas (both of these are outside the study area), and the Cairngorms was the third most severe area with 2 fatalities, 10 injured, and 16 missing persons located. The costs of these rescue operations take the form of risks to officers and to volunteers, and the monetary cost of equipment and time. With increased use of military helicopters in rescues, the costs have risen considerably. These are points which should be remembered by those organisations promoting easy access to the mountains as a tourist attraction.

From the evidence presented, a pessimistic view of crime and police work in the district might be created. However, most residents were not unsatisfied with the level of crime or vandalism, and most respondents who pointed to problems believed they were concentrated in Aviemore. The Chief Inspector of police in the district has been quoted as saying:

"There was a problem with violence and drug-taking in the past, but behaviour has improved very noticeably. Those who come now are here for an activity holiday rather than out of curiosity. It is those who come without a purpose who are more liable to get into trouble...Vandalism is almost unknown and you will look high and low for any trace of graffiti." (The Press and Journal, February 14, 1979)
Young people appear to cause most of the problems in Aviemore, and this can be related to the large concentration of both tourists and staff. Outlying settlements seem to be much quieter in terms of crime and other problems, and the professionals and community leaders interviewed in the district confirm this observation. Respondents in the other villages tended to blame transient workers in Aviemore for much of its problems, and some suggested that local women who worked in the Centre were consequently at risk of acquiring lower moral standards.

Respondents in the household survey who lived in Aviemore did complain more about tourists than those interviewed in other villages, but there was no strong condemnation of Aviemore. Most residents appeared to have accepted the changes and some respondents thought that conditions had improved because of development.

Social Work and Social Problems: Statistical documentation of social work was not possible at the local level because of restrictions imposed by confidentiality. It has been necessary to rely on interviews conducted with knowledgeable professionals together with one document written by a former social worker.

Prior to 1969 the district council administered social work, and in 1970 the first professional social worker was appointed. Situated initially in Kingussie, that worker was soon moved to Aviemore where the majority of cases were expected to arise. In 1978 there were one part-time and two full-time social workers in the district operating out of Aviemore, with a sub-office in Grantown. Since 1975 the Regional Council has provided this service. Constraints on spending have prevented expansion of the department in the study area, but the volume of case work has been rising rapidly.

Macleod (1974) observed that in the years 1970-1973,
Rothiemurchus (containing Aviemore) accounted for 50% of all referrals to the social worker in Badenoch (excluding Grantown/Cromdale). The major problems were associated with families, court reports, children's hearings, unmarried mothers, and a need for temporary accommodation. Rothiemurchus was also highest for court reports and supervision arising from police work.

It was believed by Macleod that approximately one-third of cases relating to crime came from permanent residents of the district, with the remainder stemming from "transmitted" problems. He reached the conclusion that rapid growth had "...a severe effect on local institutions, mainly in Aviemore, and to a lesser degree in the surrounding area." Also, he suggested, an influx of people had strained local resources, with housing in Aviemore becoming a particular problem.

The main problems being treated by the social workers in the district can be identified, although no data are available to describe their relative magnitudes. Staff in tourist establishments often require help, with the supervision of probation orders and problems related to drinking and mental health cited as examples. There sometimes arises the need to find accommodation for employees who have left their jobs and thereby forfeited a room, or to accommodate people who have moved into the district without having arranged for a place in which to live.

Breakdowns in families require considerable attention from the social workers, including the problems of many single-parent families (mostly mothers and children). The ready availability of work for females has evidently attracted this type of family. In other cases, it appears that children may suffer because both parents are working. Some families experience difficulty in settling into a new environment because they have no local friends or family to assist them. Others bring their problems with
them when moving into the district. Aviemore, with a high turnover of residents, is said to impose a strain on vulnerable people, and this may be exacerbated by its different social and moral environment. Other efforts of the social workers are directed toward the aged and handicapped, problem children or children at risk, and, occasionally, tourists trapped without the means to return home.

Alcoholism and related problems were considered by many local respondents to be serious in the district and throughout the Highlands. Tourism has not created these problems but may have added to them through the increased emphasis on, and availability of places for drinking. Similarly, broader trends in society were seen to be the cause of many changes in morals and activities, but tourism and related developments appear to have hastened these changes. This may stem from the combined influences of visitors, newcomers, and the commercial nature of tourism. In this respect, tourism and related developments in the study area can be interpreted as being a form of social urbanisation.

Housing was mentioned often as a social problem, by respondents who were asked to identify local issues. Clergymen were worried about changing morals and the bad influence exerted by Aviemore and transient staff. Other respondents mentioned the lack of good public transport, the effects of low incomes, problems related to an older population, and a generally apathetic attitude held by many residents. Leaders of volunteer groups felt that tourism, through the provision of employment for females and encouragement of bed and breakfast operations, made it difficult to attract volunteer workers.

How serious are the social problems in Badenoch-Strathspey? The majority of informed respondents believed that the Spey Valley was not worse than the rest of the Highlands in general terms, but it was suggested several
times that problems with families were worse, and some thought that alcoholism was a greater problem in the district. Unfortunately, there are no standard, quantifiable indicators to permit comparisons. The statistics on crime and police work do, however, suggest that some problems in the study area are of greater intensity than in other parts of the region.

Respondents to the scale measuring satisfactions were highly satisfied that social and welfare problems were treated adequately in the district, even though evidence reveals that some problems have been created or exacerbated as a consequence of tourism. It can be concluded that most residents believed that the problems brought to the district had not outweighed the benefits.

**Health Services:** In 1978 the district contained the following health-related facilities: at Grantown, a small "acute non-specialist hospital" and clinic, a doctor's surgery, and a dental surgery; at Aviemore, a doctor's surgery and a dental surgery; at Kingussie, a doctor's surgery, a dental surgery, and 19 beds for long-stay hospitalisation; and, at Laggan, a doctor's surgery (Highland Regional Council, 1978). In 1975 the district had nine doctors, which was approximately one per thousand residents. A clinic has been planned for Aviemore for some time, but funds have not been made available.

Tourism and growth in the population has had a considerable impact on health services. The doctor's practice in Aviemore grew from approximately 600 patients in the mid-1960s to nearly 3,000 in 1979, while the number of staff expanded from 1 to 3 doctors and a trainee (The Press and Journal, February 14, 1979). Much of the growth in the number of patients stems directly from tourists. One of the three doctor's practices in Badenoch-Strathspey informed the author that approximately 25% of their yearly total of patients (in 1977/78) were visitors to the area.
This proportion may be higher in the other two practices. Ski accidents are a special problem facing the Aviemore surgery, and a special ambulance service is required to transport persons injured seriously to Inverness.

It was also stated by informed professionals in the district that the incidence of sexually-transmitted diseases had risen significantly with the development of tourism, and that this phenomenon had been observed in other British resorts. Problems stemming from the abuse of drugs and alcohol and from psychological disturbances have also been noted more frequently, particularly in the larger villages, and this was said to be related to the presence of many tourists and transient staff.

Doctors in the study area believed that the quality of health service was high and that the pressures stemming from tourism had not affected adversely the service available to residents. Most respondents in the surveys concurred with this observation. It was also suggested that the extra income generated by tourists helped the doctor's practices to maintain staff and a high quality of service. Complaints were heard, however, with residents of Newtonmore being particularly anxious to acquire a doctor's surgery for their village. Other respondents believed that the proposed clinic for Aviemore was needed at once. A poor level of service from public transport was said to impede some residents in travelling to facilities, thereby necessitating help from volunteers to transport some people.

Integration of Newcomers: In-migration is an important element in plans to encourage development and growth in the Highlands, being necessary for attaining stability in the population and the provision of leadership, skills and capital for investment. This fact raises the issues of who benefits most from tourism and related developments, and of the need to ensure that the original host
population does not become overwhelmed by newcomers. By examining the differences between natives and newcomers, and the attitudes of the population toward newcomers, it is possible to reveal any existing or potential problems.

Motivations of in-migrants have already been considered, and it was shown that jobs, opportunities for business, a desire for a better environment or family-related reasons attracted settlers. Staff in tourist establishments were often attracted by the prospect of easy jobs or a good place in which to spend some time. It is logical to suggest that new attitudes and values will accompany these in-migrants, and even though it was found that the vast majority were Scottish or, to a lesser extent, English, there could be expected a difference between rural and urban attitudes.

Unfortunately, the census cannot be used to estimate what proportion of in-migrants are actually returning Highlanders, but evidence from the surveys suggests that both Highlanders and complete newcomers are important components of the recent population of in-migrants. Combined with a continued out-migration of native Highlanders, however, it is possible that the balance between newcomers and natives may be upset permanently.

It would be wrong to stress differences between newcomers and natives, as this might give the impression that differences were more important than similarities, or it may obscure the fact that newcomers are not a homogeneous group. Nevertheless, by examining the main differences some potential areas of divergence can be isolated. Data from the household survey provide the best means of undertaking this comparison.

Highland-born heads of households were found to be older than those born elsewhere, reflecting the problem of an aged population in the region. Newcomers were more
likely to live in owner-occupied dwellings, allowing them to participate directly in tourism by providing accommodation. Links with the outside were stronger with newcomers, as it was found that they had more visits from friends and relatives living outside the district. Natives were less involved in organisations and in positions of leadership, while newcomers were more active in recreational pursuits, especially in the 'new' activities such as skiing.

As expected, newcomers had fewer relatives living in the study area, but in terms of having local friends there was little difference between the groups. With regard to socio-economic characteristics, newcomers were found to be somewhat better educated or trained and were more likely than natives to employ or supervise others. Farmers and crofters were mostly natives, so this is one group not greatly affected by recent in-migration.

The measures of attitudes revealed some important differences. It appears that newcomers were less in favour of growth and change and were, conversely, somewhat more in favour of conservation. This observation must be qualified, however, by saying that many newcomers were directly involved in the tourist industry. Other differences between types of newcomers can be suggested, although the surveys do not permit firm conclusions. The main differences are likely to arise between newcomers who retired in the district or came for a better environment and those who moved there to take up a job or start a business. This latter group would be more supportive of growth and change.

Figure 19 shows the scores obtained in the scale measuring the attitude toward newcomers. A generally favourable attitude is revealed, but it must be remembered that many of the respondents were newcomers themselves. In the conservation-oriented group, 19 out of 23 respondents were born outside the Highlands, although the
group's average length of residence in the study area was 17 years. This group had the most unfavourable attitude of the three samples toward newcomers. In the sample of operators of tourist facilities, 36 of 47 respondents were born outside the Highlands, and many of these had purchased their establishments very recently. The operators were slightly more favourably inclined toward newcomers than was the household sample. In the household sample, 53% of the respondents (to part two) were born outside the Highlands, and 33% of the respondents had lived under eleven years in the district.

Many respondents expressed the view that newcomers were needed to organise events and groups in the district, and this opinion supports the favourable response to the statement that newcomers are a valuable part of the community. A highly favourable score was also obtained on the item stating that it is good to see ambitious people attracted to this area. Some reservations about newcomers were evident, however, in the responses to the statement: "If we get a lot of new people moving here it will spoil things for everyone". Apparently many residents were worried that too many in-migrants could cause problems. There were also more native Highlanders than others (in proportional terms) who agreed with the statement: "I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own community because of all the newcomers". Nevertheless, very few respondents believed that a lot of trouble-makers had moved into the district lately.

It may be concluded, therefore, that serious social conflicts had not arisen as a result of recent migration stemming from the development of tourism, nor were serious problems observed with respect to welfare and the provision of vital services. There have been significant changes, however, and the trends lead to the conclusion that the balance between newcomers and natives may be fragile. If problems do not improve, such as more choice
in housing and a higher level of participation by natives in the ownership and management of tourism, then natives may develop a strong resentment of newcomers.

(F) Cultural Health Strengthened

Culture is difficult to define or measure, especially when examining sub-areas of the same nation. Several indicators can be used, including language, traditions, facilities, and, more subjectively, leadership, satisfactions and the degree of commercialisation of culture within the tourist industry. It must also be considered that some degree of change is both inevitable and desirable in the context of planning for development, and any changes will affect the local culture. Even without development, it could be expected that a declining population and a high level of out-migration would cause the local culture to be weakened.

Language, Traditions, and Facilities: As noted earlier, the Gaelic language is used by very few residents in Badenoch-Strathspey. The study area is therefore not as distinct in cultural terms as other parts of the region where the traditional language remains in common usage. Some Gaelic is taught in local schools in the Spey Valley, and there are Gaelic choirs, but the household survey found very few people who actually used the language.

To the tourist, an impression of Highland culture might be shaped by the promotion of whisky, haggis and bagpipes, and his or her only exposure to the region's culture might be gained in a souvenir shop. There was not a great deal of authentic tradition on display in the Spey Valley, and some tourists complained of this failure to show the local customs. However, it can be said that tourism does help to maintain some traditions through support given to Highland Games, sheepdog trials, local
pipe bands and other musicians. Landmark Visitor Centre in 1978 experimented with regular shows of genuine traditional music (as opposed to the imitation, popular variety), and this was a promising step. Carrbridge's annual Ceilidh Week, designed to attract tourists, also promises to help preserve traditional music and dance. Kingussie's Gala Week is related to the sport of shinty, and this might be seen as a link between tourism and traditions.

In the household survey a good level of participation in traditional dance and music was found, although relatively few people were playing that traditional Speyside instrument, the fiddle. Local schools offered some instruction in dance and music, and many young people played the bagpipes or chanter and took part in country or Highland dancing. It was interesting to find that newcomers were as active as native households in these traditional pursuits, so perhaps growth in popularity is possible. Ceilidhs, the traditional Highland evening of story-telling and music with friends, appeared to be uncommon. Most respondents associated the ceilidh with a party, particularly at New Year, rather than with the old meaning.

It might be expected that traditions would be stronger in the rural community, but this does not seem to be the case in the Spey Valley. In the sub-sample of farming households, it was found that only 1 member out of 48 spoke Gaelic, and the number pursuing traditional music or dance was not high. Other aspects of the rural community are distinct, however, including farm-related organisations and events. There are strong links between the rural community and the villages, with Grantown being the main centre in this context, so changes in the village will affect rural communities.

Tourism does have an effect on preserving the
viability of rural areas, thereby helping to maintain cultural distinctness, by enabling farmers and crofters to make extra income. Estates, employing many people in forestry, game-keeping and agriculture, are also able to exploit tourism in ways that make operations more viable. As noted previously, there is a high level of such activity on farms and estates in the study area.

Sport and leisure might also be used as an indicator of cultural health. This item is discussed fully in the next section, but it can be mentioned here that there were some differences between the activities of natives and those of newcomers. In particular, the sport of shinty is associated with the southern part of the district, and this was dominated by native Highlanders. The provision of facilities might also be important in helping to maintain a culture, particularly in small communities where meeting places are important. This too is discussed in the section concerning leisure.

Satisfactions, Leadership, and Commercialisation:
There can be little doubt that tourism tends to commercialise culture, especially through souvenirs and popularised music or dance. However, this did not appear to have become a serious problem or issue in the study area, as witnessed by the fact that very few respondents agreed with the statement: "The tourist industry has become an insult to the Scottish heritage". Ultimately, it is the residents who must insist on the preservation of traditions and counter any trends toward commercialisation by upholding genuine customs. It would be ironic if newcomers to the area, becoming interested in Highland customs, were to provide the leadership necessary to maintain traditions. Failing such a display of indigenous interest, it seems probable that the trend toward social urbanisation will supplant local culture with that of the national mainstream.
One other indicator of effects on the culture is the level of satisfaction with a traditional way of life. From the evidence available, notably the attitudes measured in the surveys, it can be suggested that demands for changes are stronger than demands for preservation of the old ways. However, this observation does not detract from the dominant preference of residents in the Spey Valley to secure improvements without sacrificing the high quality of the rural environment.

(G) Leisure Choice Increased

Tourism is often attributed with creating greater opportunities for residents to use new facilities and engage in a wider range of recreational pursuits. Other related indicators must be assessed, including the level of activity in groups, the cost of participating in new opportunities, and changes in preferences for activities or in attitudes toward leisure. Satisfaction with opportunities must be measured, together with the way in which special needs are met by tourist-related opportunities.

Activities and Facilities: In Chapter Four the facilities available for recreation in the study area were described, and it is clear that many of these opportunities would not exist in a rural area but for tourism. Respondents in the household survey were asked which activities on a list had been done by members of the household during the past year, and included on the list were activities at specific places so that the popularity of tourism-related facilities could be assessed. It was discovered that residents of Aviemore were most active, due obviously in part to the inclusion on the list of many facilities in or near Aviemore.

Of particular interest was the fact that Aviemore's cinema and swimming pool ranked first and second in terms of total use by the whole district. Hill walking was the
third most popular activity in the sample, and this can be undertaken in all parts of the district. Others mentioned frequently were skating at Aviemore, attending a drama or live show at Aviemore, and downhill skiing at Cairngorm. Smaller numbers had been curling, karting or playing squash at Aviemore. Fishing and golfing were also popular, especially with males. Overall, males were more active than females, and young people were more active than older residents.

Presented with a list of places and events to visit in the district, all of which were tourist-oriented or had an appeal to tourists, it was revealed that the most popular were, in descending order: Loch an Eilean; Loch Morlich beach; Santa Claus Land; the Highland Wildlife Park; Landmark Visitor Centre; Aviemore Amusement Arcade; Loch Garten Osprey Nest; and Inverdruie fish farm. Young people were more active in visiting places, but older persons were more active in visiting places of interest than they were in recreational activities. Again, residents of Aviemore were the most active, stemming from proximity to many of the places on the list. Households whose heads were newcomers to the district had visited more places than those with heads who were natives, and this may be attributed in part to novelty.

A related question asked what equipment on a list was owned by households and individual members. It was found that most households had at least one television set, and the level of ownership of automobiles was high. This latter point is corroborated by data from the 1971 census which showed that Badenoch-Strathspey had a higher level of ownership than most rural Scottish districts (Scottish Development Department, 1977).

Bicycles were the item owned most commonly in the sample, followed by, in descending order: fishing tackle; golf clubs; skis; ice skates; tennis rackets; gun/rifle;
and motorcycles. Golf clubs, guns and fishing tackle were owned predominantly by males, whereas females owned more ice skates, tennis and squash rackets. The influence of tourism-related opportunities is shown by the popularity of skis and skates, although curling equipment, squash rackets, and boats – also items related to tourist facilities – were owned by only a few residents. It must be noted, however, that activities such as these, and skiing, can be undertaken readily through the rental of equipment. Households of newcomers, perhaps surprisingly, were more inclined than those of natives to own skis, skates, and curling equipment.

The survey of students in secondary schools also obtained data on leisure. Respondents were asked to record their three favourite recreational activities which could be done in the Spey Valley. For males, the most frequently mentioned, were, in descending order: fishing and skiing; golfing; football; swimming; shooting; and shinty. Females emphasised, in descending order: swimming; walking/hill-walking; dancing/discos; ice skating; and skiing. Males were more inclined than females to participate in active sports.

The students were shown a list of activities and places in the district and were asked to indicate those undertaken or visited in the past year. Facilities at Aviemore were found to be very popular with both males and females, and in both the north and south of the district. Most frequently mentioned were, in descending order: Aviemore cinema; Aviemore Centre amusement arcade; Highland Wildlife Park; swimming at Aviemore pool; Santa Claus Land; skating at Aviemore rink; Loch an Eilean and Landmark Visitor Centre; swimming at Loch Morlich beach; and dancing at the Aviemore Centre. Other tourist-related facilities were also used often. Many of the activities were offered by the secondary schools as part of regular recreational programmes, and a minority of the students
had done some of the activities only as part of a school event. These programmes may serve to introduce the young people to activities in which they later participate more frequently.

Regarding items owned or available to students at home, it was found that the following were the most common: bicycles; tennis and badminton rackets; fishing tackle; golf clubs; skis; gun or rifle; automobile; tent; and ice skates. Musical instruments were mentioned infrequently, as was equipment for shinty, curling, squash, climbing and boating. Differences between the sexes were similar to those found in the activities undertaken, but more interesting was the fact that shinty gear, curling equipment and bagpipes were more popular in the south of the district. Musical instruments and shinty gear were associated predominantly with students who had lived in the district the longest.

Questions on leisure were included in the survey of staff in special accommodation. There was some similarity between the activities of staff and the students, although the main activity of staff was drinking and going to pubs. Asked about their local spending, the sample of staff responded that drinking and entertainment were the main items, with food, clothes, tobacco, accommodation and recreation also being important costs. Proximity to, and special privileges in Aviemore Centre (for some of the staff) resulted in high levels of use of tourist facilities. It was also revealed that many staff in the sample came to the study area because of opportunities for entertainment and recreation.

It has already been mentioned that residents of Aviemore were more active in belonging to groups than those in other villages, and that people in rural areas had less opportunity for belonging than did the villagers. Young people were more likely to belong to groups than
older residents, and males were more involved, particularly in sport-related groups, than were females.

The most frequently mentioned groups in the sample were, in descending order: youth groups (such as guides and cubs); work-related (such as unions and social clubs); volunteers (such as Red Cross and fund raising); arts/drama/music; political (including membership in parties or being on councils); and church groups. However, taken together, the sports-related groups were also very common. Those mentioned most often were: golf; angling; snooker/darts; ball sports; swimming; skiing; tennis; and gun/rifle.

Only a few groups were over-represented by persons from households with Highland-born heads, these being ball sports, snooker and darts, badminton, and rural/farm groups. Groups for golf, angling, volunteers, young people and politics were also popular with natives. Newcomers to the district appeared to be dominant in groups for skiing, curling, ice skating, the Women's Rural Institute, and arts/drama/music.

Students in the survey at secondary schools were asked about their membership in groups, excluding those at school. Fully 27% of the respondents mentioned no groups at all, but perhaps some of them were active at school. Males belonged to more groups than did females, particularly in sports. Ski clubs were dominated by those born outside the district, while clubs for football, shinty and tennis were more associated with those born locally.

Results of the survey of staff revealed very little membership in groups outside the tourist establishments. Social clubs for employees were important for some staff, and a few belonged to clubs for sports in the wider community. As a result of this isolation, an opportunity
for staff to contact residents is absent, and this cannot be helpful in achieving social integration.

Has life in the communities changed in response to new opportunities for leisure? Several observers have suggested that completion of the Aviemore Centre reduced the function of outlying villages in providing entertainment and social events, particularly as young people gravitated toward Aviemore (Macleod, 1974; Fraser, 1977). This trend harmed the village halls which were traditionally the focus of social life. New expectations and attitudes arising from in-migration may have exacerbated the changes. Village halls in remoter parts of the study area, such as in Laggan and Advie, have found it difficult to remain active because of the small rural populations and the absence of young families, but this fact cannot be linked to the effects of tourism.

More recently, there appears to have been a resurgence of interest in many of the village halls and in local activities. For example, Boat of Garten and Newtonmore had recently improved their halls, and Grantown lacked a hall for several years until the YMCA opened a new facility.

Carrbridge and Boat of Garten have held ceilidhs in their village halls to raise money. It was reported that 9 ceilidhs at Boat of Garten in the summer of 1978 attracted over 1,000 visitors, including foreigners (Strathspey and Badenoch Herald, September 8, 1978). Newtonmore held bingos and other functions in their hall, and Dulnain Bridge held a concert in the summer for tourists. There is undoubtedly greater potential for the villages to profit from tourism and to help revitalise their halls. The example of Carrbridge's Ceilidh Week can be cited as a major enterprise which utilises local facilities and brings needed income.
Satisfaction; Appropriateness: In the surveys there was found a high level of satisfaction with facilities for sport and recreation in the district, and this was slightly higher on the part of young respondents and newcomers. In the attitude scales, a majority of respondents agreed with the statement: "Tourism can be thanked for bringing good facilities to this district".

Students were asked to note the good and bad aspects of life in the Spey Valley. Of the good points, opportunities for sport and recreation were mentioned most frequently. Similarly, in the survey of staff in special accommodation the good aspects of the area mentioned most frequently were recreation, sports, plenty to do, and a good social life.

Respondents in the household survey were asked if they liked or disliked any facilities for recreation or places in the countryside in the study area. Many of the places respondents enjoyed were also visited frequently by tourists, such as Loch Morlich and Loch an Eilean. Many individual places in the countryside were enjoyed, with the most common reasons for their preference being scenery, nice walks, the quiet, or an uncrowded condition. Two places (Lochindorb and Glen Feshie) were popular with residents but are remote from the main concentrations of tourists. Perhaps this reveals a desire to avoid tourists, although it is possible to escape crowds almost anywhere in the district by a short walk away from roads.

The brunt of criticism was directed at the Aviemore Centre, and this facility was disliked by many more respondents than those who indicated a liking for it. Those who enjoyed the Centre appreciated its facilities, while those who disliked it mentioned as reasons its commercialisation, high costs, noise, and crowds, or they believed it was the wrong type of environment. Some respondents specified Santa Claus Land, the go-karts or
the amusement arcade as facilities within the Centre which they disliked. Interestingly, dislike of the Aviemore Centre was greater on the part of respondents in the outlying villages, while residents of Aviemore seemed to be critical mainly of the amusement arcade. Few other places or facilities in the district were cited as being disliked.

Many of the students surveyed in secondary schools said there was a need for more to do, despite their high level of satisfaction with opportunities for recreation. The lack of activities and facilities outside Aviemore attracted much criticism, and some students complained of the high cost and difficulty of getting public transport to Aviemore. This was particularly important to females. Some students disliked the Aviemore Centre, but they were in the minority. Regarding use of the Centre itself, it was suggested that dances for younger people were needed, as most dances held in the Centre were licensed to serve alcohol.

When asked specifically what facilities for young people were needed in the district, the items mentioned most frequently by students were meeting places, such as youth clubs, community centres or discos. This corresponds with a general sense of boredom on the part of many students. Aviemore-like facilities were desired in the outlying villages, such as a swimming pool and cinema, and this might point to raised expectations as a result of tourism-related developments.

It might be expected that young people will complain of boredom even under the best of circumstances, but their specific complaints about a need for more youth-oriented activities and meeting places, and about the problems of accessibility, are noteworthy. Some of the demands of young people will not be satisfied in a village environment, and to this extent the availability of
a major complex for entertainment and recreation in the district is a definite asset. On the other hand, the comments of many students suggest that the village halls could provide better services to young people if managed with that need in mind.

Residents and tourists were not in serious conflict over the use of facilities or in their general pursuit of leisure. Residents benefitted considerably by using tourist facilities, and residents can, if desired, escape readily from crowds and facilities, even in the peak summer season. Many residents did not like the Aviemore Centre, but its great use cannot be questioned. However, it was also clear that tourism, on its own, did not satisfy all needs for leisure in the community.

Older residents were less interested in opportunities for sport, and so many tourist facilities in this context are not appropriate. Older people were able to benefit from the cinema and other places of interest, and they participated in traditional activities such as angling and golfing which may be assisted by income from tourists. Young people enjoyed the many opportunities for active sports, along with the youth-oriented entertainment in facilities such as the Aviemore Centre. However, young people may not have good access to facilities which are centralised in one place. Also, the preferences of males and females differed, with places for general socialising being more important to girls than to boys.

The higher costs associated with large tourist facilities may make the facilities less appropriate for residents, particularly if the costs of transport from outlying villages are considered. Also, the atmosphere of the Aviemore Centre was perceived by many residents to be inappropriate, especially because of its emphasis on young people and alcohol.
A general conclusion may be drawn regarding the provision of opportunities for leisure. The centralisation of new facilities, as in Aviemore, should be seen as complementing, rather than replacing the need for facilities in the outlying villages. Some facilities might be feasible only if contained in a large resort complex, but there are others which could be dispersed. Most important of these facilities would be places where young people and other members of small communities can meet for a variety of purposes. The village halls could satisfy this need if maintained and managed adequately. Complacency regarding the existing situation, in which smaller communities lack facilities and resources, could harm their viability.

(H) Conservation Assisted

Objectives of this research do not include an assessment of environmental impact. Rather, it is important to identify the issues pertaining to tourism and its relationship with conservation in Badenoch-Strathspey and to examine the attitudes and preferences of the host population with regard to these issues. The term 'conservation' in this context refers mainly to the conservation of nature, but also to the conservation of important man-made features.

Main Issues: There has been no comprehensive assessment of the impact of tourism on the natural environment of the study area, but several studies have examined effects of developments on Cairngorm (Watson, 1967; Bayfield, 1971, 1974) and damage to footpaths (Bayfield, 1973). Plans by the NCC for management of the Cairngorm National Nature Reserve, and the reports of the Speyside Project by the CCS also provide some information.

From examination of the available data, it can be concluded that problems arising from tourism have not,
overall, been serious or irreversible. An exception is the building of roads on estates to provide access for stalkers and shooters, as these leave permanent scars on the landscape and may result in erosion. Elsewhere, it is obvious that the rising number of visitors brings increased litter, the risk of fire, and some disturbance to soils, vegetation and wildlife, as well as crowding at peak times.

Damage from developments on Cairngorm has been noted often by critics, although the chairlift company has undertaken rehabilitation measures and, more recently, has used helicopters for the installation of pylons in order to avoid damage to soils and vegetation. The proposed expansion of facilities for skiing into Lurcher's Gully is a major issue facing conservationists, as the work would require a new road, would alter permanently the natural characteristics of another part of the mountain, and could result in even more incursions by visitors into the adjacent nature reserve.

The growing concentration of visitors in the corridor from Aviemore to Cairngorm is an important issue, as this area contains some of the most unique vegetation and wildlife in the district. Attempts to disperse tourists have not yet been adequate, and this poses the threat of a serious loss of amenity to the tourists themselves. It can be asked if the provision of facilities elsewhere in the district would relieve the pressure on this area of concentration, and if so, would it be merely at the expense of other areas? The same argument applies at a regional scale, as the concentration of tourists and skiers in the Spey Valley might help to divert pressure from more remote and sensitive parts of the Highlands.

The types of visitors attracted to the study area have a significant effect on conservation, as active recreationists demand more facilities and may cause greater disruption. The majority of visitors are sightseers, and
they can be accommodated on and near roads, but many hikers, skiers, climbers and other recreationists go into the remotest parts of the district. It also has been suggested that many visitors attracted by the facilities of the Aviemore Centre do not appreciate or understand the countryside, and this type of tourist may deliberately or unconsciously cause damage.

Would the creation of a Special Park solve some of these problems? The integration of policies and management that could accompany a new park would certainly be beneficial, but it might also be expected that even greater numbers of visitors would be attracted by a park, with the management not being able to cope. Furthermore, it must be considered that the local authorities oppose new conservation-oriented designations, fearing a loss of development and extra costs imposed on residents.

Turning to man-made features, tourism contributes to their conservation and offers prospects for improvements. Several of the villages in the Spey Valley are good examples of planning and architecture from the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the maintenance of their viability through tourism assists in conservation. Indeed, many fine old buildings are used effectively to provide tourist accommodation. Restoration of the Aviemore to Boat of Garten Steam Railway is an example of the value of tourism, and the Highland Wildlife Park can be cited for its contribution, albeit in a man-made environment, to the conservation of the regional fauna. There are a number of ruins in the district (Loch an Eilean, Lochindorb, Ruthven, Castle Roy and others) which have an appeal to tourists, but as yet little has been done to preserve or open them for the public. This is another direction in which tourism could contribute to, and benefit from conservation.

It must be asked what are the benefits and costs of
conservation for the host population? Presumably all residents gain from a protected natural environment, and this is an important tourist attraction in itself, but a policy emphasising conservation could easily restrict development and thereby limit opportunities for employment. In particular, a restriction on the expansion of skiing would limit the creation of all-year jobs in tourism. On the whole, arguments for expanding skiing on Cairngorm or imposing a ban for reasons of conservation have equally compelling strength. It is essentially a conflict of values, and perhaps a conflict between national and local/regional interests, and it must be resolved by a subjective decision.

A number of key conflicts can be identified with regard to the costs and benefits of conservation. Local and regional authorities believe that conservation penalises residents in favour of benefits to outsiders, and that the nation should pay for conservation of its main resources. At the same time, however, there are national goals for economic development which can be in conflict with national conservation-oriented objectives. To the residents there are benefits both from maintaining a high quality of environment and from encouraging more development. If development is concentrated, it may cause damage in one area but help to preserve others. There are economic costs associated with concentration as well, such as depriving outlying communities of new facilities and jobs. Tourists are not a homogeneous group, and conservation provides benefits to some while penalising those who favour facilities and activities. Finally, conservation creates its own jobs, such as for management, information and planning, and these can help to compensate for jobs lost in other sectors.

The 'trade-offs' required to resolve these issues are not absolute, as compromises can and usually will be found. Although no solutions can be offered to these
issues in this research, some of the implications are assessed more fully in the concluding chapter. Of greatest importance to the host population is the question of concentration or dispersal, as this issue entails consideration of the scale, types and location of facilities in relationship to conservation of the natural and man-made environments.

Attitudes and Preferences: An interesting development in the Spey Valley was the organisation in 1975 of a group of residents for the purpose of stimulating interest in, care for, and conservation of the area's beauty, history and character. It operates by holding meetings to discuss issues and by making its position clear to appropriate authorities.

The group's purpose is broad, not being aimed solely at the conservation of nature, and it was also clear to the author that members held different views on the meaning of conservation - ranging from those opposed to almost all development in the area, to those in favour of some development if it was managed and controlled. Key issues considered by the group have been the regional structure plan and local development plan, the proposed Grampian and Speyside Ways, a proposed helicopter service for the Aviemore Centre, and the possibility of a Special Park for the Cairngorm area. Other activities have been concerned with general amenities, changes in land-use, tourism, and visual eyesores. In 1978 a major issue facing the group was the possible expansion of skiing into Lurcher's Gully.

It is too early to assess the potential impact of this group on the formation of policy, but it can be observed that it is a necessary counter-force to the large lobby for tourism which exists in the district. Such a group can become the focus of legitimate concern about the types or direction of development, and can
force officials to be explicit in making value judgments. There is a danger, however, that such a group might be accused of negativism because it opposes changes.

The response profiles shown in Figure 19 reveal that members of the conservation-oriented group were most favourable to conservation, and, despite some inadequacies in the statements, this fact allows confidence in the overall validity of the scale. Almost all respondents in the three samples agreed with the statement that wildlife must be protected even at the expense of some development, and while this shows a general sympathy for the principles of conservation, the statement was very non-controversial. There was also very little difference in scores between the three samples in response to the statement "It would have been nicer living in the Spey Valley twenty years ago". Agreement with this statement was interpreted to reflect an attitude favourable toward conservation, as it is likely that a conservation-oriented person would regret recent changes. However, it is clear that some respondents interpreted the statement as referring to jobs, facilities and other positive features, and this makes the item inappropriate.

On the statement "Not nearly enough has been done to protect our attractive countryside", only the household sample scored on the 'not favourable' side of the index, and then only slightly. Many respondents apparently felt that existing measures aimed at conservation were adequate, but, perhaps surprisingly, a majority of the operators of tourist facilities did not. This might be interpreted as reflecting a belief that conservation is good for tourism, or it might be a consequence of the fact that many operators came to the area for a better quality of environment.

Polarisation of responses was significant on the other three items in the scale. In particular, the
conservation-oriented group was in direct opposition to the household sample and operators of tourist facilities with regard to the desirability of further development of skiing on Cairngorm and the provision of more access to nature reserves. To the statement which said that local jobs are more important than preserving scenery for others, some respondents suggested that the two objectives were not necessarily incompatible. Nevertheless, the household sample agreed strongly with this statement, while there was a split in responses from the other two samples.

It has already been concluded that most residents in the Spey Valley are not opposed to the principles of conservation, and, in fact, the predominant preference is for the maintenance of the attractive rural environment. There was also a strong fear expressed by many respondents that over-development and commercialisation would make the area a worse place in which to live. In this context, it appears that the main concern of residents is that an emphasis on preservation would detract from opportunities for employment in the district.

(I) Amenity Enhanced

Many aspects of amenity have already been considered with the other key indicators. In this section, consideration is given to crowding, noise and loss of privacy as things which can be measured quantitatively, if data are available, and to visual amenity, which can only be assessed subjectively. Unfortunately, no direct measurements of noise, crowding and loss of privacy are available, and so these criteria must be assessed by making general references to concentrations of tourists and facilities.

Crowding, Noise, and Loss of Privacy: Where facilities are provided, thereby encouraging a concentration of
tourists, the loss of amenity can easily become a problem. In the Spey Valley this appears to occur at peak times in the most popular areas, along the main roads, and in a few facilities. But congestion is short-lived and spans only the two summer months. At other times of the year, with perhaps the exception of a few peak weekends, the district is quiet. Only Aviemore and Glen More experience visitation in any significant numbers throughout the year.

Concentration of activity may exacerbate the loss of amenity for residents of the affected area, but it does have some compensating factors, such as the accessibility of facilities. Also, concentration can contain the loss of amenity to areas where effective management can be provided. Dispersal of tourists might generate some opposition from residents of other parts of the district, but the scale of planned dispersal could be such as to avoid serious problems. A repetition of development similar to the Aviemore Centre in other villages would be most unwelcome.

Respondents in the household survey provided some illumination on this point. When asked if they thought the number of tourists and holidaymakers coming to their part of the valley had increased quite a lot in recent years, the overwhelming majority of respondents answered in the affirmative. This perception of growth in the number of visitors might indicate an increasing loss of amenity, or it might reflect increases in the number of non-Scottish visitors. This latter suggestion is supported by the fact that respondents thought most visitors to Spey Valley in summer came from England and abroad, while ignoring the Scottish component. In winter, however, most respondents correctly mentioned the English and Scottish as the main groups of visitors. It is, however, doubtful that the perception of growth in tourism is attributable solely to the types of visitors, so it may be concluded that residents are concerned about increased volumes of tourism.
It was also asked if there were any types of visitors which respondents thought to be undesirable. Most respondents actually declined to answer or said there were none, thereby revealing a generally favourable attitude toward tourists. Of those mentioned, motorcyclists were cited most often, with Glaswegians, skiers, wild-campers and several nationalities also mentioned a few times. Many respondents gave no particular reason for their dislikes, but some visitors were said to have bad attitudes, motorcyclists and Glaswegians were said to cause trouble, and others were thought to be vandals. Residents of Aviemore complained more about visitors than did other respondents. The impression gained by the author was that occasional disturbances do happen, and more often in Aviemore than elsewhere, but major losses of amenity have not yet become a problem in the Spey Valley.

**Visual Amenity:** This is a highly subjective issue and is dependent on personal taste or point of view. Aviemore and the Aviemore Centre were cited often by residents and visitors alike as being unappealing, or worse. Much of this criticism stems, no doubt, from its modernity, although it must be said that the designers of the Centre broke deliberately from traditional styles. For tourists seeking the traditional Highland atmosphere, Aviemore must come as a surprise, but it also serves to remind visitors that a variety of demands are being accommodated. The Coylumbridge Hotel was generally better received in discussions of visual amenity, partly because of its low profile (compared to the tall hotel at the Centre) and its use of stone (compared to bland white at Aviemore). Whatever the observer's preference regarding those tourist facilities, it can be said that the new estates of housing erected by the District in Aviemore demonstrate little of the traditional styles or of aesthetic ingenuity.

Other tourism-related projects have been criticised
on aesthetic grounds, and especially the facilities and roads on Cairngorm. More recent construction of uplift facilities has employed helicopters, thereby reducing visual scars in the ground, but any such development is a distraction. The open Highland moors are extremely vulnerable to visual intrusion, and the developments on Cairngorm are situated so as to have a maximum impact. Another eyesore is the pipeline for water which connects Loch Einich with Aviemore. It is quite visible above ground, and a dirt road has been introduced into the remote glen for construction and maintenance (the older track was much less conspicuous).

Taken each on their own, new developments may seem to present only minor visual intrusion, but cumulatively they may contribute to a significant loss of amenity and a growing impression of a developed rather than rural or remote area. This has implications for tourism and for residents, but its scope cannot be measured quantitatively.
PART THREE
CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING AND POLICIES; CONCLUSIONS

In this final chapter, findings of the research are assessed as to their implications for planning and policies within the study area and in a wider context. The key policy-related questions which were established to guide this research are answered first, to the extent permitted by the data available. In doing so, more general implications for planning and theory are discussed. In the second section of this chapter several alternative strategies for planning in the study area are discussed, emphasising the probable effects on the host population of policies pertaining to tourism, conservation, and land-use in general.

Implications for on-going planning of tourism and development in Scotland are assessed in the third section of this chapter, including plans at the local, regional and national levels. Finally, the main conclusions are summarised by referring to the objectives of this research. Needs for further research are stated throughout the chapter, where appropriate.

(A) Key Policy-Related Questions

(1) In terms of local impact, what are the main implications of major tourism investment being concentrated at the centre of an area rather than being dispersed more evenly throughout the area?

This has proved to be one of the most important questions in the Spey Valley, and many of the residents recognised its importance. It has been shown that
facilities and visitors have concentrated in the corridor from Aviemore to Cairngorm, and investment in new, large-scale projects has been greatest in Aviemore. Investments by public agencies have not been concentrated in terms of the numbers of projects assisted, but the overall effect has been to encourage concentration because of the large amount of assistance given to major new projects.

Tourism was dispersed throughout the study area before developments at Cairngorm and Aviemore, and so it is possible to examine both the effects of dispersed, small-scale developments and of concentrated large-scale developments. Concentration does not necessarily imply a large scale, but in a rural area it will have this effect in relative terms at least. The main groups of effects compared in Figure 20 have been chosen because they appear to be the most susceptible to varying degrees of spatial concentration and the scale of developments.

Figure 20 presents a simple dichotomy, ignoring the fact that varying degrees of concentration and dispersal will have different effects. Accordingly, most of the effects are worded so as to stress that they are not absolute opposites. Furthermore, the figure ignores the question of what effects the concentration of development has already had on the dispersed elements of tourism. This important factor is considered in the following paragraphs, although it is not possible to be completely certain about the inter-relationships between the concentration of facilities at or near Aviemore and those provided elsewhere in the district.

Concentration and a large scale of development tend to increase the visitor’s choice of accommodation, both in terms of the number of units available in one place and in the types of units available. Aviemore, for example, contains a self-catering hotel and a chalet-style motel which are unique in the district. However, there is also
### Figure 20

**Observed Effects of Concentration and Dispersal of Tourism and Related Developments in Badenoch-Strathspey**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects on Accommodation</th>
<th>Dispersal/Small Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- greater diversity possible, but</td>
<td>- less choice, but lower costs;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tends to exclude cheaper types.</td>
<td>competition with the concen-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- longer season and higher occupancy.</td>
<td>tration may lead to cheaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- greater financial assistance needed.</td>
<td>holidays.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- greater ownership by outside interests.</td>
<td>- shorter season and lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- encourages conferences and coach tours.</td>
<td>occupancy rates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- encourages comprehensive packages.</td>
<td>- local ownership more common.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- more dependent on car-tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and repeat custom; few confer-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ences.</td>
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### Employment and Incomes

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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- possible labour shortages.</td>
<td>- less choice of work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- need to import workers.</td>
<td>- more reliance on local workers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- stronger local business linkages.</td>
<td>- less long-distance commuting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more jobs and choice of jobs.</td>
<td>- less in-migration and popula-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- greater prospects for training</td>
<td>tion growth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and advancement in jobs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more permanent jobs and jobs for males.</td>
<td>- more local spending.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- higher demand for females and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>especially part-timers.</td>
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### Tourists, Facilities and Activities

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<thead>
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<tr>
<td>- appeals to a wider range, but</td>
<td>- less choice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may attract undesirable types.</td>
<td>- appeals to special interests</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more choice of activities and</td>
<td>not dependent on facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more services.</td>
<td>- less off-season appeal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- possible overcrowding.</td>
<td>- less manipulation of resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more financial assistance needed.</td>
<td>- easier to retain high amenity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- encourages greater spending.</td>
<td>value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- less local spending.</td>
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### Infrastructure

<p>| | |</p>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- problem of maintaining balance</td>
<td>- lack of infrastructure may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between supply and need.</td>
<td>limit growth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more expensive investments needed.</td>
<td>- special problems may arise, such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- adhere standards and may need</td>
<td>as pollution, if services are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>development and diversification.</td>
<td>not available.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- concentrated investment may reduce</td>
<td>- less investment needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viability in outlying settlements.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Transport

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- may be congestion at peak times.</td>
<td>- less accessibility and less use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- use of public transport increased.</td>
<td>of public transport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may justify improvements in</td>
<td>- may lead to demands for better</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public transport.</td>
<td>roads in remote areas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Local Authority Income

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- higher income from rates.</td>
<td>- less cost and less income.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- higher income from induced growth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- helps to pay for desired improve-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ments.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Industries</td>
<td>CONCENTRATION/LARGE SCALE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may increase demand for food and other supplies.</td>
<td>- enables farmers to provide accommodation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- more interference with nearby operations.</td>
<td>- spreads minor problems widely.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environment and Conservation</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- increased risk of fire, litter, pollution, and disturbance to vegetation and wildlife.</td>
<td>- lower impact on scientific sites.</td>
<td>- spreads minor problems wider.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- requires management/may lead to better management.</td>
<td>- can help to conserve attractive, small settlements.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may attract visitors who cause damage.</td>
<td>- less management feasible/ necessary.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- detracts from rural scene.</td>
<td>- maintenance of rural atmosphere.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- diverts pressure from more remote areas, or fragile areas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- severe changes on one settlement.</td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Housing</th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- higher demand, leading to shortage and inflation of costs.</td>
<td>- housing in remote areas may be inadequate to support any growth.</td>
<td>- some types of tourism impose little new demand on housing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- if supply is concentrated, it draws people from outlying areas.</td>
<td>- could justify new housing, thereby improving viability of communities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- need to house large numbers of staff in temporary accommodation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- attracts owners of second homes and conversions to self-catering.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leisure Choice</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- new facilities which otherwise could not be built in rural areas.</td>
<td>- those lacking mobility benefit more from a dispersal of facilities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- alters patterns of local behaviour.</td>
<td>- can revitalise community halls and help support local Recreation facilities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may lead to greater expectations and changed preferences.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- centralised facilities may be more expensive and are harder to reach.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may lead to decline in village life and traditional activities.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- organisations revitalised by in-migration and younger population.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- leadership probably improved.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- some residents alienated by new activities and their users.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social and Cultural Change/Problems</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- changes more rapid and profound.</td>
<td>- slower and less drastic change, but it may be inadequate to prevent decline.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- changing attitudes and customs result from in-migration.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- problems arising from temporary staff and some types of visitors.</td>
<td>- practically more attractive to tourists, if customs protected from commercialisation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- tends to keep problems localised.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- higher rates of crime and accidents.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- greater degree of commercialisation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- may keep some traditions alive more easily.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 20 (Continued)
an apparent shortage of cheap accommodation in Aviemore, and it may be that larger complexes will tend to exclude all but 'up-market' types because of higher costs of building and operating. Higher costs of accommodation may also result from greater demand on the part of tourists to be near the centre of activity. This attraction, stimulated by facilities and entertainment, also lengthens the tourist season and yields higher occupancy rates. The ability to attract coach tours and conferences also contributes to improved occupancy. As evidenced by Aviemore, large-scale development is more likely to involve outside ownership and to require greater financial assistance, stemming from the high costs of land and construction.

When Aviemore and nearby developments first opened, there was fear that accommodation in outlying villages would suffer a loss of custom. This is difficult to prove on an area-wide basis, but it does appear that summer trade has not been, in the long term, affected adversely because of the concentration. Establishments offering prices lower than those in Aviemore are able to compete in winter, with hotels from Grantown to Dalwhinnie obtaining some business. This effect has evidently grown with increasing numbers of coach parties arriving for skiing. There are also some visitors who prefer not to stay in Aviemore because of the atmosphere, and this spreads demand outwards. However, large hotels in the outlying villages cannot easily take advantage of this potential, owing to their high operating costs. It would take a substantial increase in winter demand to justify keeping open a large accommodation establishment in, say, Grantown or Nethybridge.

Large-scale development creates greater opportunities for employment, both directly and indirectly. Much of this benefit accrues from the longer season, and higher occupancy rates, while stimulation of business linkages and growth of population accounts for other new jobs.
Commuting has increased into Aviemore, and this can be seen as helping to maintain the viability of outlying settlements. The main benefit is in the larger number of permanent jobs for males. Sport and recreational facilities are particularly advantageous from this perspective. On the negative side, large developments generate large demands for labour. This has resulted in the importation of many staff, and at lower wages than local jobs in other sectors. There have also been complaints about a scarcity of employment in outlying establishments, blamed in part on the demands of the larger employers.

Aviemore and large-scale developments have broadened the appeal of the Spey Valley for tourists by complementing the attraction of skiing and by catering to facility-oriented preferences. Greater spending is encouraged by this trend, although much of it will accrue to the big operations in the Centre. Outlying villages also benefit, as visitors to them may enjoy a quieter stay and still have facilities nearby if required. But, given the predominant preference of most visitors, centralised facilities should be viewed as augmenting rather than replacing the appeal of natural amenities.

Major developments generate demands for more infrastructure, and if rapid growth occurs, as in Aviemore, there may be problems in providing all the needed services on time. New facilities such as the district-wide water scheme are a benefit to all in the area, whereas limits on investment in sewerage penalises some settlements. If major growth is desired, large-scale complexes such as Aviemore appear to be a better means than the dispersed development of tourism. It must be presumed in such a policy that larger costs are therefore expected and tolerable.

Concentration of tourists causes congestion at peak times, but also enables greater use to be made of public
transport. Any improvements in the local transport service will benefit smaller communities, but concentration without such improvements will impose hardship on the small settlements.

Greater expenditure and higher income from rates have accompanied large-scale development in the Spey Valley. Aviemore is a major source of income for the district and the region. Overall, the evidence suggests that serious financial strain on local authorities has not been created. An economic cost-benefit study from the perspective of local authorities might find that the balance is not in favour of development, owing to the major investments which have been required to stimulate growth. But this would be ignoring the fact that growth itself is desired. Furthermore, from a regional or national perspective the investments could be justified on the grounds of reducing dependency on central authorities and generation of new economic activity.

Primary industries in Spey Valley have been mostly unaffected by tourism. Larger-scale developments have created more demand for food and milk, but the agricultural sector by its nature is unable to take advantage of this in any significant manner. Dispersal of demand can however, bring benefits to farmers who provide accommodation.

Concentration poses greater threats to the conservation of nature than does dispersal, assuming that dispersal means fewer visitors scattered more widely. If the same numbers of visitors were dispersed, this could cause serious problems as well. Litter, fire and disturbance to wildlife and vegetation are the main risks, although erosion can also arise from pressures. Concentration often occurs at places of outstanding beauty or sensitivity in ecological terms, and this trend is not easily reversed. Large-scale development adds to the general
impression of an urbanised landscape, while even small projects can detract from wild places. However, concentration does make easier a management programme to cannalise and educate visitors. If management can direct pressure to places with a high tolerance of activity, then more sensitive areas could be conserved.

A key issue in the Spey Valley is the proposed expansion of skiing on Cairngorm, at Lurcher's Gully. Conservationists oppose the idea, but it is not clear if they would support small-scale facilities dispersed elsewhere in the district. More than any other recreational activity in Spey Valley, the expansion of skiing threatens both scenery and sensitive environments.

The supply of housing in the Spey Valley has not been able to keep up with demands generated by large-scale growth. The problem is most critical in Aviemore, but it affects the whole area by restricting investment in smaller villages. This can have a detrimental effect on their viability. Tourism is not unique in this sense, but it can be said that increased demands for second homes, self-catering operations, and the acquisition of dwellings by tourist establishments has exacerbated the problem. Dispersed, small-scale tourist developments could provide some benefits to smaller settlements without substantially raising demands for housing.

Leisure choice is increased by concentration of facilities, as this enables the provision of opportunities that otherwise would not come to rural areas. Revitalisation of communities through growth of population will also help to increase choice by enabling the operation of more groups and fuller use of village facilities. But tourist facilities will not benefit all parts of society, given the orientation to youth and recreational activities, and those with limited mobility will not gain as much advantage as others. Dispersal of tourist facilities
would increase the range of choice to residents, as does, for example, the Landmark facility in Carrbridge. Large-scale, centralised complexes should therefore be viewed as a complement to a policy of support for better leisure facilities in all settlements.

With regard to social problems and cultural change, there can be little doubt that large-scale development will hasten the process of social urbanisation and create more social problems. One mechanism by which this occurs is the influx of staff, some of whom will have a disruptive effect. In-migration in general will be accompanied by changing values and preferences, although in Spey Valley the evidence suggests that the process has not caused major conflicts so far. Contact with visitors is likely to have some impact on social life. Commercialisation of the indigenous culture is a possibility heightened by the tendencies of tourism to exploit uniqueness, although revitalisation of the population seems to help preserve traditions. Some traditions are assisted directly by the spending of tourists.

While a strategy of small-scale, dispersed development would lessen the direct social and cultural impact, it is also possible that the process of decline would not be halted and the consequent loss might be irrevocable. In Spey Valley, cultural distinctiveness has not been evident for many decades, and the area's long-standing association with the south has meant that recent cultural impact has not been as important. Transition from a rural to a more urban-oriented society may be resented by some, but most residents believe that benefits outweigh the losses.

In summary, the concentration of growth at Aviemore has assisted greatly in promoting major changes in the district. Large-scale development of skiing is probably dependent on the availability of facilities that can be
provided only in a large complex, and therefore gains attributable to a lengthening season for tourism are in large part dependent on the inter-relationship between Aviemore and skiing. Benefits have spread to outlying communities, although the central corridor experiences higher occupancy rates. Concentration can be seen as the means to stimulate development throughout the district, and any short-term disruptions are probably justified in the context of longer-term gains. This conclusion assumes, however, that after a certain period of time the momentum generated by large-scale development can be checked and subsequent benefits dispersed to outlying centres. It also assumes that planning policy will not negate the potential gains of dispersed tourism by restricting the growth of some communities.

In a later section, alternative strategies for the Spey Valley are examined, and the concentration/dispersal issue is then viewed in the more theoretical context of growth centres and key settlements.

(2) What major issues are raised by the phasing of developments in the area? In particular, to what extent has balance been maintained between the supply and demand for various types of tourism facility, and have local authority and other services been able to meet the demands generated by the commercial developments at each stage?

It is difficult to determine whether demands for tourist facilities have outstripped supply or if the supply of facilities has had to create its own demand. This would appear to be the case with the Aviemore Centre, skiing, and the other major tourist attractions for which markets were originally uncertain. In the context of policy, problems can arise if objectives for development are being frustrated by a lack of facilities. Investment must then be channelled to projects which will encourage expansion. This approach assumes that private interests are unable to respond to needs, or perhaps that constraints
In policy exist which must be lifted.

In the Spey Valley, the most obvious 'bottleneck' is that of facilities for skiing and related services. Demand has expanded rapidly and the facilities on Cairngorm are, at peak times, overcrowded. This raises the issue of whether average or peak demands should be met. Aside from financial considerations, another related issue is the possibility of opening new, smaller facilities elsewhere in the valley. This could have the advantage of diverting demand to outlying villages and could reduce environmental damage at the Cairngorm site. These smaller facilities would be important only at peak times, which are usually weekends. In fact, they need not be open during the week at all, unless snow conditions are excellent. As it is ostensibly the beginner market toward which new facilities on Cairngorm would be aimed, it is probable that smaller facilities elsewhere would satisfy much of the demand.

The Drumochter Pass has been suggested for such facilities, and it appears to offer good economic prospects for the south and entail few conservation problems. However, only Cairngorm and the other highest mountains can support adequate snowfields throughout the season. Consequently, some expansion on Cairngorm would appear to be necessary for growth of the sport. From an economic point of view, generation of new demand by tourists through improved facilities has great value only if much of the resulting demand for accommodation can be diverted to outlying villages.

There does not appear to be any constraint in policy against the expansion of skiing on Cairngorm, as evidenced by local authority plans, but there is strong opposition from conservationists. As previously noted, only a value judgement can resolve that problem.
In the accommodation sector, occupancy rates demonstrate that a large surplus over demand exists, except in the short summer peak. Recent developments have expanded the self-catering sector, and some local observers believe that a surplus will be created, with bad effects on existing establishments. This same worry has been expressed about more hotels in Aviemore. In the accommodation sector, the threat of over-capacity is more important than any possibility of a shortfall. Too much competition could mean the loss of some jobs in marginal establishments, while a good balance between supply and demand can result in better conditions of employment.

Facilities for tourists are meagre in the outlying villages, where establishments such as Landmark could provide benefits to visitors and residents. It is not so much a question of meeting demands as it is of improving services, and thereby perhaps increasing demand. However, that type of investment is not likely to occur unless the outlying communities experience greater all-year demand from visitors. Improved occupancy rates in existing places of accommodation in these outlying villages could also contribute to better provision of facilities. Large hotels in particular might justify some recreational facilities if demand was higher.

The comments of visitors to the Spey Valley shed further light on the question of balance between supply and demand for facilities. Of those things disliked, or mentioned in suggestions about what could be done to improve the area for visitors, the following problems were important: bad roads/traffic/parking/snow removal; poor or insufficient caravan and camping sites; inadequate food/restaurants; poor or inadequate shops/souvenirs; lack of information/signs; poor public transportation/ski-buses; insufficient entertainment, especially for families and children; not enough toilets; and launderettes needed. Also, complaints about facilities
and services on Cairngorm were quite frequent. It is difficult to know what priorities should arise from these complaints and suggestions, because it is not possible to say how severe any of the specific problems are in the Spey Valley. However, it is clear that no uniform, integrated approach to the provision of services and facilities exists in the district.

To date, private establishments, landowners, tourist organisations and public agencies have all acted according to their own priorities. Improvement in the quality of experience for tourists could be realised through preparation of a strategy or management plan for tourism in the Spey Valley. Local plans do not address this need specifically, although such a plan could be incorporated into the policies of local authorities if desired. Elements of such a strategy or plan are discussed in a later section.

Infrastructure and services provided by local authorities, both the region and the district, have in some ways failed to meet growing demands. This is especially true in the provision of housing and sewerage. Housing construction has lagged behind rising demands from immigrants and the growing resident population, while the demands of the tourist industry and owners of second homes have exacerbated the problem. In respect of sewerage, and services in general, it seems likely that provision of necessary infrastructure will continue to be inadequate in some villages because of the policy which favours only the key villages.

To correct these deficiencies will require additional investment, although the housing problem could be ameliorated partly by a policy which forced major new developments to include adequate housing for staff or private housing. It is reasonable to expect that public agencies which assist development should also contribute to satisfying
needs for housing and infrastructure which arise from development. Although these are functions of the local authorities, it is evident from the example of the Spey Valley that major changes will likely outstrip the ability of these authorities to cope. In such cases, further development might be counter-productive because of rising costs, shortages in housing, limitations on growth in smaller settlements, and possible hostility toward development. The social costs of inadequate housing are particularly severe, and this should be given priority in all schemes of development. Assistance by development-oriented boards is therefore justified both as a means to enable more rapid growth and as a way of preventing adverse social impact. Such assistance would be most advantageous in those smaller settlements which are neglected by local authorities and in the centres where development occurs at a large scale.

(3) What is the nature and extent of local involvement in tourism in the area and what issues are raised by the dominant role of tourism in the local economy?

Tourism accounts for at least 30% of all jobs and over 70% of the rateable value from industrial and commercial properties in Badenoch-Strathspey, and it can be concluded that a dependency on tourism exists in terms of employment, incomes and the viability of villages. Tourism is important to all residents in one way or another, and this fact was recognised by most respondents in the interviews conducted in the Spey Valley. However, it was found that the level of participation by natives of the area was low in several significant respects. First, ownership of tourist establishments was concentrated in the hands of outside businesses and newcomers to the area. Second, senior management positions were filled predominantly by outsiders. Third, there was a strong feeling that local men cannot earn an adequate wage in the tourist industry, although some of this feeling might arise
from preference rather than fact. And, fourth, provision of tourist accommodation was denied to most natives because they lived predominantly in houses rented from the Council.

Ways by which to increase benefits to indigenous persons have been suggested, with local programmes for training being the most important. This need not be confined to tourism, but it is clear that unless skills are increased the more senior positions in tourism will go to outsiders. As to the ownership of establishments, it may be necessary to engage in preferential treatment in the giving of assistance if natives are to be encouraged to set up businesses. The availability of capital as a criterion for receiving assistance will favour in-migrants and non-resident owners, although the absence of entrepreneurial skill will also limit local participation until training programmes become effective.

The whole issue of encouraging in-migration and private investment from outside presents a dilemma to planners. To a certain extent it is necessary if major changes are to be realised, but it also runs the risk of dividing the community between newcomers and natives on both social and economic grounds. Indigenous people are not likely to be grateful for benefits brought by development if it becomes clear that newcomers benefit the most. In the Spey Valley there was no evidence of a major conflict along these lines, but it must be concluded that such a risk exists. To combat that possibility, which would have a serious impact on the whole community, positive action will be needed to create more economic opportunities for truly local people.

On the issue of dependency, it has already been concluded that the local economy has remained relatively healthy during a period of difficult national economic trends. Diversification of the local economy will help
to reduce risks, but diversification within the tourist industry also holds good prospects. Strengthening the winter season, dispersing increased visitor demand to all the villages, and complementing - not replacing - environmental attractions with facilities, would all assist greatly.

It may be hypothesised that the community has gone through a number of stages of growth and dependency on tourism. At each stage (more correctly, during phases in a continuum), characteristics and attitudes of the population change in response to economic and social forces. Figure 21 illustrates a hypothetical series of stages of dependency, based partly on observations in the study area. The value of this illustration is in emphasising that development and its effects are a dynamic process. It is not wise to view the effects of tourism as they exist today as reflecting necessarily the impact several years from now. The illustration is not a model, as it does not suggest that real changes will follow this evolution. However, it can be used as a hypothesis to commence an assessment of future impact or effects of development in other districts.

The population is at first out of balance and declining. Through in-migration and stabilisation it progresses to a condition of self-sustaining growth. This can be seen as a process of social urbanisation, especially when attitudes are considered. In a traditional or declining society there will be probably both strong opposition to change and some support for growth. However, a condition of general apathy or inability to act is common. With some impetus toward change provided by investments, it is probable that a pro-growth sentiment will emerge. This is because real benefits of income and jobs can be observed at that stage, and many in-coming settlers are involved directly in tourism. Later, particularly if large-scale in-migration has occurred, attitudes
## HYPOTHETICAL GROWTH AND DEPENDENCY STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGES</th>
<th>CHARACTERISTICS OF POPULATION</th>
<th>ATTITUDES OF RESIDENTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Depression Rural Economy</td>
<td>- isolated from main urban influences and services.</td>
<td>- general complacency or apathy.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- depopulation from out-migration.</td>
<td>- some leadership for growth and modernisation.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- declining primary industries.</td>
<td>- little local initiative.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- aged population.</td>
<td>- anti-modernisation feelings among traditionalists.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- high unemployment or underemployment; low activity rates.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slow Modernisation and Growth of Tourism</td>
<td>- some new development and facilities.</td>
<td>- tourism seen by many as potential economic benefit.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- improved communications.</td>
<td>- strong pro-growth lobby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- in-migration by retired people and owners of second homes.</td>
<td>- political balance favours growth.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- some local initiative to expand tourism.</td>
<td>- general resignation to change.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- limited rationalisation of services and administration.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Heavy Investment and Rapid Growth of Tourism</td>
<td>- better opportunities for jobs and rising incomes.</td>
<td>- vested interests in growth gain political dominance.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- influx of new residents and transient workers.</td>
<td>- organisation of anti-growth lobbies.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- many new services and facilities.</td>
<td>- new attitudes and expectations from incomers take hold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- rapidly improving communications and transport.</td>
<td>- resentment toward disparities in jobs and incomes.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- urban influences predominate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- heavy public investment in infrastructure, housing, amenities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- growth of social friction and problems.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- traditional elements now a minority.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependence on Tourism</td>
<td>- modernised society with pockets of traditional or deprived elements.</td>
<td>- strong conservation and anti-growth lobbies gaining political strength.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- some diversity of employment, but female labour predominates.</td>
<td>- demands for better planning or services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- population growing and younger.</td>
<td>- many calls for diversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- relative stability and general satisfaction with changes.</td>
<td>- political balance may swing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decline</td>
<td>- unemployment rises; incomes fall.</td>
<td>- outlook fully urbanised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR...</td>
<td>- higher levels of social problems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- out-migration recommences.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consolidation</td>
<td>- slowly diversifying opportunities for employment.</td>
<td>- pro-growth sentiments revived.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- greater participation by indigenous people in management and ownership.</td>
<td>- demands for economic diversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- anti-tourism feelings decline.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- emphasis on the equitable spread of benefits; sound management of resources and visitors.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
may change and further growth be opposed. It is also probable at this advanced stage of dependency that the costs and problems associated with tourism become widely recognised. However, if there was to occur an economic decline, it can be expected that sentiment would again change in favour of development. Of course, decline is not a necessary stage, and it may be that the ultimate level is that of consolidation and effective management.

Many circumstances and policies act to change the evolution of communities in response to growth, but dependency on tourism will tend to steer events along these lines if the Spey Valley situation is at all typical. If such trends are unacceptable, from a subjective point of view, then anticipation of future states can lead to policies aimed at the alteration of trends.

(4) What level of local authority expenditure on various services is directly attributable to the demands generated by tourism, and what revenue (including rates) accrues to the local authority from tourism?

It is not possible to isolate expenditures by local authorities and other public agencies related to the demands created by tourism, partly because the authorities do not assess their accounts with this in mind and partly because tourism and its effects are all-pervasive. Housing is predominant in capital expenditure by the District Council and this cost stems indirectly from tourism by means of growth in the population and increased competition for housing. Water and sewerage are major costs to the Regional Council, but these cannot be attributed to single projects of development. Only the Aviemore Centre can be said to have caused, in itself, a major strain on the resources of the local authority. That stemmed mainly from the need to provide housing, because water and drainage had to be provided by the Centre. Construction (and subsequent removal of snow and
maintenance) of the Cairngorm road is the most direct expenditure related to tourism, but that must be viewed more as an investment than as a service to residents.

Regarding ongoing expenditures on services, waste disposal is aggrevated by tourism, and the provision and maintenance of toilets and parking are related to demands by visitors. Leisure and recreation appear to benefit from tourism, as it provides facilities which otherwise might require public investments. Extra police work generated by tourism is an important cost. Social work is a service mainly for residents, although tourists and transient workers require attention. Medical facilities had not expanded greatly in response to recent growth, but the cost of a proposed clinic in Aviemore would in large part be attributable to tourism. Contributions to the Spey Valley Tourist Organisation are a direct, annual investment in tourism.

Income from tourism is easier to document. Other than a modest operating surplus from Grantown caravan park, only the income from rates is relevant. It was found that at least one-third of all rateable value is attributable directly to tourist establishments, as is at least 70% of all commercial and industrial rateable value in the district. Indirect effects in the retail and manufacturing sectors would increase these totals, as would inclusion of private properties which provide tourist accommodation. Badenoch-Strathspey appears to contribute disproportionately to regional expenditures, and is thereby assisting other parts of the Highlands. Also, compared with two other districts in the Highlands with a similar population (Nairn and Skye/Lochalsh), the study area requires a much lower rates support grant from central government.

(5) To what extent has the build-up in population and infrastructure resulting from the major
investment in tourism made it more possible to generate other forms of economic development in the area?

This issue is similar to the question of concentration, and is related to the imputed benefits of a growth centre. It was found that some limited diversification of the local economy has occurred in response to tourism and other developments, although tourism remains the predominant employer. Several small manufacturing industries have emerged in direct response to tourism, and it was admitted that attractions of the area, and holiday experiences in it, had influenced at least two owners of businesses to locate there. Agriculture, forestry and mining have remained mostly unaffected by tourism. The retail and service sector has expanded greatly, but this is not really a diversification in terms of dependency, even though it is so in terms of employment. Manufacturing has been emphasised in policies for development, and it can be seen that its benefits of higher income for males make it very attractive. To entice such development, however, appears to require financial incentives, and even the construction of advance factories. In fact, most forms of development in the Highlands require assistance, and even its availability may not be sufficient to attract new firms or expansions.

Figure 22 presents a number of factors believed to be critical for attracting industry to a remote area. They are derived in part from an earlier study of the Highlands (Hutchinson, 1969), and from the current research in the Spey Valley. Observed effects of tourism and related developments on these factors are outlined, so that the potential for diversification of the local economy can be assessed.

Diversification can occur in an areal as well as a sectoral sense. It should be recognised that concentration may lead to sectoral diversification but, if one centre
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITICAL FACTORS</th>
<th>OBSERVED EFFECTS IN SPEY VALLEY</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>- Labour pool, stable or growing. - Has generated growth in population and a better balance by holding/attracting young people. - May lead to &quot;backwash&quot; (adverse effects on viability of outlying settlements).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>- Skills, or trainable labour. - Competitive wages. - Good labour relations. - High productivity. - Tourism absorbs female labour but ensures potential supply of local males. - Growth attracts some skills, but tourism has few skilled local workers. - Skills for tourism are different from those in manufacturing. - Labour not highly unionised.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure</td>
<td>- Water, drainage, etc. - New services have been provided with spare capacity, but some villages incapable of growth without new infrastructure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Linkages</td>
<td>- &quot;Clustering&quot; of related and interdependent industries. - &quot;Backward&quot; linkages necessary for self-sufficiency and growth. - Tourism-related services may aid other industries. - Tourism-related manufacturers have few local links. - Larger-scale growth needed if linkages are to be forged.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Communications</td>
<td>- Access to supplies, markets, and labour. - Adequate public transport. - Tourism may cause congestion on roads, or lead to improvement of roads. - Growth has been accompanied by better communications. - Tourism could help to justify better public transport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenities and Services</td>
<td>- Conditions attractive to investors and workers. - Education and training. - Supply of housing. - Tourism has provided recreational facilities and other amenities. - Growth has improved some shops and services. - A serious shortage of housing has been created. - Image of area has been improved by promotion; increased contact with, and knowledge of the area has been stimulated.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land/Buildings</td>
<td>- Amount and cost. - Ready-built factories. - Growth has caused some inflation of costs of land. - Major users of land may have to compete with tourist facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operation and Encouragement</td>
<td>- Political and social attitudes. - Promotion and development programmes. - Dependence on tourism may stimulate demands for economic diversification. - Attitudes of residents and politicians are favourable, but in-migration leads to growth in anti-development feelings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
is allowed to grow at the expense of others, it may result in less diversification over a larger area. The imputed advantages and disadvantages of growth centres are discussed later in this chapter but it can be said here that in rural areas having small populations there is little evidence to suggest that concentration in one centre can generate significant economic diversification in outlying settlements.

Industries dependent on the use of female workers may find it difficult to compete with tourism, as tourist establishments appear to offer more flexibility and perhaps easier working conditions than those in manufacturing. Most of the jobs created by tourism are relatively unskilled in nature, or require skills different from those in manufacturing, and this may discourage the mobility of labour between sectors.

A shortage of housing may prove to be the most serious impediment to diversification, as some employers in the tourist industry have complained that it is difficult to attract or hold skilled personnel because of little or no choice of housing. The attitudes of residents were mostly sympathetic to limited growth and probably would support light industry, but in-migration is increasing the proportion of residents who might oppose further development. The success of tourism in generating jobs and incomes may also be leading to some complacency about the need for diversification, but this is not yet a significant obstacle.

On the positive side, improvements in the age and sex structure of the population, and increased prospects for attracting and holding young people in the area are important benefits of tourism. While female labour may be difficult to attract to industry, tourism in Spey Valley has not made great use of indigenous males. Higher wages would attract local males to manufacturing, although it
is not known if the required skills are available. Improvements in the supply of water and other infrastructure are a benefit, particularly in the main villages. Surplus capacity could be used by any major growth of tourism, manufacturing industry or new housing. A general expansion of services, retailing, and amenities in the district must increase its appeal to potential investors, and the image of the area certainly attracts a lot of attention. The level of co-operation and incentives from public agencies is high, although it is probable that significant political pressure would arise against proposals for large-scale industries. Efforts by the HIDB in providing land and advance factories are essential, and remain unaffected by tourism.

(6) What are the major elements of tourist impact which can be classed as social rather than economic in character?

Development in general is hastening the process of social urbanisation, which may be defined as the introduction and eventual dominance of mainstream national characteristics, attitudes and problems. But what are the unique aspects of tourism which may lead to social effects different from other forms of development?

Tourist facilities in themselves have a special social impact. New leisure opportunities arise, and this has altered residents' expectations and social patterns in the community. One of the consequences of new facilities concentrated in Aviemore, has been, evidently, a short-term decline in the use of village halls and local facilities in outlying settlements. An emphasis on young tourists, sports, and drinking tends to alienate some residents from tourist facilities or may lead to social problems. Concentration of facilities also results in increased loss of amenity to villagers in Aviemore.

Employment generated by tourism is the main mechanism
of social change. It imports a large proportion of its labour, and although other industries may have to do the same in remote areas, tourism appears to attract a significant number of transients who may be the source of problems. It is generally recognised that wages in tourism are lower than in other sectors, except perhaps other services, and this increases the need for imported staff while tending to discourage indigenous males from taking jobs. An abundance of jobs for females, either part or full-time, and jobs for young people, helps to compensate by increasing household income, but this can also impose a strain on children left alone.

In-migration of permanent settlers has obvious ramifications for social change. The trends in the Spey Valley so far indicate that newcomers have been well received and have played an important role in the community, although there are also negative effects. The ownership and management of businesses and facilities is dominated by in-comers, and this may lead to local resentment. Attitudes of locals and newcomers differ in certain respects, possibly leading to conflict over such issues as conservation and growth. This phenomenon, however, is not very different from that observed in commuter villages near large cities (Pahl, 1965).

A shortage of housing is one of the most serious social problems arising from recent developments. This may accompany any growth, but tourism exacerbates the situation in several ways. First, there has been a high demand for second homes in the district, and this is in part related to new opportunities for skiing and recreation. Second, the expanding self-catering market has resulted in many dwellings being converted for use as commercial accommodation. It can also be suggested that some of the accommodation in bed and breakfast and guest houses would be used for renting to residents under different circumstances, but, as these places are occupied
by the operators, the net effect is minimised. Tourist establishments have also had to acquire or rent accommodation for their staff in addition to internal rooms or staff blocks. This is one area in which newcomers might experience problems more severely than long-term residents, although for young families just starting in the district the choice of housing is very restricted. Many have been forced to double-up with relatives or to reside in caravans.

It is questionable what influence the many visitors to Spey Valley have had directly on residents. Some effect on attitudes and social life is inevitable, but so far not to the extent where resentment of visitors has emerged. Some observers might suggest that work in tourism forces a level of subservience and meniality on residents, but this effect is no different from normal divisions of class and income in urban society. Commercialisation of the local culture is another theoretical risk, but residents in the study area were not vulnerable to exploitation of a unique language or religion, or exotic costume and traditions.

Social impact can therefore be divided into two categories: effects arising from growth and development, which are an aspect of urbanisation; and effects arising from the peculiar attributes of tourism. Of the two classes, those effects stemming from growth and development in general appear to be more significant in terms of permanent changes. Those attributable to tourism in some cases represent an exacerbation of problems, as with housing, or an opportunity not associated with other forms of development, such as increased choice in leisure. The most damaging effect stemming directly from special attributes of tourism is its tendency to rely on large-scale importation of workers, often of a transient nature. This problem is mostly a result of large-scale development. Small, dispersed operations can not only survive
more easily on local labour, but if they do import staff it is not in concentrations large enough to present problems to a whole community.

The evidence available suggests that residents of Badenoch-Strathspey have gained much, and that the costs and problems, while not to be dismissed as requiring little attention, have not outweighed the benefits. Most residents would agree with this observation. Support for further expansion of tourism would be given by most residents, although not if it took the form of more complexes like the Aviemore Centre or if it threatened the quality of village and rural life. Light manufacturing industry would probably be supported if it was at a small scale. The generally high level of satisfaction with present conditions does not imply a tolerance of continued large-scale change, as the biggest fear of many residents was that too much development or commercialisation will occur.

(7) What is the capacity of the area to absorb tourism?

This is not one of the key policy-related questions arising from consultations with the sponsors of this research, but it is a logical question for residents of the study area to ask. It seems inevitable that studies of impact must consider the issue. It is an extremely difficult question for planners, and in planning for development it is complicated further by the fact that growth and change are to be induced. At what point should this growth be halted? What changes will be tolerated, even though not desirable in themselves, in pursuit of greater benefits? Is there such a thing as a point of equilibrium in the growth of a community, beyond which additional changes become disfunctional?

The concept of carrying capacity is well established in the field of environmental impact assessment, and it has gained acceptance in studies of recreation (for
example: Kirby, 1971; Barkham, 1973; Stankey and Lime, 1973; Burton, 1974; Coppock and Duffield, 1975). Often defined in terms of damage to, or depletion of ecological resources, capacity can nevertheless be viewed from many perspectives. The essential ingredient in all definitions is the explicit search for a limit or threshold beyond which additional use or development of resources cannot be accepted. On the basis of the wide variety of literature on the subject, Figure 23 illustrates six key criteria by which capacity might be measured.

Under each criterion are suggested some important components for measurement. Possible thresholds beyond which development or change might no longer be tolerated or desired are included in the diagram, and some problems associated with the use of each criterion are mentioned. It will be clear that all the criteria cannot be compared directly, because some of them are subjective in nature.

Referring to Figure 23, it is instructive to use the social/cultural criterion as an example of the difficulty involved in measuring capacity. Of the components to be measured, most are intangible or could be defined in several ways. 'Standard of living', for example, might be related to incomes, to satisfaction with one's situation, or to some dogmatic notion of a 'proper' level of materialistic wealth. Attitudes are an important indicator of social and cultural impact, and the problems associated with their measurement have already been discussed. Thresholds in this criterion are even more difficult to delimit, as only a value judgment will suffice when deciding, for example, how much resentment or stress between newcomers and natives can be tolerated. Furthermore, the characteristics and attitudes of the population in a developing area will change over time, responding in part to the success of investments, and this will result in some impacts being perceived differently.
### Figure 23

**Criteria in the Measurement of Capacity to Absorb Tourism**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria for Measurement</th>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Economic</th>
<th>Ecological</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Limits</td>
<td>Inadequate funds, Better alternatives become available, Uncontrolled inflation, Critical shortage of labour or skills, Excessive competition, Serious damage to other sectors</td>
<td>Economy fluctuates, Markets can be created/changed, Competition prevents some choices, Difficult to forecast viability</td>
<td>Uniqueness lost or threatened, Disaster expected, Changes irrevocable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possible Thresholds</td>
<td>Physical limits of supply, Dangerous crowding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems</td>
<td>Physical limits can be altered, Supply can be substituted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Management can alter effects and processes, What are acceptable changes? Difficult to predict impacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations in Spey Valley</td>
<td>Ski facilities inadequate at peak times, Infrastructure deficiency in some villages, Large surplus of accommodation, except at peaks</td>
<td>High demand for labour and shortage of local skills, but transients fill the needs, Financial restraints prevent some needed investments, Some inflation of costs in land and housing</td>
<td>No evidence of major damage, but... Pressures in central corridor are great, Wilderness value of Cairngorms has been compromised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CRITERIA</th>
<th>PERCEPTUAL</th>
<th>SOCIAL/CULTURAL</th>
<th>POLITICAL/ADMINISTRATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOME COMPONENTS FOR MEASUREMENT</td>
<td>- Scenery.</td>
<td>- Population stability.</td>
<td>- Plans and programmes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- User preferences and motivations.</td>
<td>- Migration.</td>
<td>- Policy priorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Activities.</td>
<td>- Standard of living.</td>
<td>- Receptiveness to change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Services and amenities.</td>
<td>- Assistance given to development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stress, hazards.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Community viability.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Attitudes and social problems.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Satisfactions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Traditions, language.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSIBLE THRESHOLDS</td>
<td>- User dissatisfaction.</td>
<td>- Valued traditions lost.</td>
<td>- Inability to achieve objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Failure to attract tourists.</td>
<td>- Inequitable spread of benefits so that locals are dominated by newcomers.</td>
<td>- Failure to cope with pressures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Major change in landscape quality.</td>
<td>- Serious crime or disruption of community.</td>
<td>- Costs cannot be recovered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROBLEMS</td>
<td>- Management can reduce problems.</td>
<td>- Attitudes change, and residents adapt.</td>
<td>- Co-operation between agencies and levels is difficult to achieve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- User perceptions differ.</td>
<td>- Definition of benefits varies with the level of community examined (local, regional and national perspectives).</td>
<td>- Priorities can change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Different user-groups can be attracted to area.</td>
<td>- How much change is acceptable/desirable?</td>
<td>- Programmes can always be made more efficient.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Problems can be ameliorated by services.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBSERVATIONS IN SPEY VALLEY</td>
<td>- Some visitors alienated by changes, but...</td>
<td>- Satisfaction generally high.</td>
<td>- Pro-growth sentiment dominates plans and priorities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- User choice has expanded.</td>
<td>- Benefits not fully available to natives.</td>
<td>- Some conflict exists between national and local/ regional interests over conservation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Crowding at peaks reduces satisfaction.</td>
<td>- Social problems arise from tourists and transients.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Rural atmosphere is compromised.</td>
<td>- Serious shortage of housing.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
When attempting to answer the question of capacity, several approaches to resolving the inherent difficulties are possible. Some objectives can be 'weighted' higher than others, thereby indicating that realisation of that objective is more important than realisation of others. Thus, giving economic objectives a high priority not only means that attempts will be made to avoid constraints on attaining growth, but also that other objectives will be less important. In practice, this could mean increased investment to overcome the physical capacity of facilities for skiing, while at the same time ignoring (i.e., raising the threshold) of conservation constraints. Another method is to say that capacity has been reached when the most sensitive of all criteria approaches a critical threshold. This is naive, however, in its failure to state priorities.

In ideal circumstances, all criteria will be considered carefully and a comprehensive approach taken to sort out conflicts and priorities. Research such as this current study can assist in several ways. First, for each objective of policy and each criterion for measuring capacity there should be derived indicators of impact. One of the main limits on assessing the effects of tourism has been the absence of indicators for the more subjective issues, and this research has provided a conceptual and methodological framework within which some of these indicators can be developed. Second, local priorities must be assessed and compared with regional and national priorities. This study has sought to reveal the attitudes and preferences of the host population, and policy-makers should take these into account when deciding their priorities. Conflicts of interest will still arise, but they can at least be assessed with knowledge of the probable extent of local support or opposition. Third, local perceptions of the costs and benefits of developments must be measured so that small effects or effects occurring infrequently will not be ignored. The assessment of
probable effects of alternative policies is a fourth contribution research can make to the evaluation of capacity.

Observations regarding the Spey Valley are noted in Figure 23. These pertain to any evident problems which could be interpreted as thresholds (depending on one's perspective), and they also stem from any of the indicators which suggest that thresholds have not been reached. It is not possible to draw a conclusion on the question of capacity based on the present research, because of its focus on local effects on residents. However, it is possible to observe that several key issues appear to require resolution in the near future, before important thresholds are passed. One is the conflict between any expansion of skiing and conservation on Cairngorm. The concentration of visitors in the Aviemore to Cairngorm corridor is another important issue, both in terms of conservation and the satisfaction of visitors at peak times. A third key issue is that of social changes arising from large-scale importation of labour.

The first issue is fairly straight-forward and can be resolved either by a statement of priority favouring development or conservation, or perhaps by improved management in the threatened area to minimise impact. The second could be resolved by greater efforts at management within the corridor, by the planned dispersal of visitors, or by acceptance of pressures and their resultant adverse effects. The third issue is more difficult to define and assess, as it involves social and cultural implications. Continued large-scale development will require greater numbers of imported staff, with resulting problems in the areas of concentration and rising pressures on housing and other facilities. The problem is not to define an optimum rate of growth or population size, but to ensure that essential services are provided adequately and that social disruption does not exceed the benefits brought to residents by growth. The preferences and attitudes of
residents revealed in this research suggest that a critical threshold for this criterion does exist, but an exact point cannot be identified.

Given the problems associated with attempting to measure objectively the capacity of an area to absorb tourism, it must be concluded that the question requires ultimately a value judgment made in the political sphere. Only by the explicit statement of objectives and the costs that will be borne in pursuit of the objectives can capacity be determined. The key problem is one of resolving conflicts in the use of resources through the integration of all policies affecting the area in question. Measures of capacity which ignore the political and subjective nature of the problem will fail to resolve the numerous conflicts which will arise in comprehensive planning and planning for development.

(B) Alternative Planning Strategies for Badenoch-Strathspey

The purpose of this section is to assess alternative planning strategies for the study area, based on conclusions drawn from the research. Comprehensive strategies of land-use and development cannot be examined within the scope of this research, as the focus must remain on the effects of tourism. Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider the implications of strategies for tourism on the major planning issues, and in particular on policies for settlements. The most significant difference between this analysis and more comprehensive planning is that no attempt is made here to 'weight' objectives or identify priorities. Also, no assumptions are made about future economic conditions which might affect the viability of alternative strategies, or about possible changes in policy which would have a similar effect.

In this context, it is most instructive to begin by
assessing two strategies which are widely divergent so that effects are easier to compare and contrast. First examined is a policy of concentrating growth of tourism and other developments in Aviemore. This adheres to the theory of growth centres. Examined secondly is a policy of complete dispersal, implying small-scale expansion in all outlying settlements and a restriction of growth in Aviemore. A 'no-growth' policy for the whole district would leave the present situation unaltered, and so the description of the Spey Valley already presented will suffice for this strategy. The scale of growth is not assumed, but varying effects depending on scale are suggested in the analyses. Discussed third are the possible effects of neither extreme being realised - a compromise strategy similar to the region's settlement policy.

**Growth Centre Strategy:** There are some obvious advantages in concentrating investment in one centre rather than dispersing it widely. These stem from economies of scale, which means that a smaller level of investment would be needed, and also from the spread of benefits which may accrue from larger-scale growth. Another argument sometimes heard to justify concentration is the fact that patterns of rural settlement are often based on an anachronistic economic and social system, and many small settlements are no longer viable. The theory of growth centres takes these arguments further by suggesting that the spread of effects from a larger-scale concentration can actually be more successful in aiding small settlements, in the long run, than would direct attempts to make them economically self-sufficient.

How would this spread of effects operate? One assumption is that improved services and facilities are justifiable only in large villages, so that increasing investment in a few villages can help to obtain things which would otherwise not be available in rural areas at all. Another mechanism by which the spread of benefits might
occur is through commuting (Moseley, 1973), as residents of small settlements can commute into the centres of development and obtain a wider choice of employment. Commuting also has the advantage of transferring some wages earned in the main centres to services provided in the smaller settlements, thereby making them more viable.

The converse of a spread of effects is sometimes called "backwash" (Myrdal, 1957) or "polarisation" (Hirschman, 1958). In this concept, concentrations of development are seen to attract labour, investment and skills from surrounding areas, possibly to the detriment of the outlying communities. An example of "backwash" effects would be a concentration of housing which deprived outlying settlements of young families and thereby reduced the viability of schools and shops. However, this effect might actually be necessary in order to permit successful growth of the designated centre.

There is not enough empirical evidence available to draw a firm conclusion on the applicability of the concept of growth centres to tourism in rural areas. Originally the theory related to "growth poles" (Perroux, 1950), which were defined as industrial sectors around which an agglomeration could build, and only later were the geographical notions applied. The theory of central places, in which a natural hierarchy of service centres is hypothesised, has undoubtedly contributed to the wider acceptance of the concept of growth centres, and there can be little doubt that natural tendencies for development to concentrate have assisted in converting planners to the idea (Cloke, 1979).

In schemes of regional development, the units of reference are usually towns or cities and the emphasis is on manufacturing industry. Hence, the oil-related industries concentrated in the Moray and Cromarty Firths in the
Highlands present a more classic case of a growth centre than does the Spey Valley. The present research has application in discussion of policies for rural settlement in which the concentration of investment may hopefully achieve some growth, but is viewed more realistically as a means of abating rural depopulation. This accounts for the HIDB's attraction to "holding points" based on viable labour catchment areas (Hutchinson, 1969), within which it would be possible to provide a range of industrial and commercial employment. Existing viability, and not need, has been the primary factor in identifying such holding points. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that the HIDB has applied the concept rigidly in the region. In fact, relying as it does on the controls of land-use and infrastructure provided by the local authorities, the HIDB will tend inevitably to reinforce the preferred strategy for settlement of the Highland Regional Council.

Strategies for growth centres and key settlements have drawn considerable criticism as well. Martin (1976) argued that such policies are imposed from above, and are concerned with the rationing of resources rather than the needs of individual communities. A purely economic justification is used in many cases, without realising that the policy constitutes a shift in costs from the government to individuals. Furthermore, there is a great deal of "social capital" already invested in small settlements which, if abandoned, should be a cost ascribed to the strategy of concentration.

Varwell (1973) favoured a "community development" approach in which indigenous development replaces externally-imposed development. In this notion, the costs of social and cultural disruption caused by large-scale development are believed to be unjustified. The importation of large numbers of newcomers may be advantageous from a centralist point of view, but
it is inappropriate from the local perspective.

Moseley (1973), with regard to expanded towns in East Anglia, concluded that spin-offs from new growth actually "trickled-up" to larger towns rather than being spread out to lower-order settlements. Benefits of larger-scale concentrations accrued to commuters, but much of this phenomenon involved newcomers who preferred to live outside the centres. Moseley argued that if a number of settlements are to benefit from growth, each must receive some investment.

Cloke (1979), on the basis of studies of policies for key settlements in England, concluded that they have not been sufficiently flexible to assist specific needs in "no-growth" communities. On the other hand, the evidence suggested to Cloke that in some areas too many, or inappropriate settlements were designated for growth and this weakened the effects of the strategy. A lack of coordination between public agencies and authorities was an important reason why policies sometimes failed in their implementation.

Within this theoretical context, how would a strategy for a growth centre for tourism in the Spey Valley be implemented? Its main components would be a deliberate expansion of accommodation, facilities and infrastructure in or near Aviemore to permit and encourage unfettered development. A restriction on development of tourism elsewhere in the district would not necessarily have to be part of the strategy, but it might become necessary if such development impeded growth of the centre or if resources were inadequate to provide infrastructure and services outside the concentration.

To project the effects of such a strategy, a re-examination of Figure 20 is necessary. It can be expected that the growth centre would generate additional employment
and probably a wider diversification of the economy. More facilities of benefit to residents and visitors alike could be provided, and income for local authorities from rates would increase substantially. Improvements in infrastructure would be needed, but their concentration in one village would maximise efficiency. From a regional or national perspective, the total economic benefit of investment might be maximised from such an approach.

To encourage the expansion of Aviemore it would be desirable to improve facilities for skiing on Cairngorm, or nearby. It is true that the summer season remains the most important, and its expansion would have benefits, but increased demand in the winter is necessary for creating all-year jobs. Existing accommodation is adequate to meet demand in the winter, so new establishments could not be justified without increased demand. As most demand for skiing is at weekends, when crowding on the slopes is a problem, new facilities would be needed to realise significant gains. Aviemore itself could then grow in size and population and this would permit the addition of new services for residents.

Increased commuting into Aviemore would provide some benefits to outlying villages having little employment of their own, and some demand for accommodation would certainly be diverted away from Aviemore as a result of considerations of cost or quality. Furthermore, the enlarged image of Aviemore/Cairngorm as a major resort might attract greater numbers of visitors to the whole district. Major conferences and competitions would be more viable in Aviemore and on Cairngorm, and this would cause a spill-over of benefits to outlying settlements. If the supply of accommodation in Aviemore was regulated, and not allowed to exceed demand, then diversion of demand for accommodation to outlying villages could actually increase at the same rate as that in Aviemore.
On the negative side, it is probable that a large-scale expansion of Aviemore would cause increased social and environmental problems for residents. The demand for workers would be intensified and new staff blocks required. The number of transients entering the area would increase, as would ensuing social work and police work. Demand for housing would be heightened and major investments required to keep up with needs. The ownership of businesses might be unaffected, given the existing dominance of outside interests, but financial assistance to major new facilities would be needed.

Pressure from visitors in the Aviemore-Cairngorm corridor would increase significantly, and the expansion of facilities for skiing on the mountain would further detract from the natural landscape. The more remote villages and those with limited existing accommodation would benefit very little from the spread of effects. A "backwash" situation could arise in which the outlying communities would all suffer. This could stem directly from restraints on housing and services and the tendency for Aviemore to draw in surplus investment, new families requiring housing, and businesses or industries wishing to locate in the district.

It is difficult to imagine the growth centre strategy finding a great deal of support among local and regional politicians. All of them are elected by wards and must represent the interests of outlying communities which already resent the dominance of Aviemore. Attitudes of residents in Aviemore would probably oppose sudden major growth, but limited incremental growth accompanied by improved services and housing might be accepted. Residents in the rest of the district might tolerate growth in Aviemore, if only because they would not wish their own communities to experience the same fate. However, resentment would certainly arise from any limits imposed on new housing in the villages. Benefits from new
facilities, services and jobs could be spread widely only if public transport was improved, but a concentration of investment might preclude that expansion.

Complete Dispersal Strategy: In this extreme, no new development would be permitted in Aviemore and small-scale growth would be encouraged in all the other settlements. The principal potential benefits could be the maintenance of all communities, a reduction of pressure from visitors in existing areas of concentration, and avoidance of social and cultural problems which arise from large-scale development. Local labour would perhaps be used more fully, as the scale of projects would be small.

The main problems with this strategy are the need for services and infrastructure to be committed to all settlements (although not in a major way) and the difficulty of attaining all-year custom so that employment and incomes would be maximised. Assuming that demand for accommodation will grow, and Aviemore would not be permitted to expand its supply, it is probable that existing accommodation in the outlying villages would benefit. One result of this would be a reduced need for public assistance to projects, as large-scale development requires greater funding. On the other hand, a dispersal of demand for services and housing might require financial assistance from development agencies if the strategy is to be successful.

Political and public acceptance of small-scale growth in the villages would probably be high, but there would be pressure from the existing interests in Aviemore to allow expansion there. Momentum generated by large concentrations of development is difficult to check, especially when it can be argued that failure to respond to new opportunities, and to grow, may cause serious damage to the viability of the complex.
A Compromise Strategy: The Highland Region's policy for settlement is essentially a compromise between two extremes and, as such, holds considerable appeal from a political point of view. Two major issues arise from this approach, and both detract from the appeal of the concept of "main villages". First, it virtually abandons some small settlements as "no-growth" areas. Several of these might be impracticable or undesirable to develop under any circumstances, because of their location or need for conservation. However, the policy appears to rest mainly on grounds of financial constraint rather than the needs of settlements. Presumably most planners would agree that it would be desirable if existing settlements could be maintained or their viability increased, so the problem should therefore become one of finding the means to enhance viability wherever possible.

Second, there is no limit imposed on growth in Aviemore, and plans for additional developments have been approved by the Regional Council. It is contradictory to favour dispersal of tourism to the other main villages and yet continue to allow large-scale expansion of accommodation for tourists in or near Aviemore. It is the custom in winter which makes all-year employment possible, and skiers will continue to favour Aviemore because of proximity to the slopes and its facilities for recreation and entertainment. Some skiers will go to outlying villages, but, if substantial benefits are to be dispersed, all or most of any increase in demand for accommodation in winter must be diverted. This could be done without a total restriction on growth in Aviemore. A reasonable compromise would be to insist that there be no increase in its existing proportion of the total supply of accommodation in the district.

New facilities for skiing on Cairngorm would probably raise demand in winter and therefore be of potential benefit to outlying villages. However, as it is mainly
demand at weekends which causes crowding and leads to demands for better facilities, it is possible that some of this could be diverted to smaller facilities elsewhere in the valley. This could avoid some environmental impact on Cairngorm and help increase demand for accommodation in outlying villages. There may be opposition to new slopes being opened, for reasons of conservation, but this would have to be balanced against possible damage at Cairngorm.

Diversion of demand from Aviemore would benefit the other main villages, but the smaller "no-growth" communities may not be able to accommodate new employment without financial assistance. Development agencies should be able to justify assistance to infrastructure and services such as housing in small settlements if part of a planned development strategy. Alternatively, small projects which generate very little demand for new housing or services could be directed to the smaller settlements, although concomitant benefits would also be small.

In order to realise fully the potential of tourism for dispersing benefits, two modifications to the Regional strategy are necessary: to restrict the supply of accommodation in Aviemore to its existing proportion of the total supply in the district; and to abandon the "no-growth" category of settlements where it can be shown that the community would benefit from some growth, and where environmental or other constraints are not of overriding significance.

(C) Implications for On-Going Planning

Results of this research have implications for the on-going planning of tourism and development at the local, regional and national (Scotland) levels. The most important of these are discussed in the ensuing paragraphs.
Local Planning: The local plan for Badenoch-Strathspey (prepared by the Highland Regional Council) incorporates a policy to disperse development throughout the district. However, the plan does not impose any limit on the growth of Aviemore, nor does it extend potential benefits of development to the smaller "no-growth" settlements. The present research suggests that Aviemore should not be allowed to expand its supply of accommodation for visitors beyond its existing proportion of the total supply in the district. Otherwise, any increase in demand may be absorbed by Aviemore, whereas it is desirable to force much of the increase to locate in outlying villages, and especially in the winter, so as to create all-year employment. The development of small facilities for skiing away from Cairngorm would assist in this diversion and help to relieve crowding at the main facility. Diversion of demand in the summer is also important, and likewise would be facilitated by restricting the growth of Aviemore and providing new facilities in the other villages.

Small settlements in the district are less able to benefit from a dispersed pattern of tourism than are the main villages. In the future, that will be even more problematic because of the policy to not provide housing and services in the small communities. In such cases, where tourism could improve the viability of settlements and a lack of services or housing prevents such progress, it is logical that development agencies give assistance directly to housing and infrastructure. The same reasoning applies to situations in main villages where development is impeded by a shortage of essential services.

No strategy for the management of tourism is included in the formal local plan, but such a strategy is vital if the full benefits are to be obtained and problems resolved. The impetus for a strategy could arise from many sources, such as the HIDE or the tourist organisations, although local authorities would ultimately have to be
involved in the discussions and implementation. Three primary functions of a local strategy for the management of tourism would be: to make explicit the objectives of development, particularly with respect to a dispersal of benefits; to devise a strategy whereby these benefits could be achieved; and to prepare detailed programmes for the management of visitors and resources. The plan should consider the implications of this research and contain the following elements:

- assessment and monitoring of accommodation and facilities for visitors, including the identification of needs and the relationship between supply in Aviemore and in the rest of the district;
- assessment and monitoring of demand, including consideration of the means to disperse visitors;
- assessment and monitoring of promotion and information for visitors, including effects on the dispersal and impact of visitors; also including clear statements on the relative priority of natural attractions versus facilities;
- a programme to integrate or co-ordinate warden/countryside ranger services;
- means by which the traditional events and arts of the Highlands can be fostered and the natural attractions of the area maintained.

It must be asked if the creation of a Special Park would assist in the management of visitors, and whether or not a park would be of benefit to the host population. There is no reason why better management should necessarily result from a park, but, on the other hand, it is apparent that the local authorities and other agencies are not making progress towards the integrated management of resources and visitors. Local residents could benefit from a park if it ensured better management, but they could suffer if growth in employment was thereby curtailed.
This latter point is contentious, as it can be argued that creation of a park would result in higher demand from visitors. If conservation of the resources in the park gained priority over the development of skiing, it would still be unlikely that a negative impact on existing employment would result. Indeed, a combination of higher demand and restrictions on growth in or near Aviemore would further the policy of dispersal.

Regional Planning: Policies of the Highland Region on the subjects of settlement and conservation can be questioned on the basis of results of this research. With respect to settlement, the argument regarding viability in small settlements could be applied throughout the region. Tourism should be viewed as a possible means by which small communities could be maintained or expanded, given the propensity of tourists to seek out remote places and be influenced by facilities and information. If it is only a matter of investment in housing and services that leads to designation of "no-growth" settlements, then the Region should request direct assistance from the agencies responsible for promoting the development of tourism. This form of assistance to housing and services would be justified where small settlements would otherwise be ignored, and where major development is outstripping the ability of local authorities to provide services.

The conservation of settlements, landscape amenity, and natural environments should be given higher priority by the Region, in so far as these elements constitute the main attraction for tourists. Resorts for skiing require major facilities, but these are an exception rather than the rule. Most visitors to the Spey Valley do not come primarily for the facilities, although it is clear that the availability of facilities is a desirable complement. An assumption made by the Highland Regional Council is that conservation designations will impede development
and residents will thereby lose employment. This does not appear to be justified, and it may very well be that the failure to support conservation of natural amenities will result in a loss of demand from tourists.

Planning by the HIDB should take into account the analysis of the key policy-related questions included in this research. Those observations can be applied to the evaluation of applications for assistance in tourism throughout the region. The suggestion that development agencies should assist with housing and infrastructure costs in certain circumstances is of particular relevance to the HIDB because of its mandate for social and economic development. Where development leads to a shortage of housing, as in the Spey Valley, or is impeded by a lack of infrastructure or services, it is logical that the Board (and other development-oriented agencies) should assist in overcoming the obstacles. This is not a replacement of the responsibilities of local authorities, but a means to achieve higher rates of growth or to avoid undue social costs of development.

Several other conclusions regarding assistance to development can be made. These are of a local nature, but are considered here because they pertain mainly to the work of the HIDB and, to a lesser extent, the STB. It can be concluded that very little new accommodation for tourists is required as the villages already possess a supply well in excess of all but the peak demands. This is true especially in winter, and it is clear that any growth in the supply of accommodation in Aviemore would have a detrimental effect on the policy of dispersing benefits to outlying settlements. Improvements in occupancy rates and the length of season may be more important than assistance to new accommodation in creating permanent jobs.

New facilities in the outlying villages are needed if higher demand is to be created. These should, ideally,
be of the type that also benefit residents. Landmark Visitor Centre in Carrbridge is a good example of a facility for tourists which provides employment and opportunities for leisure to residents of the village. Some of the existing larger hotels might also be expected to provide facilities in the outlying villages if they were able to attract significant increases in demand, especially in winter. Facilities such as village halls could be used more fully in catering to tourists, and the staging of events such as ceilidhs is a suitable means of attracting visitors. Aviemore will continue to offer the widest range of facilities, so that those in the other villages should seek to complement rather than compete directly with the Aviemore Centre complex. Furthermore, some of the facilities at Aviemore would not be welcomed by the residents of other villages.

Care must be taken to avoid the generation of new demand for housing and infrastructure in communities with shortages, unless new developments are accompanied by investment in the needed services. Some communities could benefit from tourist establishments which generate limited numbers of jobs and use few facilities. Those employing part-time females are an example, but, of course, the benefits from this type of employment are limited. Assistance for the conversion of houses to self-catering commercial accommodation should be avoided, as this would further strain the housing problem.

Dispersal of small facilities for skiing would benefit the outlying communities and possibly reduce pressure on Cairngorm. The HIDB has an important role to play in the development of skiing because of its control of the Cairngorm estate. If these new skiing facilities were kept to a minimum and located along the existing road network, impact on the environment could be minimised. However, the location of such facilities in sensitive areas could not be justified.
Some doubt can be raised about the concept of large-scale, self-catering chalet developments, such as the one near Carrbridge. The concept is included in the STB's preliminary national strategy, where it is argued that such developments (or clusters of small chalet developments) should be situated near villages so that local employment and other benefits would arise. The problem is that large new developments in the Spey Valley will be competing with small and individual operations already in existence, and it may be that a surplus of supply will occur. Also, unless such developments actually abut settlements they will probably increase the need for commuting, and possibly detract from the rural landscape. It is suggested that individual self-catering establishments will be of greater benefit to communities and to natives, especially when it is considered that large developments are more likely to be owned by outside interests (such as the Automobile Association at Carrbridge).

Implications of this research for the STARPS work are quite important. STARPS is ambitious in its attempt to integrate tourism and recreation in regional planning, based on a comprehensive assessment of all related factors, and it remains to be seen whether or not the regions can produce feasible strategies and guidelines. Nevertheless, STARPS represents a logical approach to comprehensive planning for tourism and therefore it is informative to examine its main stages.

Step one was to clarify strategic issues, including statements of policy from the national agencies. This will be discussed in ensuing paragraphs under the heading of national planning. Step two in STARPS involved the assessment of supply and demand, leading to identification of pressures or opportunities. Conditions in the Spey Valley suggest that supply is a more important factor than demand when taking the perspective of residents. Demand for skiing and activity-oriented holidays was not
high when Cairngorm and the Aviemore Centre were first developed, and the concentration of visitors resulted from facilities and accommodation rather than from demand.

There is little doubt that skiers would prefer to be situated as close to the facilities as possible, but visitors in the summer need not be located in Aviemore to enjoy outdoor attractions. Indeed, the southern part of Badenoch-Strathspey has many attractions but is little used. As most visitors are touring, or interested mainly in sightseeing and relatively passive pursuits, considerable potential exists for diverting demand by providing appropriate services, facilities and information. It is therefore more appropriate (in this context) for the regions to ask what types and scale of tourism they wish, rather than to be concerned principally with guessing at possible future demands. However, the needs of urban populations in close proximity to rural districts would modify this conclusion, because in such cases it is necessary to view the supply of facilities as a service rather than as a tool for development.

An aspect of the supply/demand equation which is poorly understood is that of substitution. Taking the perspective of residents, it is possible to conclude that areal substitution is as important as the substitution of activities or facilities. The effects of tourism can be regulated in large part by canalising visitors to desired areas or away from others, and this can be accomplished by the planned location of facilities and services. As well, much substitution of activities and facilities is possible without altering the main attraction of areas. For those visitors interested in specific activities, such as skating or sailing, locations could be substituted without altering the nature of the activity. The real danger is in trying to appeal to as wide a market as possible, as that could lead to inappropriate development. The regions therefore should consider the substitution of
both location and activities as means to achieve specific objectives.

Assessment of impact was the third step in STARPS, and it is the one for which the least amount of guidance could be given. In future studies of the effects of tourism the key indicators developed in this research could be used and expanded. There are many obvious ways in which the indicators could be improved, particularly by refining or developing specific measures in the subjective criteria. Arising from this present study, several priorities for research can be identified. First, the absence of data on social work and social problems at a local level is a serious impediment. If this void cannot be filled, then better surrogate measures will be needed. These might include direct observations in the community, or more detailed techniques of eliciting facts and opinions from knowledgeable professionals and officials.

In areas with traditional cultures, better methods of assessing impact on the culture are needed. The interviews used in Skye by Brougham and Butler (1976) employed the Gaelic language where requested, and offering that choice represents a sound rule for surveys in traditional areas. Emphasis on individuals is probably more important where culture is a primary concern, but that emphasis should not be pursued to the exclusion of a wider analysis of the tourist industry and public policies. A related issue is the integration of newcomers in the community. An anthropological study of such a phenomenon was carried out in the Orkney Islands (Forsythe, 1974), where new settlers were bringing potentially major changes to a small, island community. Again, where a traditional culture is involved, or the population is small, the detailed approach is probably necessary to assess effects. At a larger scale, such as in the Spey Valley, a compromise must be made on the level of detail to be pursued.
Amenity is another difficult indicator to measure. Crowding, loss of privacy, noise and interference with the local way of life can be measured in part by the use of scales to measure satisfactions and attitudes, but more direct methods would be beneficial. For example, some detailed indicators of local impact could be devised and tested in a place such as Aviemore to determine the best way of avoiding loss of amenity caused by tourists and new developments. It can be suggested, speculatively, that several factors will prove to be the most important, namely: patterns of traffic and congestion; proximity of the centres of activity to residential areas; design and location of accommodation for staff, and the scale of such blocks relative to the size of the whole settlement; the types of visitors attracted (e.g., motorcyclists and young transients may represent a higher risk); and the extent to which the community is integrated with development, rather than "tacked on" to it. Aviemore is an example of how a major new development was allowed to take precedence over comprehensive village planning.

Case studies of the effects of tourism will not be feasible in all regions, so a predictive capability must arise from research such as this. It would be unwise to suggest predictive models on the basis of one impact study, but it would be reasonable to treat the current conclusions as hypotheses to guide planners when assessing alternatives, in a similar manner to that used in this research. In this sense, the analysis of the key policy-related questions can be applied to other circumstances as long as it is kept in mind that specific mechanisms of change may vary with local conditions.

National Planning: The STB has been working towards a national strategy for tourism in Scotland, and although they have stated certain objectives, it is not their intent to impose policies. They wish to attain some agreement on important objectives through consultations
and work such as STARPS. The HIDB has no remit for national-level planning and has not been involved in STARPS, but there is a "concordat" between the two Boards which ensures that cognisance will be taken of each other's policies and opinions in the field of tourism.

Perhaps a more important point is the absence of the Nature Conservancy Council from the STARPS work. In the Spey Valley it can be seen that conservation of the environment is essential for satisfying the demands of tourists, and this is undoubtedly true in most rural areas in Scotland. The interests of nature conservation can also be advanced through participation in planning by giving advice on the problems of management associated with pressures from tourists and related developments. It is true that the NCC is active in advising local and regional authorities, but their absence from STARPS must act to reduce the potential effectiveness of that programme.

The analysis of policy and planning in the Spey Valley illustrated an important gap between national and local/regional interests. It was seen that pressures for conservation designations stemmed largely from national-level agencies (the CCS and NCC), whereas policies of the Regional Council were opposed to such designations. This conflict raises the question of who pays for conservation and who benefits from it. If national agencies believe that conservation should take priority over development it is probable that they will have to ensure that the economic costs of conservation are not imposed on local authorities and residents. Alternatively, greater efforts could be made to show how conservation designations could actually benefit residents and local authorities through assistance to the tourist industry.

Another problem for the national agencies, and for the HIDB, is the fact that local authorities must supply many of the services necessary for development which is
assisted and promoted by senior agencies. As discussed previously, the provision of assistance to services and infrastructure in development target areas would help to avoid conflicts or 'bottlenecks'.

Ultimately, the full integration of policies between levels and agencies of government will be extremely difficult, if not impossible to achieve. Research such as this case study in the Spey Valley should be used to illustrate the main areas of potential conflict so that their resolution can be made more open and based on objective analysis. The perspective of the host population is an important one, but in some instances it cannot take precedence over regional or national priorities. Nevertheless, the formation of regional and national policies cannot logically be undertaken in the absence of knowledge about the local impact of policies.

(D) Conclusions

The main conclusions of this research can be summarised by referring to the main objectives and the degree to which each has been realised.

(1) To identify and explain effects of tourism and related developments in an area which has been influenced greatly by modern tourism, with emphasis placed on the perspective of local residents.

The Badenoch-Strathspey District in the Scottish Highlands presented an opportunity to assess the impact on the host population of recent developments related to tourism. Of particular interest was the ability to compare the effects of a new concentration of development and those arising from a dispersal of smaller-scaled developments throughout the rural area. Although the study area is somewhat unique, in that it contains the nation's only resort for winter sports, it does provide a case wherein effects can be identified readily. This benefit arises
from the district's dependence on tourism for employment and income.

Taking the perspective of the host population entailed several departures from many preceding studies on the impact of tourism. First, it was necessary to examine effects comprehensively, as all aspects of the economy, and the physical and social environments are important to local residents. Second, emphasis had to be placed on the subjective indicators of effects, including measurements of attitudes and preferences. Third, the actual mechanisms of change attributable to tourism had to be identified, so that its peculiar effects relative to other forms of development would be known. New subjective indicators had to be devised and measured, although not all the indicators selected for analysis could be assessed with uniform depth or reliability.

It was not possible to 'prove' causes and effects as would be desired in a controlled experiment, so much of the analysis was deductive, rather than based on inferential statistics, or suggestive, rather than conclusive. To identify effects, deductions were made regarding trends in population and the use of resources and how these trends were influenced by the development of tourism. Some data concerning the study area were used for a comparison with Scotland, the region, and other districts in the region to show any differences which might have stemmed from tourism. The opinions and attitudes of knowledgeable residents and officials helped to identify effects. A detailed analysis of the tourist industry in the district was necessary to explain the effects by way of isolating the mechanisms which led to changes.

It was concluded that the most profound effects of tourism and related developments could be described as arising from a process of social urbanisation - that is, the integration of the community into the mainstream of British economic and social trends. This process was
assisted greatly by the in-migration of settlers and transient workers from urban Britain, contacts with visitors, a new emphasis on commercialisation, and changing attitudes in response to these trends.

Tourism did cause some unique effects, the most important of which stemmed directly from the nature of employment generated. Many transient, unskilled, and female workers are required for the larger tourist facilities, and this has a considerable impact on economic and social conditions, leading to some problems for the police and social workers which might not arise otherwise. The presence of many tourists causes, inevitably, some influence on local life and attitudes, and creates some disruption in the physical environment which would not accompany other forms of development. Competition for housing was exacerbated by the demands of the tourist industry for accommodation for staff or for conversion to self-catering commercial properties, by second homes, and by the provision of accommodation for paying guests in private dwellings. New facilities for leisure which accompanied tourism also had a special effect in providing new opportunities and generating new patterns of activity and preferences.

Overall, it was concluded that the benefits brought by tourism and related developments outweighed the problems and costs created. Most residents would agree with this conclusion. The main benefits were in providing new opportunities for employment, including many full-year jobs for males, new facilities for leisure, a revitalisation of several settlements and their populations, and the creation of new income for local authorities from commercial properties. Some progress has also been made toward encouraging a diversification of the local economy through manufacturing related to tourism and recreation. A concentration of new investment and development in and near Aviemore was shown to be a successful means to
instigate major changes in the district, particularly with regard to encouraging a winter tourist season with its concomitant benefits for all-year employment. To disperse benefits more widely, however, would require the diversion of new demand for accommodation to outlying settlements through the imposition of a limit to the growth (in proportional terms) of Aviemore, relative to the supply of accommodation elsewhere in the district.

Problems caused by the recent developments cannot be ignored, and some carry with them the potential of serious social or environmental disruption. In particular, the shortage of housing imposes a social cost on residents which detracts significantly from the benefits. This problem appears to be worse as a result of the concentration of large-scale development, but it also occurs in the smaller, outlying settlements where the demand for second homes, retirement homes and self-catering properties is higher. Development agencies should provide direct assistance to housing or other needed infrastructure or services where a shortage acts to slow growth or impose undue costs on residents or the local authorities. Social disruption was not a major problem in the study area, and newcomers were generally well received. However, newcomers and outside interests dominated the ownership and management of tourist facilities and this, combined with a housing shortage, could lead to serious difficulties.

Conflicts between the interests of development and those of conservation were important, particularly with regard to proposals for expansion of skiing on Cairngorm or elsewhere. The two arguments concerning the expansion of skiing into Lurcher's Gully are equally compelling, and only a value judgment can resolve the issue. Nevertheless, the creation of new, small facilities for skiing elsewhere in the district, if along the existing network of roads, could help to lessen pressures on Cairngorm and
also divert tourist demand to outlying villages. The continued concentration of visitors in the Aviemore to Cairngorm corridor could lead to serious damage of the environment, and means to disperse this pressure should be found. The preparation of a strategy for the management of tourism in the Spey Valley would assist greatly, as would the creation of a Special Park if it was accompanied by a new commitment to planning and management.

No limit to the growth of tourism in the district can be suggested. Any discussion of the capacity to absorb tourism and related developments can be resolved only in the political sphere through a statement of objectives and the costs or problems which will be tolerated in pursuit of those objectives. It appeared that thresholds (beyond which costs or problems would outweigh benefits) might be reached first in respect of social integration. This could arise through the impact of large-scale immigration and particularly of transient workers, or through the exclusion of natives from positions of ownership, senior management, and skilled jobs. A threshold might also be reached regarding the conservation of nature, in the areas where visitors and facilities have concentrated. This might stem from a loss of appeal to the majority of visitors who prefer a natural environment.

Regarding case studies in general, it is suggested that a need exists in Scotland, and elsewhere, for the detailed study of a community or area before and after the development of tourism. Only in this way could many of the effects observed in this research be 'proved'. Local conditions would be expected to result in different impacts, but the general mechanisms of change should be similar. Very little research aimed at a comprehensive assessment of tourism and its effects on the host population has been completed, and this is a field requiring greater attention. In a study tour of Western Europe in 1979, the author could discover no research comparable to that in the Spey Valley. A considerable amount of
attention is paid to tourism in Europe and in North America, but the local perspective is not well researched. Most work is still focussed on economic and ecological impact or on grosser indicators of incomes and employment.

(2) To examine policies and programmes relating to the planning and development of tourism in the study area, and in Scotland in general, with a view of assessing their efficacy in attaining benefits and minimising problems for residents.

It was found that the dominant policies affecting the study area were those favouring growth and development, both by local authorities and by senior public agencies. In particular, the HIDB has had a considerable impact in encouraging and assisting developments, both in tourism and in other economic sectors. There has been a general assumption that growth was needed and desired, and in large part the residents of the district would support that position. However, the majority of policies and programmes have not been aimed specifically at assessing costs and benefits from the point of view of the host population.

The STB and HIDB have a remit to encourage development, and this tends to supercede purely local preferences. The HIDB in particular has a mandate to promote the overall development of the region so as to reduce its dependency on the nation. Both agencies, which are the two main bodies influencing tourism in Scotland, have become recently more sensitive to local interests. The STB has pursued a national strategy which would include policies to provide developments of the type and at the scale suitable to local needs. The STARPS programme has made some progress towards a fuller integration of tourism and recreation in regional, and ultimately local planning, and this process should also improve considerations of local effects. However, the absence of the HIDB and the NCC from STARPS reduces its potential impact
somewhat. The HIDB has recently adopted a policy of conducting more comprehensive assessments of impact for proposed projects, and this too should lead to greater consideration of purely local preferences and needs.

Conflicts or potential conflicts between the many agencies affecting planning and development in the Spey Valley were documented. One of the most important of these was the fact that assistance to, and promotion of development was concentrated in the hands of national-level agencies, while the responsibility for providing essential infrastructure and services lay with the local authorities. It was shown that the inability of local authorities to provide adequate levels of investment could result in serious impediments to growth and had resulted in some problems, mainly in the provision of housing, which tended to detract from the benefits of development. Another major area of conflict or potential conflict existed between the national-level agencies which advocated conservation and the local authorities and development-oriented agencies which favoured development.

A full integration of policies is not likely to be realised, but the current research can assist by pointing to the main areas in need of closer co-operation. The preparation of a strategy for the management of tourism in Badenoch-Strathspey would be a major step in the direction of integrated policies. As to the effects of policies to date, it must be concluded that the encouragement of tourism, and in particular the development of a large-scale concentration, has realised many benefits for residents of the area. However, if serious problems are to be avoided, policies must turn increasing to a more detailed assessment of their potential impact at the most local level. Consideration must be given by all authorities and agencies to the cumulative effects of their actions on the local population and environment.
(3) To advance concepts and a general methodological approach for analysing the effects of tourism, including the means for integrating this approach in schemes of regional planning and development.

The approach followed in this research could be adopted to many other exercises of planning or research in the general field of tourism and regional development. In essence, it proceeded logically from an analysis of the general components of tourism in order to identify areas in need of study, included a detailed case study, and concluded with an analysis of implications for planning, policies and further research. The major area of methodology and concepts which departs from, or expands on preceding research, is the use of subjective indicators in assessing effects, and the emphasis on mechanisms of change at the local level.

Of the concepts employed in this research, those advancing the use of social or subjective indicators require the greatest amount of further work. Each could be tested in detailed research, and for some of them it is probable that sociological or anthropological research would be beneficial. Nevertheless, for general planning it will be necessary to assess impact comprehensively and to rely on academic research to provide refined indicators, hypotheses regarding the effects of alternative courses of action, and guidance as to the main areas of probable impact.

Implications for local, regional and national planning have been discussed, and it can be seen that current research has some importance at each level. For Badenoch-Strathspey, it was possible to demonstrate how the modification of the key settlement strategy could help to achieve a wider dispersal of benefits. For planning at the regional level, the analysis of key policy-related questions can provide general hypotheses for testing in other areas or they can be used to assess the probable outcome.
of various strategies for promoting and assisting growth. At the national level, the analysis of potential conflicts and the need for integration of policy should help to improve the cumulative effects of the many agencies and authorities involved in planning and development.

More generally, the current research can provide a stimulus to the conducting of similar case studies elsewhere, leading to comparisons of methods, concepts and conclusions. The emergence of theoretical approaches to the understanding of tourism and its unique mechanisms of change in host populations, and a greater understanding of tourism as a tool for development could emerge from advances in this field of inquiry.

At the completion of a major research effort it is appropriate for the author to express some conclusions about personal lessons learned and to comment on how things might have been done differently and better. Objectives of this research were broad, with no regrets. Indeed, it would have been desirable for issues of ecological impact to be considered. Research that comprehensive in nature would require a team approach, and a good case can be made for universities and public sponsors of research to co-ordinate major studies involving several academics at once, thus maximising the coverage of problems and improving inter-disciplinary contacts.

In terms of cost effectiveness, most of the work completed in this research was judged by the author to be worthwhile. As mentioned, however, the interviews with visitors were inadequate in number and randomness to be very useful. Interviews hold much promise for examining the nature and activities of visitors, but only if sufficient resources can be provided for a major sampling. Otherwise, site surveys of users, such as skiers, could be of importance. Ideally, cordon surveys should be employed to sample reliably the whole population of
visitors in a region. The accommodation-based questionnaire of tourists is relatively cheap and assures wide coverage without site bias, but improved methodologies must be developed to offset reliance on the distribution of forms by non-research personnel.

The use of interviewers who are not principal academic researchers is a problem. The author believes that if principals cannot do all interviews personally, then experienced professional interviewers should only be employed, or else the researcher's time becomes committed to training, monitoring and correcting. Again, it would pay the universities and public agencies to maintain permanent lists of competent interviewers and other researchers to supplement academic workers.

To do it all again in the same area with the benefit of hindsight would be just as challenging and just as much a learning exercise. Nevertheless, it can be suggested on the basis of this work that a very similar approach be followed, with the inclusion of a cordon survey instead of questionnaires, widespread interviews with visitors at key sites and those undertaking major activities, and a much larger sample for home interviews. Refinements to the subjective indicators could be based on experience gained with the satisfaction and attitude measures employed herein. Analysis of data could include (if reliability and resources permitted) greater manipulation to test for hypotheses.

Learning from this case study and applying the conclusions and methodological advances elsewhere will be a rewarding challenge. The author personally hopes to be able to conduct an experiment involving a "before and after" situation over a long period of time. Truly controlled experiments are beyond the reach of field workers in the social sciences if large areas and populations are to be studied, but more emphasis should be
placed on the monitoring of changes as they occur.

Finally, this author believes that the most significant future research in the field of tourism impact will focus on the mechanisms leading to change in host populations, and particularly including assessments of their desires and needs which might be met by, among other things, tourism and recreation. In an age where increasingly greater numbers of both tourists and hosts are discontented, it is wise to insist that the hosts take precedence. It is probable that policies which emphasise user satisfaction will not always satisfy hosts, but policies favouring indigenous needs and preferences will in most cases still satisfy the visitor, although reduced numbers of tourists in localities may become a necessity.
Those references dealing wholly or primarily with the study area, Badenoch-Strathspey, are noted by a double asterisk (***) and those containing some information about the study area are noted with a single asterisk.

**Abbreviations**

CCS: Countryside Commission for Scotland

FC: Forestry Commission

HIDB: Highlands and Islands Development Board

NCC: Nature Conservancy Council

SAC: Scottish Arts Council

SDD: Scottish Development Department

SSC: Scottish Sports Council

STB: Scottish Sports Council

TRRU: Tourism and Recreation Research Unit, University of Edinburgh

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