

CRUISE TOURISM AS FACTOR OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION ON COZUMEL ISLAND'S RESIDENTS' PERCEPTION

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Abstract

Cozumel is an island that has been developed as a tourist destination and during the last 15 years tourism activity has been oriented to cruise tourism, which is the main driver of the island economy. Most of the cruise lines with operations in the Caribbean have arrivals to the island, and therefore it is a case that highly represents the way how community develops and integrates with the local action. Nevertheless there is evidence that, even though the rapid development and the international flow, cruise tourism brings little benefit to local communities in general and it might even promote social exclusion. The paper analyzes Cozumel residents' perception about the way cruise tourism is a driver of social exclusion, understood from the conceptual frame developed by Levitas et. al. (2007) through a case study at Cozumel, Mexico, which was carried out using a two-stage mixed method design (quantitative and qualitative). Findings lead to confirm that, at least for the case study, cruise tourism produces the perception of an increase on the factors that drive social exclusion. Main findings and future research lines are presented.

Keywords: Tourism impacts. Perceived social exclusion. Cruise tourism. Island tourist destination. Mixed methods. Case study.

Resumen

Cozumel es una isla que se ha desarrollado como destino turístico, durante los últimos 15 años se ha orientado al turismo de cruceros y hoy esta actividad es el motor de su economía. A la isla arriban la mayoría de las líneas navieras que ofrecen este servicio turístico y por ello es un caso muy representativo de la forma en la que se desarrolla e integra la comunidad con la acción local. No obstante, se evidencian hoy datos de que no obstante el desarrollo acelerado de este mercado y de su movimiento internacional, muy

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poco beneficia en general a las sociedades locales, probablemente incluso impulsa la exclusión social. Se analiza la percepción de los residentes locales respecto a la forma en la que el turismo de cruceros impulsa la exclusión social, entendida en el marco desarrollado por Levitas y colaboradores (2007), mediante un estudio del caso de Cozumel en México, mediante un diseño metodológico mixto, cuantitativo y cualitativo en dos etapas. Los hallazgos conducen a corroborar que el turismo de cruceros, al menos en este caso ejemplar, conduce a la percepción de un incremento de los factores que impulsan la generación de exclusión social. Se presentan los principales hallazgos y líneas futuras de investigación.

Palabras clave: Exclusión social, turismo de cruceros, destino turístico insular, metodología mixta, estudio de caso.

1. INTRODUCTION: BACKGROUND TO SOCIAL IMPACTS AT CRUISE TOURIST DESTINATIONS

Cruise lines establish their strategic planning by choosing home ports and ports of call according to the demand and to infrastructure, services and facilities conditions that each of the chosen sites offers. Cruise market is one of the largest and with most rapid growth in the world tourism industry, showing a 10% annual growth rate according to the Cruise Lines International Association (CLIA, 2014). In 2007, 76% of the total number of cruise passengers was from the United States, which is around 10 million people. The Caribbean is still the favourite cruise destination according to FCCA's (Florida Caribbean Cruise Association) statistics (FCCA, 2014), representing 41% of all the cruise itineraries on 2007, while the Mediterranean represents 16.4%, Europe 7.6%, Alaska 7.7% and 27.2% the rest of the destinations.

In this regard, cruise lines have focused an important part of their attention on the Caribbean market, which is segmented not according to the ports of call, as the destination is in fact the Caribbean Sea itself, but according to the vessels' features and services, which is clearly reflected on prices. A very detailed view of the planning and operation of the cruise industry can be found in Vogel et. al. (Vogel, Papathanassis, & Wolber, 2012).

The market size allows cruise lines operations orientation to different market segments (Petrick & Sirakaya, 2004), and it let them obtain growing profits; however, most

of the cruise tourists' expenditure is on the cruise line's services, and therefore the economic impact on destinations is very small in comparison. A cruise passenger spends more than a tourist from an all-inclusive hotel (US\$1,690 for the cruise passenger versus US\$1,180 of the tourist who stays at a hotel). This way, less than 12% of the expenditure is devoted to destinations while the remaining 88% is spent at home ports and on board cruises. In this regard, home ports are located at cities which, besides having the port facilities needed to receive the vessels, also count with service infrastructure capable to provide accommodation and air and ground connectivity for receiving and hosting passengers before and after their cruise, from and to their places of residence; because of these characteristics, home ports are usually located at big cities of developed countries (Brida & Zapata, 2010). Regarding the Caribbean, home ports are located at the United States, while the ports of call are distributed in different islands on the Caribbean, which count with the port and service infrastructure to provide entertainment, shopping and recreational tourist activities. The main ports of call at the Eastern Caribbean are: San Juan, Puerto Rico; Ocho Rios, Jamaica; Nassau, Bahamas; Grand Cayman, Cayman Islands; Catalina Island, Dominican Republic; Puerto Limon, Costa Rica. The main ports of call at the Western Caribbean are: Saint Thomas, Virgin Islands; Martinique, Lesser Antilles; Barbados; Philipsburg and Marigot, Sint Maarten; Willemstad, Curacao (CLIA, 2014; FCCA, 2014).

It is within this framework where Cozumel Island is located, part of the Mexican territory, but considered as one of the Caribbean ports of call where vessels from different cruise lines arrive all-year round, mainly from December to March: Carnival and its branch companies, Royal Caribbean, Disney, Norwegian, Oceania Cruises, Regent Seven Seas Cruises, Holland America Line, Crystal Cruises and Silversea Cruises. Tourist facilities at the island as well as the array of services have been adapted to these seasonal fluctuations on the demand, even adapting their operation hours to the vessels' arrival time and time of stay.

This dependency is not an exclusive characteristic of Cozumel, as it can also be observed in other places as it is the case of Costa Rica (Seidl, Guillano, & Pratt, 2006), where local communities and business depend on cruise tourism and they must compete

in an area dominated by a few international corporations, but it is remarkable how this pressure is more sensitive in the case of islands (Baldacchino & Kelman, 2014).

The host communities' dependency on the cruise industry reduces the possibility of having influence on the decision making for seeking the promotion of local benefits; it prevents the chance of the formal establishment of economic development choices, reduces the profit margins for the companies established in the island and increases local economic vulnerability. Of course these limitations are perceived in different ways by the host residents, depending on their proximity to the cruise activity and specifically depending on their participation on activities directly impacted by cruise tourists' expenditure.

Usually, coastal tourist destinations follow fixed growing patterns to provide the required infrastructure and services for the tourist demand's satisfaction. Based on Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) Theory (Butler, 1980), it is known that during the last stages of the destinations' life cycle (Royle, 2009), in special during the stage of stagnation, the number of tourist reaches a level which overpasses the destination's social carrying capacity and, in theory, negative impacts exceed the positive impacts at that point causing the destination's decline (Zielinski & Botero, 2011). As a distinguishing feature of the development of a tourist destination, residents from the host communities gradually share spaces of their community with the tourists (González Damián, 2009), however, as the destination's life cycle progresses and the number of tourists increases, residents stops perceiving tourist activity as an opportunity and the presence of the tourists starts to irritate the residents, until the moment when, during the last stages of the destination's life cycle, residents might have an antagonistic position against tourists (Diedrich & García-Buades, 2009; Vargas-Sánchez, Porrás-Bueno, & Plaza-Mejía, 2011).

In addition, cruise passengers are totally different from typical tourists, they bring their beds with them, as a way to say it, which allows that local investment on hotels and overnight infrastructure can be totally avoided and not providing real benefits to residents (Chase & Alon, 2002). As consequence, cruise industry may increase total production, but the high costs may produce a final result that can be less than the investment carried out to justify the result's increase (Brida & Bukstein, 2010; Brida, Pulina, Riaño, & Aguirre,

2013). The same authors (Brida & Bukstein, 2010) mentioned that several researchers are skeptical regarding economic impacts, specially about the perceived multiplier effect and about the alleged benefits' distribution among other economic sectors of the destination. Given that the spending per person is so little, the multiplier effect will be also small in unit terms, which is probable that impacts a very limited perception of such effect, even though the total amount may be considerable on balance, which leads to think about exclusion, both for the use of the spaces and for the access to benefits and to other areas of the daily life in a cruise tourism destination.

Economic and social impacts of the cruise tourism has been studied from a diversity of approaches and theoretical perspectives (Deery, Jago, & Fredline, 2012; Sharpley, 2014), as can be seen in the economic relevance of the industry in the mediterranean tourism within the book of Papathanasis et.al. (2012), or the negative impacts cases includes in the book edited by Dowling (2006): Alaska, Port Canaveral Florida, Eastern Caribbean, Ensenada and Cozumel in Mexico; the favorable or at least less negative cases included in the book of Luck et.al. (2010). and the indirect impacts of the cruise activity i.e. how the own operation standards of the industry become unsustainable at the destination ports (Sheppard, 2010), and the areas of responsibility of the cruisehip industry (Klein, 2011).

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM: PERCEIVED SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN COZUMEL

With a total land area of 478 km², Cozumel is Mexico's largest inhabited island and it is part of the State of Quintana Roo, where the main activity is tourism. The development of the tourism activity in the State of Quintana Roo started to take off during the seventies with the creation of Cancun, the worldwide known destination. Even though the development of that destination has had influence on other Quintana Roo's destinations' development, Cozumel has had its own tourist development, mainly in the diving tourism and as one of the top Caribbean cruise destinations. Cruise tourism has become the main activity in the island; thus, although there is hotel infrastructure to receive tourists,

destination's capacity is much higher for the cruise tourists' segment. According to the Ministry of Tourism of Quintana Roo, cruise activity is substantially larger and has grown in the recent years, as it can be observed in Table 1.

TABLE 1 - COZUMEL'S CRUISE SHIP INDUSTRY DATA VERSUS RESIDENT POPULATION.

Year	Number of Arrivals ^a	Passengers ^a	Economic income (US\$ m) ^a	Average expenditure per passenger (USD) ^a	Cozumel population ^b
2009	846	2,221,728	505.55	89	nd
2010	1035	2,908,424	521.56	89	79535
2011	1001	2,871,097	511.53	89	nd
2012	909	2,744,952	484.23	89	80896
2013	894	2,753,608	485.96	89	nd
2014	1109	3,404,500	617.78	89	88890
2015	1078	3,391,241	611.20	89	nd

Source: ^(a) Prepared by the authors based on information from the Ministry of Tourism of Quintana Roo and the Integral Port Administration of Quintana Roo. (Secretaría de Desarrollo Turístico del Estado de Quintana Roo, 2014); ^(b) Economic Census (INEGI, 2010).

Cozumel is a destination that has been receiving tourists for more than forty years, it is very likely that there is already an antagonism from the local residents, in special regarding cruise tourists, who crowd the tourist zones that become practically appropriated by tourists. The spaces that in the past were heritage of the local community for their sole use and enjoyment have been shared with tourists overtime, and some of them have even been exclusively reserved for the partial or total use of tourists (GONZÁLEZ-DAMIÁN & MACÍAS-RAMÍREZ, 2010) and this has gradually led the dominant economic activity to become also the dominant activity of the local economic policy (SANTANDER & RAMOS DÍAZ, 2011).

Cozumel residents, as hosts in a tourist destination, have experienced the effects of the destination's transformation in different ways and degrees during the last decades. During this time, several natural and urban spaces have changed according to the destination's growth and evolution, some places have been modified for the use of the tourists and some other have served as suppliers for the activity, both for materials as well as for services and labor; overtime, the division between public spaces and places

intended for the use and transit of tourists from the places which are not, has become wider.

Even though Cozumel has not grown at the same rate than other destinations at the State of Quintana Roo, such as Cancun and the Mayan Riviera; along its development as tourist destination it has also suffered from transformations on the society's structure, including the presence of national and international migrants who have come in the search of jobs in the island's tourist industry (GONZÁLEZ-DAMIÁN & MACÍAS-RAMÍREZ, 2010). The arrival of migrants, whom represent almost 50% of the Cozumel population (INEGI, 2010), some of them experienced and skilled workers in the tourism activity, has produced a phenomena where the island residents perceive themselves excluded from the access to employment or in a disadvantaged position to be able to compete for the best jobs (ARROYO & GUTIERREZ, 2007) with the international migrants.

The processes which are socially shaping social exclusion as a result of tourism development, such as the space transformation, the interaction between residents and tourists, and the social structure itself, deserve to be studied from a perspective that allows deepening in the field of the subjective and the implications of meaning regarding this subject (MANUEL-NAVARRETE & REDCLIFT, 2012). It is from this approach that the objective for this study is defined: to reveal the ways and aspects in which the social exclusion is perceived by Cozumel Island's residents as a consequence of the presence and accelerated growth of the cruise tourism industry.

Cozumel residents perceive that cruise tourism produces important impacts on the island, both negative and positive. Given the cruise tourism's nature and the features above explained, residents perceive themselves either as beneficiaries or as excluded from the benefits, as well as negatively or positively impacted to a greater or a lesser extent, which allows making the hypothesis that there are two different ways of perceiving cruise tourism's impacts among Cozumel residents. At least part of the residents feel excluded in certain way, either from the access to resources and benefits resulting from the activity, excluded from the opportunity of participating in the activity, or excluded from the chances of improving their quality of life as a direct consequence of the presence of cruise tourism.

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Social exclusion has been a field of study in the academic sphere for a long time, there is evidence of works on this subject since the beginning of the seventies (LEVITAS, 2006, p. 124), but it was not until the decade of the nineties when the European Union carried out coordinated efforts to promote social inclusion and cohesion, which led them to the development of studies starting from the need of conceptualization and implementation of operative and practical measurements of social exclusion's conditions. It is within this framework where Ruth Levitas and her research team worked for several years in a detailed study about the concept, the operative definition and the identification of social exclusion indicators and its development with the purpose of carrying out practical measurements on the subject. As a result of their work, it was found that social exclusion exists in two levels, the first one is an structural one, which is present in society as a whole where inequality, inequity, polarization, mobility conditions, among other aspects are results of the regulations, values and socioeconomic systems that rule society in a certain moment (LEVITAS et al., 2007, p. 25), and the second, at an individual level and or related to social relationships between individuals, where exclusion from society's matters is reflected directly on people's life. It is on this second level where Levitas focuses her definition and operative efforts (LEVITAS et al., 2007, p. 25),

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole.

Based on this operative definition, three dimensions of social exclusion are identified: resources, participation and quality of life, along four stages during the life course: childhood, youth, working-age, and elderly. Ten domains of social exclusion's indicators are grouped in a matrix named B-SEM o Bristol-Social Exclusion Matrix (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 10). These dimensions or domains are considered both as factors that promote exclusion as well as products or effects of it. They are summarized in Table 2.

In addition, social exclusion is also influenced by other set of risk factors, which are not necessarily conditioning, but which in certain groups and contexts exacerbate vulnerability: gender, ethnicity, social class, tenure status and nature of household, religion and critical experiences along personal life.

TABLE 2 - SOCIAL EXCLUSION'S DOMAINS OR DIMENSIONS, *B-SEM MATRIX*

Resources	Material / economic resources	Income, possession of necessities, home ownership, other assets and savings, debt, subjective poverty.
	Access to public and private services	Access to public services, utilities, transport, private services, access to financial services.
	Social resources	Institutionalization / separation from family, affective and instrumental social support, frequency and quality of contact with family members / friends.
Participation	Economic participation	Paid work – employed, self-employed, unemployed, non-employed, unpaid care, unpaid work, nature of working life, quality of working life.
	Social participation	Participation in common social activities, social roles.
	Culture, education and skills	Basic skills, educational attainment, access to education, cultural leisure activities, internet access.
	Politic and civic participation	Citizenship status, enfranchisement, political participation, civic efficacy, civic participation.
Quality of Life	Health and well-being	Physical health and exercise, mental health, disability, life satisfaction, personal development, self-esteem /personal efficacy, vulnerability to sigma, self-harm and substance misuse.
	Living environment	Housing quality, homelessness, neighborhood safety, neighborhood satisfaction, access to open space.
	Crime, harm and criminalization	Objective safety / victimization, subjective safety, exposure to bullying and harassment, discrimination, criminal record, antisocial behavior order, imprisonment

Source: Adapted from Levitas et al. (2007).

At tourist destination sites, especially those which are in a process of growth, conditions favorable to social exclusion are given; this has been clearly observed in the State of Quintana Roo since the emergence of Cancun on 1974 as a pole of tourism

development until our days, 40 years later is still an engine for migration movements and an economic driver that creates an attraction effect not only for tourists and tourism investors, but also for unemployed workers, adventurers, criminals, opportunists and a wide array of individuals and families seeking an space for developing activities and for taking advantage of opportunities (GONZÁLEZ-DAMIÁN & MACÍAS-RAMÍREZ, 2010). Within this growth, which shows a lack of planning, immigrants generate settlements where social and economic integration is difficult and where family disintegration, addictions, criminality, prostitution, epidemics, as well as discrimination to minority groups are promoted. Public policies are only palliative measures in view of this situation.

Cozumel, as tourist destination, has also shown this situation and because of the presence of cruise tourism, there is in addition a condition of seasonality among the population; therefore, during the high season there is an increase in the number of immigrants, while during the low season the number of emigrants increases, which is added to the risk conditions for the production of a high degree of social exclusion.

4. CASE STUDY: SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN COZUMEL

In order to reveal the forms and aspects from which social exclusion is perceived by Cozumel Island's residents as consequence of the cruise tourism, an study was carried out by using a mixed two-staged method, which allowed the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data regarding this phenomena: in the first stage results from a survey among Cozumel's residents were used to analyze the perception of the tourist cruise activity's effects in the island, which allowed to confirm that exists at least one group of residents who feel themselves excluded from the benefits of this activity and who have a negative perception of the whole tourist activity. In addition, through the use of personal interviews and participant observation in several Cozumel' spaces and services, we got information in a second stage, from primary sources that confirm the perception of exclusion and that deepen in the forms and aspects how social exclusion appears.

As can be observed from Figure 1, the design of the study was cross-sectional. It was carried out during 2013. For the quantitative data, an empirical cross-section study was carried out from June to August 2013. A five-point Likert Scale survey was conducted among Cozumel’s residents obtaining 320 valid questionnaires. The face-to-face surveys were conducted at San Miguel de Cozumel’s downtown, within an environment where the interaction with tourists happens in a daily basis.

Variables to be measured were: 1) Perceived Tourism Destination Image (IPDT) and 2) Residents’ Perceived Impacts as a result of Cruise Tourism (ITC); the scales used were built from the results of previous studies in tourism destinations from Tourism Marketing literature. Destination Image was based on the works of Echtner & Ritchie (1993), Baloglu and McCleary (1999), Beerli et. al. (2004) (Beerli, Martin, & Martín, 2004) and Bigne, Sanchez and Currás (2007), while the measurement of the Perceived Impacts was based on Perdue, Long and Allen (1990), Brown and Giles (1994) and Thyne, Lawson, and Todd (2006); see Table 3.

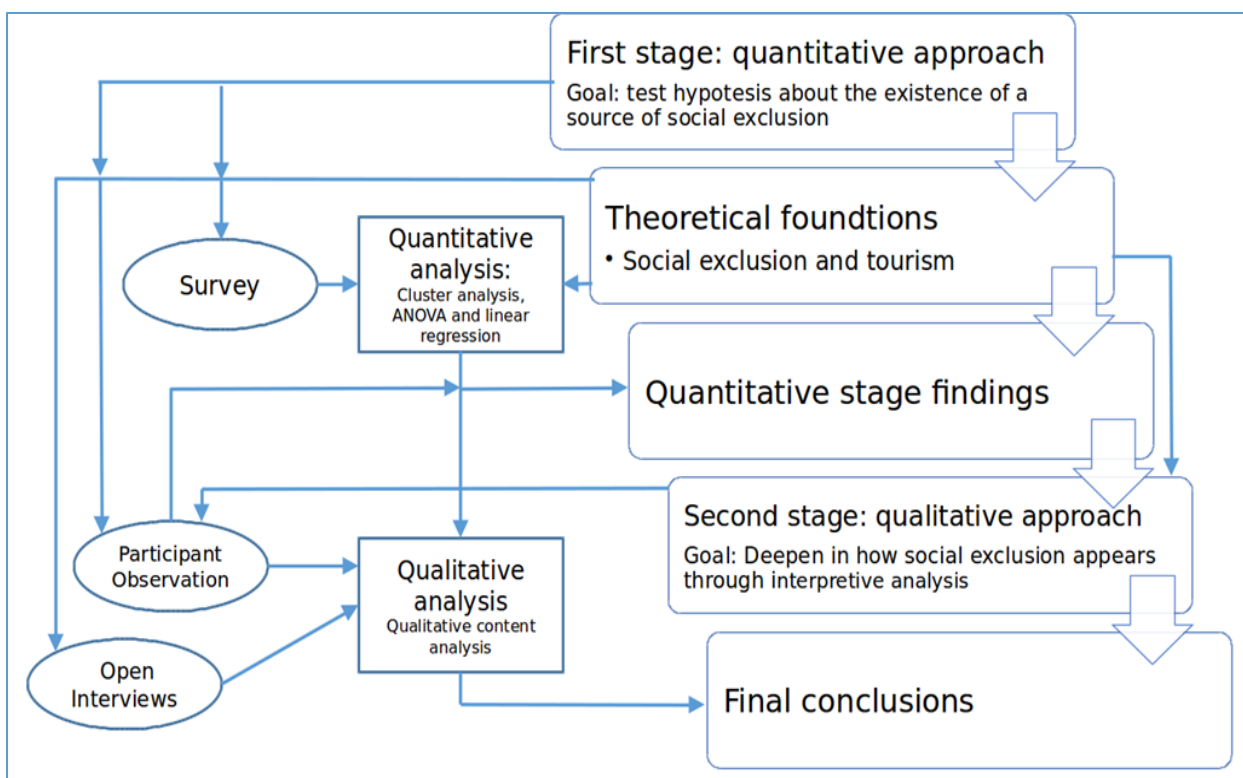


Figure 1 - Study design and methodology
Source: Prepared by authors

TABLE 3 - OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE MEASURED VARIABLES.

Variable's name and definition	Code	Constructs	Items
Perceived Destination Image: global perception about a destination, resident's mental representation about what he/she knows and feels about it.*	IPDT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourist natural resources** • Tourist facilities** • Hospitality** • Tourist infrastructure • Local culture** • Tourism and leisure activities** • Local environment** • Destination's atmosphere** 	<p>6</p> <p>8</p> <p>4</p> <p>8</p> <p>8</p> <p>8</p> <p>6</p> <p>4</p>
Perceived Impacts as a result of Cruise Tourism: resident's mental representation about Cruise Tourism's effects, and his/her positive or negative assessment as well****	ITC	<p>Positive impacts***</p> <p>Negative impacts ***</p>	<p>6</p> <p>4</p>
<p>Notes</p> <p>* Adapted from Bigne, Sanchez and Curras (2007).</p> <p>** Adapted from Baloglu and McLeary (1999) and Beerli and Martin (2004).</p> <p>*** Adapted from Perdue, Long and Allen (1990), Brown and Giles (1994) and Thyne, Lawson, and Todd (2006).</p> <p>**** Prepared by authors</p>			

Source: Prepared by authors

After the quantitative stage, which allowed confirmation with empirical evidence, as described in the next section, that differentiated point of views existed between two groups of residents, the research's interest was focused on deepening about the reasoning behind those opinions. For that purpose, unstructured interviews were carried out to 10% of the respondents from the group which had negative opinions about cruise tourism (G2, n=120).

The researchers played the role of interviewers, and the interviews themselves were recorded for later analysis. Interviews were conducted under a qualitative approach, unstructured and opened, with main focus on to find out the personal reasons that supported the interviewed's opinions on the survey. The information obtained during the interviews was transcribed and integrated in a text corpus along with the researcher's field notes. With these extensive textual data, content's analysis was done with the help of ATLAS.ti software. Results from the qualitative content analysis of the material collected during the interviews are detailed on the following section.

5. FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 First stage

Cronbach's Alpha Reliability Test was run before the analysis of the data; results are shown in Table 4. For variable IPDT the 0.60 minimum value recommended for exploratory studies (PETERSON, 1994), confirming the scale reliability for the Perceived Tourism Destination Image; the scale reliability for the Cruise Tourism's Perceived Positive Impacts (benefits) with 6 items was also confirmed, while this was not possible for ITC, as the items for the assessment of the Negative Impacts got low Alpha's values. Therefore, for the subsequent data analysis ITC was only referred to the perceived positive impacts, and the items for the negative impacts were considered individually.

TABLE 4 - SCALE'S RELIABILITY

Variable/Construct	Alpha
Global IPDT	0.907
Tourist natural resources	0.766
Tourist facilities	0.779
Hospitality	0.693
Hospitality (removing two items)	0.872
Tourist infrastructure	0.839
Culture	0.697
Activities	0.830
Environment	0.817
Subjective Image	0.837
Global ITC	0.658
Cruise Tourism's Perceived Positive Impacts	0.736
Perceived negative impacts	0.576

Source: Prepared by authors

Hierarchical cluster analysis was done including both variables with the purpose of confirming the existence of two differentiated groups of residents among the respondents (G1 and G2). Two clearly differentiated groups were obtained (see means on Table 5). These means were used as centroids for a second non-hierarchical cluster analysis,

confirming the existence of both groups. Finally, in a third step, a variance analysis was carried out in order to identify the significant differences of the variables included in the scale among the answers of the two groups that were identified.

TABLE 5 - STATISTICS THE GROUPS OBTAINED FROM THE CLUSTER ANALYSIS

Variable:	Group 1 (n=192) Residents directly related to Cruise Tourism	Group 2 (n=128) Residents indirectly related to Cruise Tourism
Perceived Positive Impacts as a result of Cruise Tourism (Means)	4.5076	3.1492
Standard Deviations	0.30739	0.67081

Ward Method results for cluster analysis

Source: Prepared by authors

The existence of two differentiated groups among the respondents was confirmed by a variance analysis test (ANOVA) and their means showed statistically significant differences. The first group, which was labelled as Residents directly related to Cruise Tourism (G1), showed higher means in their answers of the variables of Perceived Positive Impacts as a result of Cruise Tourism and Perceived Destination Image, than the respondents' group labelled as Residents indirectly related to Cruise Tourism (G2), that showed low means' values, even though values were above the median in all cases.

The main findings from the first stage were: first, the fact of the confirmation through the survey carried out during the quantitative stage of the existence of a differentiated perception about the effects of the cruise tourism in Cozumel, at least among one part of the residents; and second, the identification of the ways how exclusion is perceived from the discourse of the residents who were interviewed during the qualitative stage.

TABLE 6 - VARIABLES WITH VALUES THAT ARE SIGNIFICANTLY DIFFERENT BETWEEN TWO GROUPS OF RESIDENTS

VARIABLES	MG1	MG2	ANOVA F
1. Positive impact of the cruise tourism on local economy	3.1492	4.5076	209894**
2. Higher prices in Cozumel because of the presence of cruise tourism	3.4142	2.3364	40199**
3. More damage to reefs because of the presence of cruise tourism	3.73	3.35	5276*
4. Improvement on the local culture because of the presence of cruise tourism	3.04	4.45	130601**
5. Equal treatment from merchants and service providers to local residents	2.87	3.31	6693**
6. Destination's world image favored by cruise tourism in general and specifically on:	3.89	4.20	46039**
a. Tourist attractions	4.07	4.28	322**
b. Tourist facilities	3.52	3.95	28502**
c. Infrastructure	3.89	4.21	13477**
d. Cultural attractiveness	3.76	4.16	19565**
e. Activities for tourists	4.13	4.36	13215**
f. Subjective atmosphere	3.24	3.96	65719**

MG1= Mean of the group of residents indirectly related to cruise tourism
 MG2= Mean of the group of residents directly related to cruise tourism
 Both means are from five-point Likert scales
 * Significant at 0.05, ** Significant at 0.01

Source: Prepared by authors

Existence of two groups of residents with differentiated opinions about the effects of the cruise tourism on the island was confirmed through cluster and variance analysis, where the existence of significant differences in the value of the variables analyzed was confirmed (listed on Table 6), and therefore it is important to highlight that it was found significant evidence of the fact that at least one part of Cozumel's residents perceives cruise tourism as a source of impacts that are not so favorable for the economic, environmental and sociocultural aspects, while the other part of the residents perceives cruise tourism as very positive in the economics and sociocultural aspects, and not strongly negative regarding the environment. It was also observed that residents who had more negative opinions about the effects of the presence of cruise tourism on the island were precisely those who did not receive a direct economic benefit from the activity or those who had no direct participation in the provision of services to cruise tourists.

5.2 Second stage

As has been mentioned before, cruise tourism is the main economic activity in Cozumel Island and it is the engine for the rest of the economy, then it is to be expected a relatively biased opinion on favor of its economic impacts and about social and environmental aspects as well, even though the fact that it is only perceived this way by a well-defined sector of residents points out the need of deepen in the reasons behind the opinions which are not favorable. In this regard semi-structured interviews focused on this were carried out among Cozumel residents, in special those who did not work on companies dedicated to cruise tourism services, shipping companies or port administration offices.

During the interviews carried out to Cozumel residents, different opinions were obtained regarding the negative effects that cruise tourism has at local level; from them, some have been selected and organized in accordance with the factors that drive social exclusion: resources, participation and quality of life. While it is not the intention that these opinions are generalized, they show evidence related to the reasons which explain the differentiated opinion among the residents of Cozumel. Following, some reflections based on such opinions are presented; fragments of opinions are shown in italics and have been translated into English for a better understanding, translation has intended to keep the original sense to the greatest possible extent.

5.3 Resources

Regarding material / economic resources, two negative opinions were expressed about cruise tourism in general and in specific about cruise passengers. The prices in the island in general are perceived as higher than they are supposed to be as a result of the presence of the tourist activity, even going to the park is expensive; also, it is perceived that the big winners of the cruise business are the shipping companies, which take all and leave nothing for Cozumel. In the same order of ideas, cruise passengers are perceived as people with enough economic resources, who could spend more in the destination but they don't do it, they have the money and they don't spend as they should, instead they

make use of benefits that, in local residents' opinion, should not be for them, they clear the shopping centers out, especially when there are promotional prices and they leave nothing for us.

Regarding the access to public and private services, the urban space is perceived as disrupted, places that before cruise tourism were for public use are tourist sites now, they are open only when there are cruise passengers, and shops, restaurants and bars in special have working hours according to the cruise passengers, not to local residents. An aspect that constantly emerged during the interviews is the problem of public transportation, as this service in Cozumel is almost dominated by taxi services and in spite that urban routes of public transport exist, they are limited both in number and in schedules. Because of this reason, local residents' main means of transportation are: motorcycles, bicycles or taxi, this is also perceived as a product of the cruise tourism, as when there are cruises, you can't find an available taxi, and if you find it, they will charge you as a tourist.

In the collective imaginary, there is the perception that there are not enough routes of public transportation because of the power that taxi organizations have, namely Cozumel's taxis union, which through mafia-style actions prevent the entrance of urban collective passenger transport.

Another negative opinion regarding the effects of cruise tourism is that, because passengers do not plan a long stay, they have no need to buy Mexican currency, and therefore the use of US dollars has become wider and it is paid at a lower rate than in the market, so residents perceive that they can buy less when they have to pay in US dollars.

About social resources, during the interviews there were found opinions about cruise tourism as a negative influence on traditional social values related to family, as it favors a phenomena locally known as sharks' culture, which in general terms describes those male individuals who take advantage of their professional activity as tourist service providers, namely guides, recreational activities' promoters, scuba instructors or other aquatic activities, to relate and have sexual encounters with tourists.

5.4 Participation

It is precisely regarding economic participation where a wider number of opinions and with greater coincidences were found, as according to local residents in Cozumel there is a lot of pressure for getting a good job; during the long low season when cruises do not arrive there are a lot of unemployed people, which has impact in a general decrease on the wage offer, jobs are low-paid and uncertain, without benefits and with very bad work schedules. Regarding this subject there is the perception, which is almost generalized, that before the cruise tourism development there were fewer jobs but quality employment was better.

Another aspect related to employment is training. Local residents perceive that in order to be employed in services for cruise tourism, it seems that having a formal education is not needed, as understanding just a little English is enough. Also in relation with culture, education and training, local residents have the perception that there is nothing to do in Cozumel in regard to culture and sports, even less in Sundays, as there are no cruises on Sundays... as it is perceived that the offer of this type of services is poor because the activities that are promoted are only those ones that are attractive for tourists or are considered as native for the tourist view, residents' opinion is that because of the short visit, cruise passengers don't stay and don't get to know the culture, they only buy imitation jewelry and trinkets, or jewelry and clothing in the best scenario, they don't speak Spanish and they don't do any effort to understand it either.

Regarding social, politic and civic participation, there are also opinions about cruise tourism as a negative influence; local residents perceive that the government, through their urban development plans, has modified the structure of the coastal line of the city and of the island, giving preference to the tourism in general, and in special to facilities dedicated to serve cruise tourism, and no importance is given to the social and community activities, which have been moved to another downtown where the municipal palace is (the Mayor's office), and there are even plans to relocate it further from the tourist zone. About this matter, local residents' perception is that politicians at the government give support to cruise tourism only, and the organizations that support it, the taxi union and the associations of tourist services providers and business for example; that the government

promote cruise tourism and do not pay attention to local business owners, and to the damages suffered from so many changes to the downtown either. The reasons that apparently explain the lack of local participation and organization to protest about those changes is, in words of the local residents, that,

there is no point on participating in elections, the same families always win, no matter in which politic party the candidates are enrolled, we don't believe in the government but we don't believe in the taxi drivers either, they want everything for them and there is nothing for the people.

5.5 Quality of Life

About health and well-being, the perception is not necessarily shared among all the local residents, however, during the interviews it was identified that cruise passengers and crewmembers are carriers of exotic diseases, in special because many of them increasingly attend local hospitals to use medical services, as a result of local hospital's offer for "tourism health" packages and agreements with cruise companies for the crewmembers' medical attention, reason why some residents affirm that people who are in contact with cruise passengers catch rare diseases, it is better not getting close to them.

Regarding living environment, local residents' perception is that cruise passengers are noisy, throw garbage, drink alcohol in the streets, which is a negative influence on the community, in special it is perceived as very dangerous the fact that a lot of tourists decide to rent scooters to go all over the island without requesting them any proof of their driving skills through an official driver's license. Local residents perceive an increase in the insecurity and they feel less satisfied about living in Cozumel because of the presence of crowds in public places and shopping centers, where it is less and less safe to walk in the streets, robberies and assaults are more common around the places where cruise passengers are. There are even some of them who conclusively, and with certain nostalgia, blame cruise tourism, and cruise passengers in special, for affecting other tourism segments, dive tourists specifically, scuba is affected by their fault, government only pay attention to them (cruise passengers).

About the subjects of crime, harm and criminalization, Cozumel residents complaint about the clear preference from merchants and service providers for the attention of tourists, which sometimes even becomes in an open discrimination or the perception of abusive treatment, they want to charge us as we were cruise passengers, or they treat us as thieves or unwanted people, they abuse us.

6. CONCLUSION

From the findings presented in this paper, there is evidence that at least a significant portion of the interviewed residents think that cruise tourism has influence on factors which promote social exclusion. This means that, even it is true that cruise tourism is the engine of local economy and this is acknowledged by the local residents, they increasingly show discontentment about this activity, to the point that the activity is blamed for negative effects further than just the economics.

At least from the discourse of Cozumel residents who have no direct participation in cruise tourism's activities, there are several factors that have influence on a possible increase of social exclusion, both direct and indirectly, in subjective matters such as participation, as well as objective ones such as the exclusion from economic benefits and a generalized detrimental of the quality of life in the island.

It seems that the production of social exclusion, at least from what is observed in Cozumel, is normal in the development of cruise tourism's destinations, and even though some observations and opinions from the local residents might be considered not completely founded, they show an increasing discontentment towards the conditions and features of a tourist destination of this nature. After listening to the interviewees, it seems that irritation level against cruise tourism is increasing and that context-bound conditions promote negative perceptions, which reaffirm irritation as an endless vicious circle.

These reflections lead to the need of carrying out more studies about the subjects addressed on this paper, as the research is focused in a case study, there is no doubt that studies in other cruise tourism destinations are needed, where cruise tourism is the main economic activity as well, and analyze if the findings are replicated. It is of particular importance the analysis of one issue that turned to be the central focal point on this study, employment as a source of social exclusion, in special the way that is present at other economical spheres of tourist destinations and if its poor conditions are significantly different from employment in other tourism sectors unrelated to cruise tourism. Finally, it is crucial to study in the future the disturbing possibility that social exclusion might be a necessary condition for the development of tourist destinations, to the extent that is required or it naturally leads to an increase in the factors that drive social exclusion.

The fact that there is at least a group of residents that perceive themselves as excluded from the benefits of the cruise activity could be dangerous for the destination's future development. This should be avoided by taking preventive action through the local government and the cruise industry.

Perception in general, as the exclusion perception, is influenced by the socially constructed previous experiences, in consequence, it is possible to reduce the negative perceptions including local residents in workshops or collaborative actions with the cruise industry.

The cruise industry can improve the perception of inclusion in local society through actions in the framework of strategic corporate social responsibility, as boost local business operation in the range of activities on land, communication and marketing oriented to social inclusion, among other activities. Overall, the cruise industry should work more closely with local government, so that the destination could maintain its competitiveness and mitigate the risk of produce indirectly an irritated society.

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