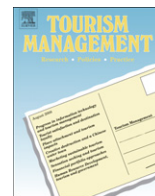




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Rethinking social impacts of tourism research: A new research agenda

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ABSTRACT

Understanding the social impacts of tourism on communities is extremely important for government at all levels so that action can be taken to reduce the likelihood of a community backlash against tourists and tourism development. Given that the residents of many tourism destinations are a fundamental part of the tourism 'product', resident attitudes and behaviour have a sizable impact on the success or otherwise of a destination. Research on the social impacts of tourism on communities is substantial and ongoing and while advances have been made in the area, the research has not addressed some of the deep seated issues faced by tourist destinations. This paper provides a critique of the social impact of tourism literature, highlighting the inadequacies in the research that has been conducted to date, which then leads to the development of a new conceptual framework. The paper traces the key developments in social impact research and argues that the predominance of quantitative methods potentially limits our ability to gain a more in-depth understanding of the impacts and how they influence both the host community and tourists. The paper finds that the quantitative focus from previous social impact research has led to a narrow understanding of the issues surrounding social impacts and proposes a new research agenda based on 'layers' of social impact understanding through the use of ethnography or phenomenology. The paper concludes with recommendations to progress social impact research beyond simply describing the issues towards explanations of why they occur by suggesting that social impact research examine, in greater depth, the values and intrinsic characteristics of the host residents.

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1. Introduction

This paper examines the literature on the social impacts of tourism on host communities and provides an alternative conceptual framework to the predominance of the quantitative methods currently used in this field of research. It discusses the key themes that have emerged from previous research and the methods used. In so doing, the paper highlights the predominance of quantitative methods and the lack of qualitative inquiry that has led to the evolution of social impact 'lists'. The paper first provides a brief overview of the importance of social impact research and the current 'state of play'. Second, it examines the stages of research in this area, acknowledging the difficulties with which researchers have grappled regarding definitions and the dependent variables tested. Third, the paper presents the key literature in the area, grouping the findings into a typology of themes. Finally, a new approach to social impact research is proposed drawing upon

research into organisational culture and the framework and methods used in that research.

The importance of researching the social impacts of tourism cannot be overestimated. It is crucial for industry, government tourism departments and agencies to understand how individuals within a host community as well as the host community overall perceives the benefits and disadvantages of tourism because of the potential hostile response to tourists if a balance is not achieved. Whilst research into the social impacts of tourism is both substantial and ongoing, it has reached a level of maturity that requires regular updates on the work undertaken and findings made in order to reduce the chance of unwitting duplication. Although a number of reviews of the research have been undertaken (see, for example, Andriotis, 2005; Easterling, 2004; Harrill, 2004; Yen & Kerstetter, 2009), most are written with a particular focus and thus only refer to studies that align with this specific focus. Easterling's (2004) review is an exception to this narrow focus in that it draws upon a wide variety of studies that provides an overview of residents' perspectives in tourism research. However, there has been substantial social impact research since Easterling's article was published in 2004 and there is a need to

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review what has been done since then. Much of the most recent research is quantitative, including work by the authors of this paper, and focuses on specific impacts such as gambling or the uses of a particular method such as Structural Equation Modelling (SEM). Although the research is abundant, there are still debates regarding definitions (e.g. Yen & Kerstetter, 2009), performance variables to be measured (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Smith & Krannich, 1998) and methods used (Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Huh & Vogt, 2008).

Research into the social impacts of tourism appears to be in a state of ‘arrested development’ – in other words, there is a sense that the advances in understanding the impacts of tourists on host communities is incremental at best, or potentially circular. While there is reasonable agreement as to the nature of the impacts (e.g. overcrowding, disruptive tourist behaviour, higher employment rates) and the variables which influence residents’ perceptions (e.g. dependence on tourism for income), recent quantitative research in this area has analysed specific impacts or used particular methods without providing in-depth insights into the reasons for residents’ perceptions and the subsequent consequences of such perceptions.

This paper proposes a new research agenda that allows for a deeper understanding of the impacts on the host residents. The paper firstly documents the key research stages and streams in social impact research, the methods used, the variables measured and the findings achieved in order to indicate the development stages of the research and an overview of the current state of play. Secondly, the paper argues that social impact research has reached the stage where much of the work that has been done has focused on single issues and does not, generally, provide a more holistic perspective. What is lacking is the meaning and the nuances of the findings and an in-depth understanding of perception formation and its consequences. The research area has reached a stage where, using a medical analogy, the symptoms of the problem are being examined rather than its deep seated causes. The paper proceeds to a proposed research agenda as a way to progress the analysis of social impacts and further develop the field in a deeper and more holistic manner.

2. Literature review

2.1. Stages of social impact research

Research into the social impacts of tourism has gone through a number of stages of development. Some examples of these stages are summarised in Fig. 1. As with all emerging areas of research, the need for definitions to provide the boundaries for debate is critical. This need has moved attention away from the economic focus which dominated so much of the early tourism impact analysis. While the definitional debates continue, key words such as ‘host residents’, ‘social impacts’, ‘perceptions’ and ‘attitudes’ form the basis of the research. The early research such as that by Belisle and Hoy (1981), Brougham and Butler (1981), Doxey (1975), and Liu, Sheldon, and Var (1987) are largely exploratory and descriptive. The second stage of social impact of tourism research, as illustrated

by Doxey’s (1975) work, began to develop the models within which the research could be conducted and it marked the beginning of a plethora of studies in the area. This stage of the research included the development of model building showing the hypothesised relationships between resident perceptions of the social impacts of tourism and variables such as improved facilities and socialising opportunities (Mathieson & Wall, 1982) and crime, congestion and disruption (Ap, 1992), the latter being underpinned by social exchange theory (Blau, 1964; Emerson, 1976). Other theories such as lifecycle theory (Butler, 1980) have also been used to underpin social impact research, although Butler’s theory has been found to be less useful as it assumes homogeneity within communities. Over time, these models were expanded to provide a basis for testing. Work by Ap and colleagues in questionnaire development signalled the beginning of the third phase, which focused on measurement and this work was continued and refined by other researchers such as Choi and Sirakaya (2005) in the fourth phase.

The pending issue, confronted by research in the social impacts of tourism is the dominance of a quantitative paradigm which has not facilitated a deep understanding of the impacts. The research undertaken to date has tended to provide lists of impacts without a clear understanding of how the perceptions of these impacts were formed and, more importantly, how such perceptions could be changed if necessary. There has been insufficient descriptive work to adequately explain the ‘why’ of this research area. We would argue, therefore, that social impact of tourism research requires a new research direction and agenda.

2.2. Definitional issues

Much of the debate in the literature revolves around residents and focuses on the meanings of ‘attitudes’ (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Ryan, Scotland, & Montgomery, 1998), defined by Ajzen and Fishbein (2005: p. 174) as ‘verbal reactions to symbolic stimuli [that] provide insight into how people behave in the real world’. Attitudes sometimes appear to be used interchangeably with ‘perceptions’ (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, & Vogt, 2005; Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, & Cater, 2007; Kayat, 2002; Ross, 1992; Sharma, Dyer, Carter, & Gursoy, 2008; Small, 2007) and these are argued to describe a person’s experience of the world and usually require further refinement. Occasionally ‘reactions’ (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000) and ‘opinions’ (Williams & Lawson, 2001) have also been used. Recent work by Yen and Kerstetter (2009) found that attitudes towards current tourism development and attitudes towards future tourism development were statistically distinct from each other. Gu and Ryan (2008: p. 638) discuss the complexities of attitudes based on a definition of an attitude as ‘an enduring predisposition towards places, people and behaviours’. This provides a useful basis for social impact research. The complexities arise, however, through the role of intervening variables such as lack of income, the importance of the impact on the resident and the assumption that attitude formation follows a clear process which may not actually be the case. This current review acknowledges that Gu and Ryan’s (2008) discussion on the definition of attitudes highlights the

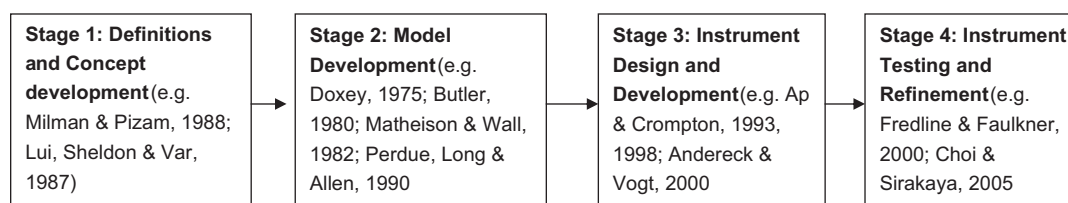


Fig. 1. Stages of development in social impacts of tourism research with examples.

inconsistencies of the various studies on social impacts and agrees with their observation that there is a presumption of 'lack of fuzziness in attitude formulation and implies a consistency which may be absent because of imperfect degrees of perceived knowledge, value conflict and intervening circumstances' (p. 640). Such observations would hold for 'perceptions' and 'reactions'.

2.3. Dependent variable

Another consideration in relation to social impact of tourism studies is the question of what is actually measured. In many cases, it has been the impact of tourism on quality of life (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Fredline, Deery, & Jago, 2006a, 2006b; Sharma et al., 2008; Tovar & Lockwood, 2008). Both the individual and community quality of life have been measured in a range of studies and the commonality of issues with the study of culture is highlighted here. Ongoing debates in the culture literature (see, for example, Deshpande & Webster, 1989; Orlando, McMillan-Capehart, Bhuian, & Taylor, 2009) are comparable to those within the social impact literature in terms of the dependent variable. When examining the impacts on the individual, it is most often the quality of life that is tested. An alternative dependent variable to 'quality of life' (QoL) is 'support for tourism development' (Huh & Vogt, 2008; Kayat, 2002; Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez, 2002; Yen & Kerstetter, 2009). It could be argued that tourism development influences QoL and so perceptions of tourism growth can be seen as an antecedent of QoL. Finally, it should be noted that the majority of the studies examined in this paper were underpinned by social exchange theory and although there were variations in the strength of its value in those studies, there is sufficient evidence to support the use of this theory to provide the basis for social impact of tourism research.

2.4. Social impact constructs

This section examines the key constructs found in the literature. There are two important categories to consider when discussing the constructs used in social impact of tourism studies. The first category contains those variables that influence residents' perceptions of the impacts of tourism. An example of this type of variable is the duration of residency in the study region and these variables act as moderating variables in some studies (see, for example, Jago, Fredline, & Deery, 2006). The second category contains the impacts themselves such as overcrowding or changes

to the character of the town/or region. The following discussion will focus on these two categories, (a) the moderating variables that influence resident perceptions and (b) the specific social impacts found in previous studies.

2.4.1. Moderating variables influencing resident perceptions of the social impact of tourism

A number of moderating variables have been identified in the literature as being important in measuring the social impacts of tourism. Most of these variables focus on characteristics of the residents and can be based on residents' personal profile, using variables such as age, gender, income, or on the residents' relationship to the area and to tourists. Apart from the obvious demographic variables, there are other variables that may mediate or moderate residents' perceptions of the social impacts of tourism. In addition, some studies have also examined the role that certain values such as attachment to community and political values play in influencing resident perceptions of tourism. Table 1 provides the key variables with regard to external characteristics of residents that may influence perceptions and the studies in which such variables have been used. Table 2 provides 'values' variables that may influence perceptions of tourism. The research reported in these tables is post-2004 as Easterling's (2004) article covers much of the earlier research in this area.

As illustrated by Table 1, there is a number of variables that have been tested and found to influence residents' perceptions of tourism. Economic dependence on tourism, for example, clearly influences perceptions so that residents engaged in tourism are generally more favourably disposed towards tourism than those who are not. As stated in Table 1, the influence of the distance from tourism activity has had mixed results, with some residents enjoying the dynamism that such activity brings and others being inconvenienced by noise and traffic associated with the activity. Research into resident contact with tourists has also obtained mixed results, whereas the use of resident facilities by tourists such as medical services, is generally perceived negatively by residents. The reaction to the ratio of tourists to residents has not yet been researched to any great extent, although Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008) have gone some way to elaborating on this issue.

In addition to these external variables, which can be argued to moderate residents' perceptions of the social impacts of tourism, the values held by residents may also influence their perceptions of tourism. A number of values variables have been included in a range of studies and these are included in Table 2. So, for example,

Table 1
External to host residents variables influencing perceptions of tourism impacts.

Resident "external" variables	Reason for use in social impacts studies	Sources
Economic dependence on tourism – working in or owning a business in tourism or a related industry	Numerous previous studies have investigated this relationship and there is substantial evidence to suggest that working in or owning a business in tourism or a related industry is associated with more positive perceptions of tourism.	Andereck et al. (2007), Andriotis (2005), Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b), Haley, Snaith, and Miller (2005), Kayat (2002), Sharma et al. (2008), Wang and Pfister (2008)
Distance of place of residence from areas of high tourist activity	Mixed results have been found in studies investigating residential proximity to tourism activity. Some studies have found that residents living closer to high activity areas are more negatively disposed to tourism, whereas others have found an opposite relationship with those living closer having more positive perceptions.	Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b), Haley et al. (2005), Harrill (2004), Jurowski and Gursoy (2004), Sharma et al. (2008)
Level of contact with tourists	Whilst contact with tourism is likely to be closely related to residential proximity, the two concepts are not synonymous as residents can come into contact with tourists in many different situations. Therefore, some studies have measured contact as a separate variable.	Andereck et al. (2007), Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b)
Use of facilities also used by tourists	Another variable that is likely to be interrelated with these other dimensions of contact is the extent to which residents utilise facilities and attractions that are commonly used by tourists, as this provides another opportunity for interaction.	Gursoy et al. (2002), Woosnam et al. (2009)
Tourist/resident ratio	When tourist numbers far exceed resident numbers, levels of tolerance towards tourism may be tested.	Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008)

Table 2
“Values” variables that may influence perceptions of tourism impacts.

Resident “values” variables	Reasons found in social impacts studies	Sources
Community attachment	Community attachment has been operationalised in a variety of ways in different studies including place of birth or number of years of residence in the community.	Andereck et al. (2005), Choi and Murray (2010), Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b), Gu and Ryan (2008), Gursoy et al. (2002), Mason and Cheyne (2000), Woosnam et al. (2009)
Social, political and environmental values	Tourism, like any other endeavour, operates with the social, political and, more recently environmental domains of a community, and it is therefore likely that residents with different social, political and environmental values would hold different representations of tourism.	Choi and Murray (2010), Deery et al. (2005), Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b), Gursoy et al. (2002), Wang and Pfister (2008), Woosnam et al. (2009)

Deery, Fredline, and Jago (2005), use Inglehart’s (1981) materialist and postmaterialist values to not only examine the influence of values on residents’ perceptions, but to also determine whether they can be used to predict perceptions, particularly of tourism growth and development. More recently, research by Woosnam, Norman, and Ying (2009) explored the relationship between tourists’ values and those of the residents and whether there are shared values. It is argued here that these variables in Table 1 and, to summarise, are the ones to examine more closely in future research because they offer greater insight into the true perceptions of residents.

The information contained in Tables 1 and 2 summarise the key variables that quantitative researchers have used over time to obtain an understanding of trends and issues in social impact of tourism research. The moderating variables of distance of residents from tourist activity, use of facilities by residents and tourists, level of contact with tourists, seasonality and the ratio of tourists to residents have all been found, in some way, to impact residents’ perceptions of tourism in their community. Resident demographics have also been found to impact perceptions of tourism (see, for example, Andereck, Valentine, Vogt, & Knopf, 2007). With the additional variables of resident values, understanding resident perceptions is, indeed, a complex task.

Other elements that impact on residents’ perceptions of the social impacts of tourism focus around the characteristics of the destination. For example, there is ongoing research into the impact that tourist activities such as gambling (Carmichael, 2000; Hsu, 2000; Lee & Back, 2006) have on a destination. Destination characteristics such as seasonality have been examined by Tosun (2001) and Williams and Lawson (2001). These studies examine the ebb and flow of tourists and the research has found that when tourism is at its yearly peak, some residents feel alienated from their community. This issue of the ratio of tourists to residents is closely related to seasonality and is often a cause of resentment towards tourists when substantial numbers of tourists are using community resources and causing overcrowding. Finally, in this brief discussion of destination characteristics, belong the roles that the level of tourist development and management play in the way that tourism impacts are perceived. Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008: p. 519) provide a recent and useful overview of the literature on destination stages of growth using Butler’s (1980) TALC model and – find that “the point where negative perceptions surpass positive may be more aptly situated before the critical range”. Obtaining greater understanding of the ‘trigger points’ for negative perceptions of tourism development is at least one area that requires more in-depth understanding.

2.4.2. Specific social impacts

Table 3 contains the key specific impacts that have been used in various studies to examine host resident perceptions of tourism, together with a rationale for including the impacts as well as

a listing of the authors of the research studies. Given the overview provided by Easterling (2004) of work dating from 1976 to 2003, Table 3 only covers research that has been published over the last decade (2000–2010). This seems appropriate given that the focus is now on a proposed new way to approach social impact research.

Table 3 contains forty impacts but it should be noted that this list has already been reduced from a larger number. Ap and Crompton (1998), for example, began with 147 items which were reduced to seven domains through factor analysis. The forty items listed here were subsequently reduced to fourteen impacts using factor analysis undertaken by Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b). While it is important to know which impacts are of concern to residents and a starting point for further research, the list of impacts does not provide insights as to why residents perceive them in a particular way and hence the opportunity to change perceptions is lost.

What the list of impacts does not tell us is why these impacts are rated so positively or negatively by residents and it is argued here that discourse from the limited qualitative research that has been undertaken in this field can inform this. Martin (2008: p. 67) for example, argues that issues such as authenticity are as important to the locals as they are to the tourists and that the boundary between the two “is context dependent and historically contingent”. Others, such as Kayat (2002), employ a constructionist research paradigm, ‘typically qualitative and aim at providing a rich portrait and better understanding of the phenomena’ (p. 177) to examine the power relationship between locals and tourists and the impact that this has on residents’ perceptions. Kayat found that power relationships have an indirect influence on residents’ perceptions. In fact, residents’ general values were a greater influence on perceptions. Fig. 2 provides a diagrammatic summary of the key findings from the research to date, both qualitative and quantitative.

It is interesting to note the emergence of a related area of qualitative research on social tourism. Work by Higgins-Desbiolles (2006), McCabe (2009), and Minnaert, Maitland, and Miller (2009) examines the use of tourism as a social force focusing particularly on low-income groups within society. This set of research examines the impact of tourism on the quality of life, particularly within families and the findings, to date, highlight the importance of tourism as a potential positive force on health and wellbeing.

Having provided an overview of the research stages until now, the following section proposes the next phase of research into the social impacts of tourism on communities using qualitative and quantitative paradigms and the lessons learned from culture research.

3. The next stage of research into the social impacts of tourism

In order to assist the discussion of a new research agenda, we have examined other research areas and note that research undertaken in the area of organisational culture, for example, has

Table 3
Specific social impacts of tourism on communities found in previous studies.

Impacts	What is the issue and why is it important?	Sources
<i>Economic benefits</i>		
1 Opportunities for local business	Increased trade occurs through increased numbers of visitors and offers the opportunity to develop a variety of local businesses.	Lee, Kim and Kang (2003), McGehee and Andereck (2004)
2 Employment opportunities	Tourism will generally stimulate the local economy and create employment opportunities for locals.	Choi and Sirakaya (2005), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008), Haley et al. (2005), Vargas-Sánchez, de los Angeles Plaza-Mejía, and Porras-Bueno (2009), Williams and Lawson (2001)
3 The strength of the local economy	Tourism is generally regarded as enhancing the economic strength of the local region.	Choi and Sirakaya (2005), Huh and Vogt (2008), Sharma et al. (2008)
4 Revenue for local government	Tourists bring additional money to the region through spending on goods and services. Additional people in the region may also increase the taxes raised by local councils.	Haley et al. (2005), Tovar and Lockwood (2008)
5 Funding for public services (e.g. health, police, fire services)	Increases in the use of public services require increases in funding from local and state governments. This need for additional funding may also cause taxes to rise.	Fredline (2002), Huh and Vogt (2008)
<i>Opportunity cost</i>		
6 Demand for public services (e.g. health, police, fire services)	With increases in tourists comes an increase in the demand for services. This can often lead to an increase in the services provided, but can also lead to longer queues and waiting times (this is a consequential cost as opposed to an opportunity cost).	Andereck et al. (2005), Fredline (2002)
<i>Facility maintenance</i>		
7 The standard of maintenance of public facilities such as beaches, parks and roads	Tourism has always been seen to bring new facilities into communities which benefit the community. However, tourists use these as well so the facilities require greater maintenance, which is a cost borne by the community.	Andriotis (2005), Deery et al. (2005), Tovar and Lockwood (2008)
8 Public transport	In some regions, public transport services may be increased to meet the needs of tourists which improves the services available for locals. In other instances, however, tourists can create additional crowding on existing services.	Andereck et al. (2005), Sharma et al. (2008), Yen and Kerstetter (2009)
<i>Interesting things to do</i>		
9 Shopping opportunities	The range of shops available and the hours that they are open often increase as the number of tourists to the region increase.	Fredline (2002), Gursoy et al. (2002), Williams and Lawson (2001)
10 Entertainment and recreational opportunities	Tourists require entertainment and recreational facilities and thus increased tourism can lead to the increased availability of such facilities.	Fredline (2002), Gursoy et al. (2002), Haley et al. (2005), Woosnam et al. (2009)
11 Opportunities to socialise	With increased entertainment and recreational facilities plus tourists in the region, there are more venues and opportunities for locals to socialise.	Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b)
12 Intercultural interaction	Tourists often wish to engage with local residents as part of the tourist experience and if the tourists come from different cultures, this will promote intercultural interaction.	Andereck et al. (2007), Sharma et al. (2008), Williams and Lawson (2001),
<i>Disruption</i>		
13 The number of people in public places (e.g. parks and beaches)	While some local residents resent having to share public space with tourists, many find that moderate increases in the number of people (tourists) using public areas provides social interaction opportunities and may add to the atmosphere. Also, crowding may be affected by increases in the permanent local population, so these should be considered.	Andereck et al. (2005), Fredline (2002), Woosnam et al. (2009)
14 The availability of parking spaces	With tourists coming to the region, residents and visitors may 'fight' for the current parking availability causing frustration and conflict.	Andereck et al. (2005), Jurowski and Gursoy (2004)
15 Noise levels	Tourists often socialise late into the evening and consume more alcohol leading to increased noise for locals. Some tourist activities such as power boating can also be quite noisy.	Deery et al. (2005), Fredline (2002), Yen and Kerstetter (2009)
16 The number of people in shops, restaurants, nightclubs etc	The number of people in shops etc can present a positive or negative impact of tourism. More people may add vibrancy to the community but may also cause frustration and withdrawal of local residents.	Choi and Sirakaya (2005)
17 Traffic congestion	Increased tourist numbers can lead to traffic congestion particularly in town centres in seasonal destinations. This can impinge on the way of life of local residents.	Andereck et al. (2005), Choi and Sirakaya (2005), Haley et al. (2005), Jago et al. (2006)
<i>Pride</i>		
18 Community pride	The fact that visitors want to come to a destination and spend discretionary income can enhance the sense of pride that the local community has in its destination.	Andereck et al. (2007), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008), Gursoy et al. (2002), Huh and Vogt (2008)
<i>Delinquent behaviour</i>		
19 Crime	Overall crime rates are often perceived to increase due to tourists in the region. Crimes are often associated with rowdy behaviour, drug and alcohol abuse.	Andereck et al. (2005, 2007), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008), Haley et al. (2005), Park and Stokowski (2009), Yen and Kerstetter (2009)
20 Alcohol related behavioural problems	Tourists can often be associated with rowdy, drunken behaviour leading to increased crime and disturbances.	Andereck et al. (2005), Deery et al. (2005), Fredline (2002)
21 Illegal drug use	As above.	As above

Table 3 (continued)

Impacts	What is the issue and why is it important?	Sources
22 Rowdy behaviour	Often as a result of alcohol and the holiday spirit, tourists can be rowdy and this can have a negative impact on locals. This issue is more prevalent/associated with events.	Andereck et al. (2007), Fredline (2002), Sharma et al. (2008), Tovar and Lockwood (2008), Williams and Lawson (2001)
23 Gambling	For many tourists, gambling is an activity that is undertaken whilst on holidays. As a consequence, there is often an increase in gambling facilities available in destinations where there is tourism. This can pose social problems for the locals who subsequently visit such facilities.	Carmichael (2000), Fredline (2002), Hsu (2000), Lee and Back (2006), Lee et al. (2003)
24 Prostitution	With increased tourism comes increased entertainment facilities and alcohol consumption as well as many tourists visiting a destination for a 'good time'. These ingredients can lead to increased prostitution.	Park and Stokowski (2009), Sharma et al. (2008)
<i>Environment</i>		
25 Litter	Residents may feel that tourism results in increased litter that reduces the beauty of the environment and results in increased costs to have the litter taken away.	Andereck et al. (2005), Haley et al. (2005), Jurowski and Gursoy (2004)
26 The available habitat for local wildlife	In many regions, tourism development occurs in areas that were previously in coastal or bush settings. This urban expansion often encroaches on the habitat of native animals. As well as this, tourists will often frequent nature trails and the like which can impact on the local habitat.	Andereck et al. (2005), Frauman and Banks (2011), Huh and Vogt (2008), Sharma et al. (2008), Woosnam et al. (2009)
27 The natural environment	As above, the development of tourist facilities can detract from the natural environment.	Choi and Murray (2010), Choi and Sirakaya (2005), Frauman and Banks (2011)
<i>Showcase effect</i>		
28 The image of the city in the eyes of others (not residents)	This is the showcase effect that is aligned to community pride referred to earlier. Tourists experiencing and enjoying a region can lead to the enhanced image of that region through word of mouth publicity.	Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b), Williams and Lawson (2001)
<i>Increased prices</i>		
29 The overall cost of living	Prices of goods and services, including house prices are perceived to increase in tourist destinations. Whether this is due to tourism or other factors, is difficult to determine.	Frauman and Banks (2011), Haley et al. (2005), Jurowski and Gursoy (2004)
30 Property values	In regions where there are many tourists, there is often strong demand for real estate to service the tourist industry including workers in tourism. This can lead to increased property prices which is good for property owners but a problem for locals seeking to purchase a property.	Deery et al. (2005), Fredline (2002)
31 Rents	In regions where the tourism industry grows, the cost of rent can be pushed up by workers servicing the tourism industry, which impacts on the living costs for locals.	Fredline (2002), Haley et al. (2005), Williams and Lawson (2001)
32 Rates	Coupled with the increased property values due to tourism noted above, the flow-on effect is for rates to increase. This can be problematic for local retirees and others on fixed incomes who struggle to finance the increased rates.	Tovar and Lockwood (2008)
<i>Access denied</i>		
33 The number of permanent residents in the Region	The ratio of permanent residents to the number of holiday home owners and tourists is important to the way that the local community accepts tourists. If there is a substantial imbalance, conflict may arise.	Andereck et al. (2005), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2008), Faulkenberry, Coggeshall, Backman, and Backman (2000), Martin (2008)
<i>Justice</i>		
34 Social and moral values	The social and moral value systems of tourists may differ quite substantially from local residents that can then cause change or conflict in the local region.	Fredline (2002), Woosnam et al. (2009)
35 Relationships between local residents	As different groups of locals within a community can have different engagements with and attitudes towards tourists, there can be frictions between groups in the local community.	Choi and Murray (2010), Frauman and Banks (2011), Martin (2008), Sharma et al. (2008)
<i>New infrastructure</i>		
36 The level of urban development	Increased urban development is often attributed to tourists coming to regions and can be perceived as reducing the quality of life of residents and changing the character of the region.	Andereck et al. (2005, 2007), Choi and Sirakaya (2005), Easterling (2005), Frauman and Banks (2011), Jago et al. (2006)
37 New shops and restaurants	New shops and restaurants may be built as a result of tourists coming to a region.	Fredline (2002), Wang and Pfister (2008), Williams and Lawson (2001)
<i>Town/region character</i>		
38 The physical appearance of the region	The infrastructure that is developed in support of tourism and the activities that are undertaken by tourists can result in changes to the physical appearance of the region, which may not suit locals.	Easterling (2005), Huh and Vogt (2008), Williams and Lawson (2001)
39 The style of architecture on the region	Tourism facilities that are developed within a region may not be in keeping with the existing styles and cultural heritage.	Gu and Ryan (2008), Gursoy et al. (2002), Huh and Vogt (2008)
40 The character of the region	Large numbers of visitors to a region in relation to the size of the local population has the potential to change the character of the region as can the type of tourism development that occurs.	Choi and Murray (2010), Faulkenberry et al. (2000), Woosnam et al. (2009)

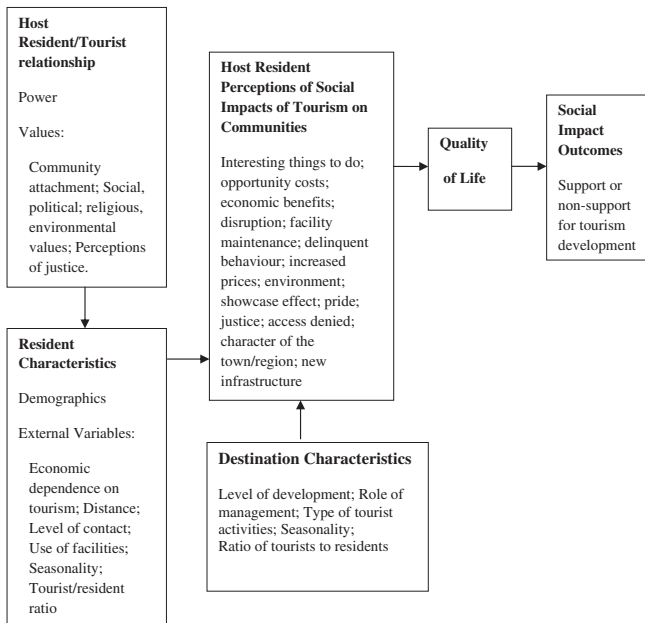


Fig. 2. A summary of the key variables found in social impacts of tourism research.

confronted similar issues (see, Jung et al., 2009, for example). Quantitative evaluations of culture dominated the early research in this area. In many ways, the study of organisational culture has a number of elements in common with research into social impacts. While it is possible to catalogue the cultural variables or the social impacts, it is also important to delve into the values, attitudes, perceptions and behaviours of the participants of any study. Kuenzi and Schminke (2009) addressed this very issue, providing a new research agenda for the study of organisational climate and they included the debates regarding the differences between climate and culture. They suggested that 'both climate and culture deal with the ways that individuals try to make sense of their environments' (p. 638). They discussed the global concept of organisational climate as well as the facet-specific constructs of climate. Again, there are parallels here with obtaining an overall understanding of the perceptions of tourism and how this relates to the perceptions of individual and specific impacts. Kuenzi and Schminke (2009) argue that because of the difficulties in measuring an overall construct of organisational climate, research has moved towards facet-specific measurement that has led to the focus on quantitative methods. Research into the social impacts of tourism has much to learn from the experience of organisational culture and, as Tucker, McCoy, and Evans (1990) argue, a qualitative paradigm provides flexibility, adaptiveness, depth, realism and has face validity that a quantitative approach may not provide.

The discussion to date has focused on residents' perceptions of specific impacts that tourism development and growth have on the quality of life (QoL) of individual residents and the community as a whole. To a large extent, much of the attention has been on identifying the specific impacts, such as the impact of gambling on communities, rather than the dependent variable i.e. residents' QoL (with some exceptions such as Andereck et al., 2007). Much of the research undertaken in the numerous studies examined here has used social exchange theory and while this theory has been a useful tool to explore social impacts, it has led to the 'list' approach which dominates the literature. It is time to explore other theoretical bases and Woosnam et al.'s (2009) use of Durkheim's theoretical constructs is timely, as it looks at the shared values – the emotional

solidarity – of tourists and residents. The concept of shared values is also the basis for research into culture and, as mentioned earlier, social impact research has much to learn from the developments in culture research.

3.1. Organisational culture research

Originally underpinned by anthropology and qualitative paradigms, culture and organisational culture studies have moved through the gamut of quantitative methods to determine the constructs that impact on culture in much the same way as research into social impacts. Key research has come from, among others, Deal and Kennedy (1991), Hofstede (1991), Rousseau (1990), Schein (1968) and Trice and Beyer (1993). In his discussion of organisational culture, Rousseau (1990) discusses the various layers of culture and, although Rousseau's work was later used to underpin qualitative and quantitative studies, it can inform current research into social impacts through, for example, ethnography. Phenomenology also offers ways to obtain greater insights into these 'layers' of understanding of social impacts and, as Welman and Kruger (1999: p. 189) state, 'the phenomenologists are concerned with social and psychological phenomena from the perspectives of people involved'. The following diagram is an adaptation of Rousseau's Layers of Culture concept to promote a more holistic understanding of the social impacts of tourism but, in particular, the end result on resident QoL (Fig. 3).

When further explored, Rousseau's framework has much to offer the study of social impacts. In using Rousseau's terms, it is possible to examine social impact perceptions in relation to the artifacts, the behaviour, the values and the underlying assumptions. So, for example, the lists of impacts that are currently the focus of social impact research are actually the **artifacts**. Crowding, disruption to normal ways of life, increased entertainment opportunities and heritage conservation or damage are positive and negative artifacts of the impacts of tourism on the host community. It is argued here that the research into social impacts until now has addressed this layer very well.

The next layers of social impact perceptions require much more research than has been the case. Understanding the **patterns of behaviour** of both residents and tourists can provide insights as to why certain impacts are more important to residents than other impacts. For example, the work by Gu and Ryan (2008) shows how the behaviour of the residents of a Beijing hutong changed according to temporal zoning times and seasonal changes.

Examining the **behavioural norms** of residents and tourists flows from understanding the patterns of behaviour. In other words, there are expectations of certain types of tourist and resident behaviour. There is a shared understanding (or lack of it) of what is acceptable behaviour and Carmichael's (2000) exploratory study of resident behaviours exposes some of the issues here, albeit within a quantitative paradigm.

The next two layers of **values** and **fundamental assumptions** are the most difficult to uncover. Schein's (1988: p. 9a) definition of the innermost core of fundamental assumptions is that they are 'unconscious, taken for granted beliefs, habits of perception, thought and feeling (ultimate source of values and action)', which illustrates the complexities of this concept and the subsequent difficulties in understanding it. In their review of the qualitative and quantitative instruments used to explore and explain organisational culture, Jung et al. (2009) provide an excellent overview of the various ways to measure culture including the core assumptions. Included in the extensive list are qualitative methods such as critical incident technique, ethnography, interviews, metaphorical analysis, narratological approach, semiotics and storytelling. These methods are underused in social impact research and yet would

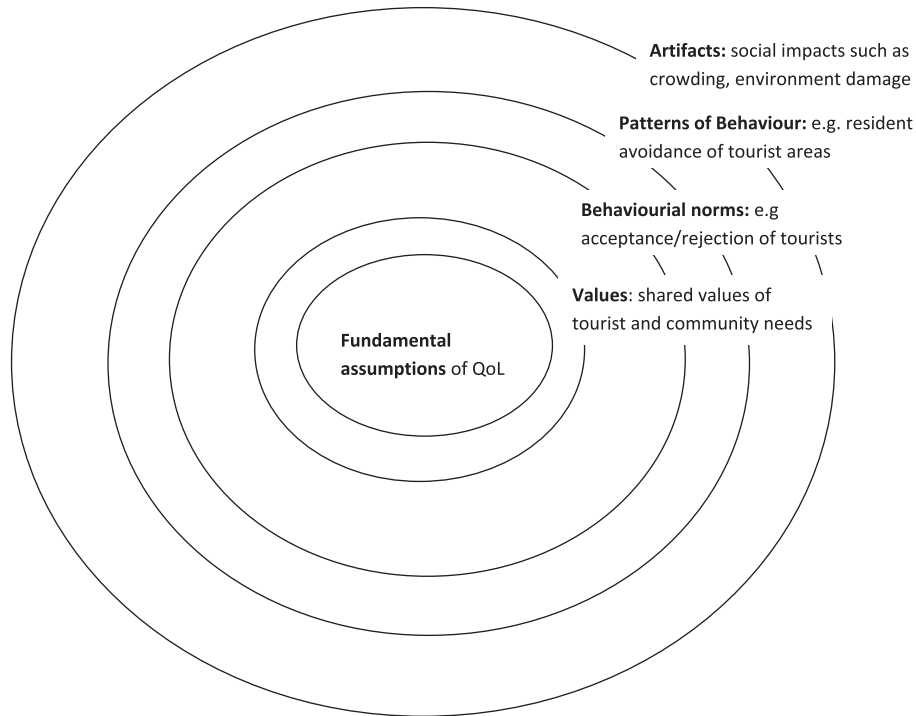


Fig. 3. Layer of perceptions of social impacts of tourism on communities. Adapted from Rousseau (1990: p. 158).

offer a greater level of understanding the impacts than has been obtained from quantitative studies thus far. Such an approach could build on the current knowledge of impacts to understand from where perceptions have emerged and why. Using phenomenology as the underlying philosophy for the research also offers the opportunity to ‘capture rich descriptions of phenomena and their settings’ (Kensit, 2000: p. 104).

As discussed earlier, understanding the social impacts of tourism on a community is a complex area as is to understand the concept of culture. The use of culture research as an example of ‘where to from here’ in relation to social impact research has not been an arbitrary choice. The research into the complexities of culture, a multi-layered phenomenon, has parallels in the heterogeneity of communities. Within any community, there will be a variety of perspectives towards tourism and these perspectives will emanate from individuals’ values and societal norms, among

other influences. From an anthropological perspective, there is much in common between the study of culture and the study of communities that are comprised of complex human beings. A proposed next stage of research, then, based on the complexities of community perceptions, is provided in Table 4. This table suggests the use of layers in social impact research.

The proposed next stage of research into social impacts of tourism focuses on a qualitative approach to the area. Table 4 provides examples of the ways in which qualitative social impact research could be conducted, but there are other considerations that must be taken into account in adopting this approach.

In undertaking qualitative research, it is important to be specific about the level at which the study is being done and the probable lack of generalisability of the findings. Jordan (2009) argues that there are levels within the layers of culture – subcultures within

Table 4
A potential next stage for social impact research.

	Artifacts	Patterns of behaviour	Behavioural norms	Values	Fundamental assumptions
Aims	To determine the observable signs of resident perceptions	To observe and document behaviour patterns formed by tourists and residents	To understand resident and tourists reactions to each other	To obtain a deeper knowledge of resident and tourist values	To understand the meanings attached to the artifacts, norms and values of tourist destination residents Host residents
Focus	Specific social impacts	Tourists and community residents	Tourists and community residents	Tourists and community residents	Host residents
Theoretical framework	e.g. Social exchange/social representation	e.g. Schein’s (1985) model of culture	e.g. Cooke and Szumal (1993) theory of normative beliefs	e.g. Durkheim’s (1955 [1915]) emotional solidarity theory	e.g. Socialisation theory (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979)
Method	Quantitative survey	Critical incidents; content analysis of past issues	Participant observation; cognitive anthropology	Interviews/laddering	Interviews, participant observation

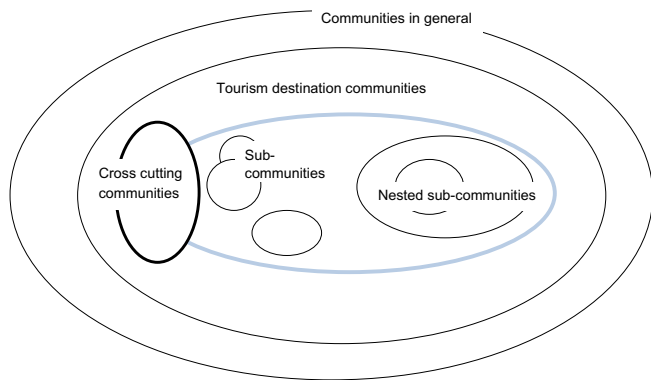


Fig. 4. The heterogeneity of communities. Adapted from Jordan (2009: p. 6).

the larger cultural environment. Similarly, there are subsets of residents within communities each of which will have different assumptions and values. Fredline and Faulkner (2000) in their quantitative study, examined the heterogeneity of communities and these various communities/groups also need to be explored in any qualitative work. Fig. 4 is adapted from Jordan's (2009) anthropological perspective of culture. The key elements of Jordan's thesis are the heterogeneity and complexity of communities and the need to take into account the cultures and perspectives of sub-communities that may be based on, for example, ethnic, gender, professional or interest groups. Individuals within a community may belong to a range of groups and so there will be a cross-over in membership of these groups. Jordan calls these groups cross cutting communities.

The use of qualitative methods, however, provides the opportunity to explore lobby groups both pro- and anti-tourism. In fact, very little has been done in this area and it is one that warrants attention.

Two of the benefits of the quantitative approach to studying social impacts are that the study can be completed in a timely manner and, with the use of on-line questionnaires, costs can be kept to a minimum. On the other hand, qualitative approaches such as focus groups and face-to-face interviews can be very time consuming and costly in the hire of venues for group work, interviewers' time and the transcription of interviews.

4. Conclusion and summary

This paper has examined the progress of social impact research, presented the key findings from the research undertaken to date and proposed an additional stage of research with the aim to provide a deeper understanding of why some impacts are more important to residents than others. A review of the literature found that there were four key stages of research development from the debates over definitions to the conceptual frameworks used, to instrument development and finally to the instrument testing stage. It was also found that these four stages have been used to underpin other areas of research such as in the early study of culture. These stages highlight the point which social impact research has reached and the potential for further, in-depth research.

The literature review also highlighted the gaps in knowledge. The research undertaken to date has found that key influences on resident perceptions are elements such as the personal characteristics of the length of time they have lived in the area, their dependence on tourism and the distance residents live from the tourist activity. In addition, influences such as resident values, political preferences and attachment to the region were documented as important in forming resident perceptions of tourism.

These latter findings are important as they provided the basis for further research. It is these values and intrinsic resident characteristics that will allow researchers and practitioners to fully understand the roots of concerns regarding tourism.

The specific impacts contained in Table 3 provide the tangible 'artifacts' for further research. It is these impacts that need to be examined in greater depth through methods such as storytelling, narratives and observation. Through these research methods, the links between the personal values, for example, and the impacts can be determined. The adoption of more qualitative and innovative methods in social impact research, following, to some degree, the path of organisational culture research is the proposed next stage of social impacts of tourism on communities' research. This will help explain rather than simply describe the social impacts of tourism and should help underpin the development of strategies for more effectively managing tourism.

As the success of tourism in many regions is so dependent on the support of the local community, it is vital that tourism's impact on the host community is understood, monitored and managed. To manage the impact of tourism on the local community, it is essential that its impact not exceed limits deemed as acceptable within the community. Understanding the reasons why certain behaviours and outcomes of tourists impact upon members of the local community is needed so that appropriate management strategies can be put in place. This research can play an important role in helping to achieve this outcome.

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