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Resident perceptions and responses to tourism: individual vs community level impacts

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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews resident tourism attitude research through the lens of the individual- and community-level perceived impacts of and responses to tourism. It explores how perceived impacts of tourism and responses to tourism development have been conceptualised and measured in the existing resident attitudes models published between 1990 and 2020. Three categories of variables were identified and used: antecedent variables, tourism impact variables, and dependent variables. The latter three categories are used to discuss the research topic from the lenses of improvements in measurement instruments. Finally, the paper suggests rethinking the overall conceptualisation of residents' perceptions of and reactions to tourism – it proposes future research directions to distinguish between individual-level and community-level effects and reactions.

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Resident attitudes; support for tourism; tourism impact; personal benefit; host community; literature review

Introduction

Resident attitudes has long been a significant tourism research focus. With community residents placed at the core of sustainable tourism development (Mundt, 2011), countless research papers on resident attitudes have been published over the past 50 years (Nunkoo et al., 2013; Hadinejad et al., 2019; Almeida Garcia et al., 2015). Much of this research has been based on the exchange theory models proposed by Perdue et al. (1990) and Ap (1992). These two models set the stage for the theoretical and empirical understanding of how residents perceive tourism impacts and when they support or oppose further tourism development.

Recently, this research has been widely criticised for being too mired in the debate on how resident perception of tourism impacts affects support for tourism. Firstly, with many communities embracing tourism as an industry that helps develop and prosper, tourism planners and developers need to assess if support for their initiatives and policies exists. Hence, by setting residents' support for tourism as integral to the tourism planning processes, the models of resident support for tourism conceptually rest on "initiating citizen participation processes related to tourism issues" (Harrill, 2004, p. 251). As such, the models have been faultily adopted in tourism as conceptual 'holy grails' for observing the effects of tourism without being adequately challenged

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and revised over the past thirty years. For example, through the lenses of empirical conceptualisation, Nunkoo et al. (2013) and Gursoy et al. (2019) observe that the research has reached a state of arrested development in its quest for the universal model and absolute truth of resident support for tourism because of its overreliance on specific quantitative methods and lack of empirical criticality. Also, from the theoretical perspective, Deery et al. (2012) and Sharpley (2014) observe that the research rests on social exchange theory: its general proposition is that if the residents believe that perceived benefits from tourism exceed perceived costs, they would be more likely to support tourism development in their community. However, this proposition neglects the multidimensional complexity of residents' social experiences and lived realities in tourism destinations (Sharpley, 2014; Wang & Pfister, 2008). Furthermore, some studies have found that residents can perceive tourism to have positive impacts on their communities but still, they oppose its future development (McKercher et al., 2015; Martín et al., 2018) or exhibit behaviours suggestive of opposition to tourism (Carmichael, 2000; Cardoso & Silva, 2018). These results led us to think that the research should reconsider the levels of analysis and produce more information on residents' perception of tourism impacts distinguishing between impacts on the individual and those impacting the community.

Ap and Crompton (1993) stressed that it is essential to empirically match resident perceptions of impacts and their responses to different levels of those impacts. Moreover, while Perdue et al. (1990) proposed a distinction between tourism impacts on the individual and the community, the existing research largely ignores this issue. Hence, conceptually, there are potential differences between the resident's perceptions of the impacts of tourism development on themselves and their families compared to their town or community as a whole (Bramston et al., 2002; Jurowski et al., 1997; Ross, 1992). However, scholars have little consensus on the precise distinction between individual- and community-level impacts of tourism (Wang & Pfister, 2008; Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Jurowski et al., 1997; Boley et al., 2018). In this sense, Sharpley (2014, p. 44) rightfully observes that "other than economic dependence on tourism, few if any consistent relationships have emerged [from the research]". This is mainly because the prevailing exchange theory has long focused almost exclusively on measuring how tourism improves an individual's economic status (Boley et al., 2014; Woosnam & Norman, 2010; Andereck et al., 2005) and how the perception of economic benefits influences the perceived impacts of tourism to the community (Perdue et al., 1990; Boley et al., 2014; Ko & Stewart, 2002) and support for tourism development (Perdue et al., 1990; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Nunkoo & So, 2016). As a result, the critical measure of the impact of tourism on the individual is (erroneously) almost exclusively economic. However, tourism development should differentiate between "how citizens perceive the factors that contribute to their own quality of life and how they collectively think their region or area is doing" (Andereck & Jurowski, 2006, p. 138). Similarly, the existing research has extensively studied resident perceptions of tourism impacts, evolving even into the ubiquitous 'list' of tourism impacts (Deery et al., 2012). The 'list' was initially set as mediating the relationship between antecedent variables and resident reactions to tourism (Perdue et al., 1990; Lankford & Howard, 1994). Moreover, the list does not differentiate between impacts on the individual versus on the community; instead, it points towards community-level impacts of tourism. The 'list' has been widely used as a mediator in the resident-tourism relationship, overwhelming the literature with what residents perceive instead of helping to understand 'why' (Sharpley, 2014).

Thus, the present study proposes a multidimensional approach to resident attitudes research based on differentiating between individual- and community-level tourism issues and responses. A community represents "a group of people with diverse characteristics who are linked by social ties, share common perspectives, and engage in joint action in geographical locations or settings" (MacQueen et al., 2001, p. 193). Traditionally we think of community as a social construct, implying territorial and relational structures of human relationships (Gusfield, 1975; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). These evolve around using human and natural resources to enhance

the well-being of individuals and communities (Prilleltensky & Prilleltensky, 2006). Once a community becomes a tourism destination, the use of community resources is negotiated within the resident-tourism exchange process (Uysal et al., 2016). This negotiation is often approached with a positive attitude, with tourism being embraced as a means of enhancing the quality of life in a community (Perdue et al., 1999; McKercher et al., 2015). However, community members may not be equally involved in the resident-tourism exchange (Segota et al., 2017), which makes tourism subject to judgements on the impacts it has on an individual and a community (Uysal et al., 2016). Since tourism impacts are felt by individuals directly, while some are felt indirectly at a community level (McKercher et al., 2015), it follows that responses to tourism also exhibit differently on the individual- and the community level.

To support this proposition, we reviewed empirical models on resident attitudes toward tourism published between 1990 and 2020, focusing on how tourism impacts and subsequent responses have been conceptualised and measured vis-à-vis the distinction between individuals and communities. The following sections will articulate the study’s methodology, and present the results, focusing on the in-depth analysis of antecedents, tourism impact variables, and responses to tourism development. In conclusion, we propose future research directions, highlighting, in particular, differing perceptions of tourism impacts on the individual and the community and associated coping mechanisms.

The emergence of the individual- and community-level impacts and responses in the tourism discourse

The Perdue, Long and Allen conceptual model

The Perdue et al. (1990) model is central to resident attitude research because of its pioneering attempt to conceptualise different aspects of tourism impacts, their antecedents and host community responses. The model examined “the relationships between resident perceptions of tourism impacts, both positive and negative, and their support for additional tourism development and specific tourism development policies” (Perdue et al., 1990, p. 597). The structure of the model is shown in Figure 1.

On the left-hand side of the model are the antecedent variables. These comprise resident characteristics (e.g. length of residence, age, sex, education, employment, etc.) and personal benefits from tourism, hypothesised to influence how residents perceive tourism’s positive and negative impacts. As an outcome of the latter, support for additional tourism development and the other two ultimate dependent variables, labelled support for special tourism taxes and support

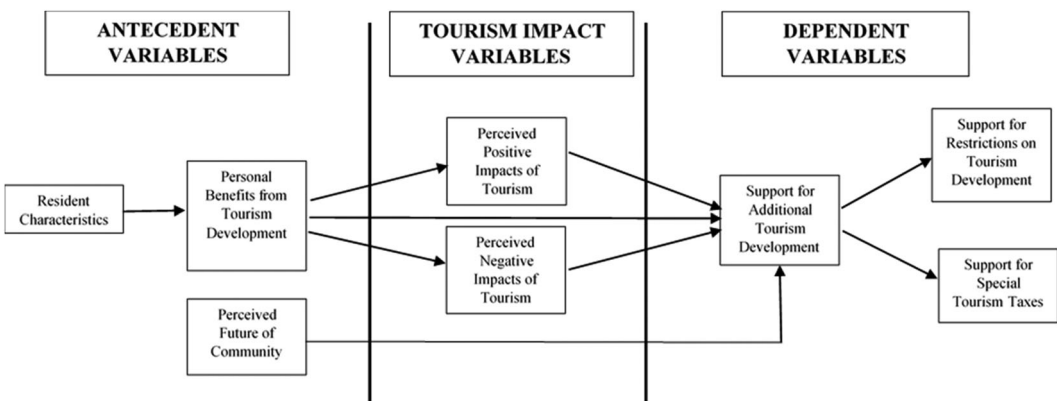


Figure 1. Perdue et al. (1990) conceptual model of resident attitudes toward tourism. Source: Perdue et al. (1990, p. 589).

for restrictive tourism development policies, were placed on the right-hand side of the model. Additionally, the perceived future of the community was considered a direct antecedent of residents' support for tourism. Both perceived positive and negative impacts of tourism were placed at the model's centre, mediating the relationship between the antecedent and dependent variables. By observing the measurement items for each variable, we can conclude that antecedent variables are predominately individually focused (i.e. measuring how residents perceived tourism to impact themselves). In contrast, tourism impacts variables are predominately community focused (i.e. measuring how residents perceived tourism to impact the community).

In line with exchange theory, the model conceptualises the resident-tourism exchange process as the more residents perceive as benefitting from tourism, the more likely they perceive tourism impacts more positively and will support additional tourism development (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Sharpley, 2014; Perdue et al., 1990). Notably, the authors appealed to future studies to improve the measurements of the major concepts conceptually and empirically, mainly to clarify the character of the tourism impact statements and improve the existing attitude scales. This appeal was not intended to advise researchers on improving the model; instead, it was an attempt to encourage the thought about the multidimensional premises of perceptions of and responses to tourism impacts. This model foments the idea of differentiating between individual- and community-level tourism impacts and responses; specifically, Perdue et al. (1990) argued that support for tourism development depends on both perceived personal benefits from tourism and the perceived future of the community. Personal benefits from tourism assessed the extent to which the respondent felt 'they would benefit from more tourism development in this community'. On the other hand, the perceived future of the community incorporates one's evaluation of whether 'the future of the town looks bright' (Perdue et al., 1990, p. 592). This suggests that the context of resident-tourism exchange is based on benefits or costs obtained for the services supplied. Residents supported additional tourism development for their community to "satisfy their economic, social, and psychological needs and to improve the community's well-being" (Ap, 1992, p. 669).

The need for a multidimensional conceptualisation of perception and responses to tourism impacts

Resident attitudes toward tourism have been extensively analysed since Perdue et al. (1990) model was published. Despite attempts to provide alternative lenses for studying perceptions and responses to tourism impacts, the prevalence of exchange theory resulted in a very circular research field (Nunkoo et al., 2013; Sharpley, 2014).

For example, Deery et al. (2012) examined the approaches to studying tourism impacts and concluded that the research is "in a state of *arrested development*" (Deery et al., 2012, p. 65, *original emphasis*). They argued that the dominance of exchange theory led to the so-called list approach to tourism impacts that "does not provide insights as to why residents perceive them in a particular way, and hence the opportunity to change perceptions is lost" (Deery et al., 2012, p. 67). Drawing from the organisational culture literature and campaigning for qualitative methods, the authors suggested approaching the examination of resident perceptions of tourism impacts in five layers: each layer related to different social and psychological phenomena intertwined with artefacts, patterns of behaviour, behavioural norms, values, and fundamental assumptions. Similarly, Sharpley (2014) concluded that the resident attitude research was facing a series of challenges because: "the linear, rational process proposed by social exchange theory is in actuality infrequently followed, whilst to ignore the socio-cultural context within which social exchanges occur is to ignore the extrinsic influences on that process" (Sharpley, 2014, p. 45). In much the same vein as Deery et al. (2012), the author emphasised the need for a multidimensional approach to studying resident attitudes towards tourism, particularly highlighting the

greater need for clarifying resident attitudinal and behavioural responses to tourism impacts (Sharpley, 2014).

Nunkoo et al. (2013) and Hadinejad et al. (2019), among others, offered a perspective on the methodological sophistication of the research, concluding that the popularity of multivariate statistical techniques created a trend of theory testing versus theory development (Nunkoo et al., 2013) ultimately resulting in most research being quantitative (Hadinejad et al., 2019). The authors convincingly argued that mixed-methods approaches were more suitable for researching the multidimensional nature of the social experiences and lived realities in tourism destinations. They stressed that “integrating the tools of qualitative and quantitative approaches enables the verification of facts as well as the investigation of complex and multidimensional reality” (Nunkoo et al., 2013, p. 19) and that the combination of objective and subjective analyses would shed light on resident feelings and emotions, an insight-deprived topic (Hadinejad et al., 2019).

García, Vázquez and Macías (2015) and Rasoolimanesh and Seyfi (2021) provided a ‘tour’ through the research field and highlighted the most studied variables from the empirical models on resident attitudes. The authors discussed the limitations of the methods and theories used. Respectively, García et al. (2015) advocated for a new multidimensional framework with the ability to explain the discrepancy in knowledge and lack of logic in results, suggesting that “the impacts of tourism on communities are highly localised in time and place” (p. 39). Also, Rasoolimanesh and Seyfi (2021) suggested exploring how emerging over-tourism and smart tourism drive resident perceptions and reactions to tourism impacts. At the same instance, they called for a better conceptualisation of antecedents to resident perceptions and attitudes, resulting in a unified model with clarified construct measurements (Rasoolimanesh & Seyfi, 2021). Here, further clarification on what is meant by ‘perception’ and ‘attitude’ needs to be made. By definition, perception is “that process by which things, events and relationships become phenomenally ‘here’, ‘now’ and ‘real’” (Hochberg, 1956, p. 401), while the attitude represents “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour” (Eagly and Chaiken 1993, as cited in Eagly and Chaiken, 2007, p. 582). In other words, perception represents one’s ability to interpret, understand or become aware of the impact of tourism, while attitude means a settled way of thinking or feeling about tourism.

The research field was also examined from two perspectives—place change and quality of life, providing alternative theoretical lenses to exchange theory. McKercher et al. (2015) examined the research field from the perspective of place change. They identified a U-shaped curve between place change, attitude change, and destination life cycle, reflecting a negative-positive-negative arch. More importantly, the authors suggested looking at the place “within a touristic context/as/a multifaceted concept that exists at both a personal and community level” and that individuals are affected by tourism “directly, indirectly and ideologically” (McKercher et al., 2015, p. 63). Uysal et al. (2016) examined the field from a quality of life perspective. They observe that “the relationship between tourism impact and quality of life of community residents needs further research and empirical substantiation” (Uysal et al., 2016, p. 257). They identified the field as short-sighted, capturing impacts of tourism on quality of life at the individual level, leaving all other levels (e.g. family, community, regional, country, etc.) empirically attenuated.

Recently, Gursoy et al. (2019) examined the premises of social exchange theory in explaining resident perceptions of tourism impacts and support for tourism development. Using the meta-analysis approach, they discussed the most frequently hypothesised relationships and concluded that social exchange theory offers a robust and credible theoretical framework for tourism. However, they acknowledge that residents have differing views when evaluating whether tourism contributes to the local economy from which they benefit collectively as members of the community or tourism contributes to their personal financial states from which they benefit as individuals. Moreover, they suggest thoroughly examining the perception formation mechanisms through which resident perceptions of positive and negative tourism impacts are influenced by different variables (Gursoy et al., 2019).

In general, the prior commentaries recognise the resident attitude research is unilateral and quantitative in its own right, yet it fails to appreciate that residents perceived impacts or reactions to tourism are not singular or absolute (García et al., 2015; Sharpley, 2014; Gursoy et al., 2019). Moreover, they suggested embracing the multidimensionality of the tourism impacts, the distinction between the impact on the individual and the impact on the community resulting in differing perceptions and reactions (Carmichael, 2000; Madrigal, 1993; Martín et al., 2018). However, the 'how' to distinguish between individual and community perceptions and reactions to tourism has seldom been provided. Therefore, this study will address the issue by studying how perceptions of tourism impacts have been conceptually embedded within various theoretical/empirical models. In maintaining this focus, we aim to offer insights into re-conceptualising the perceptions of and responses to tourism impacts from a multidimensional, i.e. individual- and community-level perspective.

Method

A review of journal papers on resident attitudes towards tourism was undertaken to answer the following research question: How have resident perceptions and responses to tourism impacts been conceptualised and measured vis-à-vis the distinction between individuals and communities? As an initial step for the review, an extensive search was conducted through various electronic databases (i.e. Science Direct, JSTOR, ProQuest, Sage, Emerald, EBSCOhost etc.), using the following keywords: resident attitudes, community attitudes, tourism impacts, host community, resident perceptions, resident reactions to..., community reactions to..., support for tourism, etc. The search resulted in 490 full-length research articles published between 1990 and 2020. Each paper was read, assigned a number, and its core information was entered into an Excel spreadsheet. The latter included general details (e.g. author, year, journal, theoretical/conceptual background, research purpose), sample details (i.e. size, type, location), details on methodology (e.g. independent/dependent variables, response format, type of statistical analysis), and findings. Each paper was re-read to determine if it met the criteria for inclusion in the study. Articles had to be empirical, clearly indicating the theoretical/empirical model, coupled with specifying measurement instruments and key factors of resident attitudes. Many studies included various forms of path analysis and Structural Equation Modelling, which was not surprising due to the popularity of these multivariate statistical techniques since their emergence in the late 2000s (Nunkoo et al., 2013). The papers that did not meet the criteria for inclusion were conceptual articles (for example, Nunkoo et al., 2010; Saarinen, 2006), cluster analysis articles (for example, Sinclair-Maragh et al., 2015; Šegota et al., 2017), qualitative studies (for example, Stewart et al., 2011; Lawton & Weaver, 2015; Shen et al., 2017), and articles that did not specify empirical model and/or measurement instrument (for example, Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000).

Using these parameters, 210 journal papers were included in this analysis. These articles were further analysed to determine how the empirical models were structured and which relationships were tested. Overwhelmingly, most studies conceptually followed the relational framework proposed by Perdue et al. (1990) with various antecedent variables influencing residents perception of tourism impacts which, consequently, influenced responses to tourism. This determined the general analytical framework for aligning the variables into the following categories: antecedent, tourism impact, and dependent variables (see Figure 1). Content analysis was used to code variables and corresponding measurement items into categories, indicating the original study. Ultimately, 44 types of antecedent variables, seven types of tourism impact variables, and 27 types of dependent variables were identified. In our analysis, reinterpreting empirical models as a set of three-variable categories (antecedent variables, tourism impact variables, and dependent variables) led to the identification of resident perceptions and responses to tourism with the

distinction between individual- and community levels. Therefore, the findings are divided into three sections, discussing conceptualisation and measurement issues in each category.

Discussion of the antecedent variables

Our analysis showed that antecedent variables and their measurement items distinguish between individual- and community-level impacts of tourism to a certain extent. Antecedent variables were found to answer how individuals perceive tourism to impact their lives directly or how tourism development shapes the community as a tourism destination. In the following section, we will discuss the most used antecedent variables in the empirical models.

Distinguishing between individual and community characteristics

Our analysis showed that the research distinguishes between demographic and community characteristics, which are essential elements of every study. Both demographic and community characteristics influence how residents perceive tourism impacts. In general, demographic characteristics are used for classifying residents into groups (Deery et al., 2012; Sharpley, 2014; García et al., 2015; Uysal et al., 2016). These characteristics are internal to residents—they represent “characteristics of members of the host community that affect variations in the impacts of tourism within the community” (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p. 6). On the other hand, the research acknowledged characteristics specific to the community, such as seasonality, stage of economic development, type of tourism activities, level of tourism development, etc., were also common antecedents (Sharpley, 2014; García et al., 2015; Uysal et al., 2016). These community characteristics are external to residents and are used to differentiate between communities (Williams & Lawson, 2001) as they represent “characteristics of the location with respect to its role as a tourist destination” (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997, p. 6).

Evolution of personal benefits from tourism

A corpus of empirical research testifies to a direct relationship between personal benefits from tourism and perceptions of tourism impacts. In line with exchange theory, the direct relationship consistently shows how positive perceptions of and support for tourism are affected by resident opinion on whether they personally benefit from tourism (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Perdue et al., 1990; Latkova & Vogt, 2012; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2009; Gursoy et al., 2019). Employment and business opportunities are the most common personal benefits from tourism that influence residents to form positive perceptions of tourism impacts rather than negative ones and exhibit favourable attitudinal responses towards tourism development (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Gursoy et al., 2019). However, our analysis also showed that understanding how perceived personal benefits affect attitudes towards tourism has been primarily shaped by single- or double-item measurements that were too broadly defined and opened possibilities for dubious and inconsistent interpretations of the relationship. Table 1 provides an overview of how 'personal benefits from tourism' evolved from a single- to multi-item measurement construct.

In the above table, most of the initial studies examining the direct relationship between personal benefits from tourism and attitudes towards tourism used either a single- or double-item construct, where personal benefits represent the individual's opinion on whether they would benefit from more tourism development. However, such generalised statements do not reveal what residents perceive as personal benefits or which benefits are more relevant to them (Boley et al., 2018). On the other hand, in more recent studies, which opted for a multi-item measurement approach, personal benefits were examined as an individual's direct economic gains from

Table 1. Descriptive table for “Personal benefits from tourism”.

Study	Type of construct	Construct items	Type of scale	Composite scale quality
Perdue et al. (1990)	Single item	I would benefit from more tourism development in this community.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	n.a.
Kang et al. (1996)	Multi-item	I personally receive economic benefits. I personally receive social benefits. Overall, I benefit from tourism in this town.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree)	$\alpha = 0.87$ VE = 8.2%
Snaith and Haley (1999)*	Single item	Personal employment in tourism industry. Importance of tourism to occupation.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	n.a.
Ko and Stewart (2002)	Double item	Personal employment in tourism industry. Household employment in tourism industry.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	$\alpha = 0.73$
Lee and Back (2003)	Double item	I would benefit from more tourism development in this community. Community would benefit from more tourism development.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	$\alpha = 0.75$
McGehee and Andereck (2004)	Double item	I would benefit from more tourism development in this community. Amount I feel I benefit personally from tourism in my community.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	$\alpha = 0.75$
Haley et al. (2005)*	Single item	Personal employment in tourism industry. Importance of tourism to occupation.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	n.a.
Wang and Pfister (2008)	Multi-item	I personally benefit from the following tourism activities in my community: 1) contributions to the economy; 2) downtown revitalisation; 3) special events and programs; 4) arts and cultural features; 5) shopping and dining choices; 6) recreation opportunity; 7) historic homes; and 8) community services	4-point scale (1 = not at all, 4 = a lot)	$\alpha = 0.90$ VE = 59.1%
Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2009)	Single item	I would benefit from more tourism development in this community.	5-point differential semantic scale	n.a.
Andereck and Nyaupane (2011)	Single item	Amount I feel I benefit personally from tourism in my community.	5-point scale (1 = not at all, 5 = a lot)	n.a.
Latkova and Vogt (2012)	Double item	Personal benefits from current tourism. Personal benefits from more tourism.	5-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	n.a.
Boley et al. (2014)**	Multi-item	Tourism helps me pay my bills. A portion of my income is tied to tourism. I would economically benefit from more tourism development. My family's economic future depends upon tourism.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	CR = 0.87 AVE = 68%
Stylidis and Terzidou (2014)**	Multi-item	I would benefit from more tourism development in this community. My current job is related to tourism. A family member's job is related to tourism.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	CR = 0.84 AVE = 64%

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Type of construct	Construct items	Type of scale	Composite scale quality
Nunkoo and So (2016)	Multi-item	I personally receive cultural benefits. I personally receive economic benefits. I personally receive social benefits.	5-point scale (1 = none, 5 = a lot)	CR = 0.83 AVE = 63%
Rasoolimanesh et al. (2015)**	Multi-item	Increasing the number of visitors in _____ will increase my current household income. A high percentage of my current income comes from the money spent by visitors. Most of the income of the company I work for (or business you own) comes from the tourist trade.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	CR = 0.85 AVE = 66%
Rasoolimanesh et al. (2017)**	Multi-item	Increasing the number of visitors in _____ will increase my current household income. A high percentage of my current income comes from the money spent by visitors. Most of the income of the company I work for (or business you own) comes from the tourist trade.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	Lenggong sample: CR = 0.84 AVE = 65% George Town sample: CR = 0.95 AVE = 88%
Ribeiro et al. (2017)	Multi-item	My family's economic future depends upon tourism in _____. Tourism in _____ help me to pay my bills. I would economically benefit from more tourism in _____. A portion of my household income is tied to tourism.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	$\alpha = 0.91$ CR = 0.90 AVE = 69%
Strzelecka et al. (2017)	Multi-item	Tourism in _____ helps me pay my bills. A portion of my income is tied to tourism in _____. I would economically benefit from more tourism development in _____. My family's economic future depends on tourism in _____. My family will gain economic benefits. My family members will get good jobs. Widen my view of the field and knowledge. The quality of my life will be improved.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	MWE = 0.72 AVE = 57%
Zhu et al. (2017)	Multi-item	My family will gain economic benefits. My family members will get good jobs. Widen my view of the field and knowledge. The quality of my life will be improved.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	CR = 0.90 AVE = 70%
Palardy et al. (2018)**	Multi-item	My neighborhood benefits economically from tourism. New businesses have come into this neighborhood because of tourism. Tourism has increased opportunities for business expansion in this neighborhood.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	CR = 0.83 AVE = 66%

(continued)

Table 1. Continued.

Study	Type of construct	Construct items	Type of scale	Composite scale quality
Boley et al. (2018)	Multi-item	Tourism in _____ helps me pay my bills. A portion of my income is tied to tourism in _____. I would economically benefit from more tourism development in _____. My family's economic future depends on tourism in _____.	Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)	US sample: MWE = 0.90 AVE = 69% Poland sample: MWE = 0.85 AVE = 57%
Garau-Vadell et al. (2019)	Multi-item	This type of tourism benefits me personally. This type of tourism benefits my family or the people closest to me. This type of tourism improves my economic situation.	Likert scale (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree)	$\alpha = 0.83$ CR = 0.89 AVE = 74%
Gannon, Mostafa Rasoolimanesh, and Taheri (2021)**	Multi-item	Increasing the number of visitors in _____ will increase my current household income. A high percentage of my current income comes from the money spent by visitors. Most of the income of the company I work for (or business you own) comes from the tourist trade.	Likert scale (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree)	Tabriz sample: CR = 0.85 AVE = 66% Kashan sample: CR = 0.88 AVE = 71%
Su and Swanson (2020)	Multi-item	The economic benefits that I have gained from tourism development. The environmental benefits that I have gained from tourism development. The social-cultural benefits that I have gained from tourism development.	Likert scale (1 = totally disagree, 5 = totally agree)	$\alpha = 0.91$ CR = 0.91 AVE = 79%

Note: n.a. = not available; α = Cronbach Alpha; CR = Construct Reliability; AVE = Average Variance Extracted; MWE = Maximum Weighted Alpha; VE = Variance explained. *Benefits were measured as resident economic reliance on tourism, with each statement being used as a self-standing measurement item. **Personal benefits from tourism were adapted to Personal economic benefits from tourism.***Personal economic benefits from tourism were adapted to Economic gain.

Source: Authors.

tourism. The economic gains involve personal or family member's employment in tourism and/or the importance of tourism to a person's occupation, income, and household income. As Boley et al. (2014) and Woosnam and Norman (2009) rightly argue, exchange theory has long been considered primarily through economic transactions. With this in mind, Boley et al. (2014) and Styliadis and Terzidou (2014) adapted the construct into direct personal economic benefits from tourism. Unsurprisingly, it was shown that residents who enjoy direct economic benefits from tourism tend to have more positive perceptions of tourism than those who did not perceive they economically benefit from it.

In the light of Woosnam and Norman's (2010, p. 246) critique of exchange theory as theoretically and empirically neglecting other "complex relationships", there have been several efforts to understand how residents perceive other benefits from tourism. Boley et al. (2018) took the first step in that direction. They unified the research in the construct measurement and provided a common starting point towards understanding how residents perceive they economically benefit from tourism. With this, there is more space for future research to focus on examining how

residents perceive other noneconomic benefits and costs from tourism and how these affect their attitudinal and behavioural reactions.

Other studies by Wang and Pfister (2008) and Nunkoo and So (2016) extended personal benefits beyond the economical ones to include cultural and social benefits. Such personal benefits, enriched with social and cultural values, were shown to positively influence perceptions of positive and negative tourism impacts (Nunkoo & So, 2016) and resident support for tourism (Wang & Pfister, 2008; Su & Swanson, 2020). These benefits also explain why residents, who do not get direct economic benefits from tourism, perceive tourism to have positive impacts and support it. Wang and Pfister (2008) proposed tourism activities that could help better understand how residents see they directly benefit from tourism beyond the economic gain. For example, the authors showed that if residents felt they would benefit from special events/programs and downtown revitalisation, they would support tourism development. Similarly, if residents perceived that shopping and dining choices and arts and cultural features would increase with tourism, they would more likely have positive perceptions of tourism (Wang & Pfister, 2008). This demonstrates that personal benefits from tourism extend to “increasing choices for residents and improving waterfront amenities that may be a component of the quality of life in a community” (Wang & Pfister, 2008, p. 92). On the other hand, Nunkoo and So (2016) and Su and Swanson (2020) did not tackle what constituted economic, social, and cultural benefits but used generalised statements to examine structural relationships. Thus, it is fair to observe that personal benefits were broadly defined in these two studies, again opening possibilities for dubious and inconsistent interpretations; however, an initial step was made to deviate the debate from the domination of personal economic benefits from tourism.

The emergence of multidimensional social identification and empowerment constructs

Other individual-level issues with tourism have been examined through a plethora of antecedents, displaying the complexity of the resident-community relationship. Our review resulted in more than 40 antecedent variables; however, there are two research debates we wish to further explore due to experiencing similar issues as in the case of 'personal benefits from tourism'. These debates employ antecedents that vary from how a resident socially identifies with the community to how they perceive having the power to voice their concerns over tourism development.

The first research debate evolved on how perceptions of tourism impacts are shaped by resident attachment to the community (Choi & Murray, 2010; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Gursoy et al., 2010; Lee, 2013; Nicholas et al., 2009; McCool & Martin, 1994; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2015; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017). No consistent relationships have been found between perceptions of tourism impacts and resident attachment to the community. It was hypothesised that residents who are highly attached to their community are more likely to see tourism's positive impacts (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jurowski et al., 1997; Nicholas et al., 2009). But some studies also suggested that highly attached residents perceive tourism less positively (Gursoy et al., 2010; Gu & Ryan, 2008), which contradicts previous results. Even though contradictory results are welcomed as they expose local specificities and open new avenues for research, we need to tackle the question of appropriate conceptualisation. On that note, the construct of community attachment originates from the theory of place attachment that involves different elements of a human-place relationship (e.g. place identity, place dependence, affective attachment, social bonding, place memory, and place expectation) (Chen et al., 2014). Several recent studies (Gannon, Mostafa Rasoolimanesh, and Taheri, 2021; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2017; Su & Swanson, 2020; Tournois & Djerić, 2019) treat the construct as unidimensional. On the other hand, Latkova and Vogt (2012), Lee (2013), Wang and Chen (2015), and Wang et al. (2019) acknowledged that the study of community attachment needs to be approached more rigorously and embraced the

multidimensional nature of the construct. These authors showed that the multifaceted construct of community attachment significantly and directly correlates with perceived positive tourism impacts and support for tourism. More importantly, studies have shown that elements of the human-place relationship play different roles in shaping resident perceptions of and reactions to tourism (Šegota et al., 2022). For example, Wang and Xu (2015) showed that distinctiveness and self-esteem affect residents' perceptions of positive and negative tourism impacts, while efficacy was a better predictor of support for tourism. Similarly, the sense of place was shown to positively influence perceived personal and collective benefits from tourism and support for tourism development (Zhu et al., 2017).

A second notable debate in the resident attitude research evolves around how an individual's power to influence tourism development affects their perceptions and responses to tourism. Researchers have suggested that residents who feel powerful in influencing tourism development are likely to perceive tourism positively, whilst more powerless residents perceive tourism negatively (for example, Boley et al., 2014; Choi & Murray, 2010; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Lee, 2013). However, these studies were not consistent in confirming the significance of the relationships whenever the broader construct of 'power' was used as an antecedent to perceptions and reactions to tourism (Boley et al., 2014; Šegota et al., 2017). Commenting on the resident empowerment construct being too broadly defined and thus open to various interpretations, Boley et al. (2014) suggested distinguishing between its different dimensions—social, psychological, and political. In general, all three empowerment dimensions were shown to have "had direct and significant relationships with resident perceptions of tourism's impacts" (Boley et al., 2014, p. 46). More importantly, throughout different studies, Boley and co-authors (e.g. Maruyama, Woosnam, and Boley et al., 2017; Palardy et al., 2018; Strzelecka et al., 2017) show that empowerment dimensions differently influence the formation of resident perceptions of tourism impacts. For example, social and psychological empowerment were better predictors of resident support for tourism than political empowerment (Strzelecka et al., 2017). Moreover, using a multidimensional measurement scale led to better cross-cultural comparison and a better understanding of why residents support tourism development when they report not having direct economic benefits from tourism (Maruyama et al., 2017).

In conclusion, our analysis of antecedents showed the existence of more than 40 different variables used in resident attitudes studies. Common antecedents include resident and community characteristics, personal benefits from tourism, and different social identification and empowerment constructs. In their own right, these variables are important for individual studies; however, the main issue with those most commonly used antecedents is the lack of agreement on the measurement scale (unidimensional vs multidimensional).

Discussion of the tourism impact variables

The tourism impact variables tend to focus on community-level issues with tourism. These variables answer how an individual perceives tourism to impact collective life in the community and create conditions for community development (Ahn et al., 2002). Similarly, Mc Kercher et al. (2015) observe that the perceived impacts of tourism represent an individual's opinion on different types of place change due to tourism.

Historically, tourism impacts were perceived as either positive or negative (e.g. Andereck and Vogt, 2000; Choi & Murray, 2010; Lee, 2013; Wang and Xu, 2015) or as benefits and costs (Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo, 2015; King et al., 1993; Gursoy et al., 2002). The dichotomous division could be traced back to two seminal studies. First to Perdue et al. (1990) study where tourism impacts were initially classified as positive and negative, and secondly to Lankford and Howard (1994) widely used tourism impact attitude scale where tourism impacts have been initially classified under either concern for local tourism development (i.e. costs) and

personal and community benefits. Over the years, the resident attitude research provided an extensive collection of items to measure perceptions of tourism impacts. Sharpley (2014, p. 42, emphasis in original) rightfully observes that the literature is overwhelmed with a 'tourism perceptions approach', which "tends to describe *what* residents perceive, but does not necessarily explain *why*". The admixture of the sustainability discourse with the resident attitude research extended the classification of tourism impacts into different categories (Mihalič et al., 2016; Gursoy et al., 2019). Our analysis showed that the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental categories were initially established, followed by further categorisation into positive economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts and negative economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. However, these categorisations did not help to clarify the character of the tourism impacts statements, making Perdue et al. (1990) appeal imperceptible. Once more, this testifies to the circular nature of the resident attitudes research, in which a perspective of the universal applicability of measurement scales has been applied to a complex resident-tourism relationship.

Moreover, the review results alluded to two issues originating from coupling impacts and pillars within the tourism-sustainability context. The first issue arises from many studies considering social and cultural tourism impacts under one construct (Prayag et al., 2013; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014; Stylidis et al., 2014; Andereck et al., 2007; Frauman & Banks, 2011). However, the difference between social and cultural impacts needs to be acknowledged. 'Social' impacts relate to activities and services that enhance life in the community, including the development of public services and facilities due to tourism. In contrast, 'cultural' impacts relate to activities and services that bring about traditional cultural structures, including preserving a community's cultural heritage due to tourism (Kim et al., 2013).

The second issue arising from the tourism-sustainability context is the unanimous alignment of tourism impacts between constructs. The research is inconsistent in attributing measurements across economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts, subject to a methodological approach or theoretical framework. For example, increased quality of public services due to tourism has been perceived as both an economic impact (Harrill & Potts, 2003; Long & Kayat, 2011; Pappas, 2008) and a socio-cultural impact (Kuvan & Akan, 2012; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2009). Similarly, crowding, protection of historic buildings, and pollution were perceived as environmental (Andereck et al., 2007; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2009; Stylidis & Terzidou, 2014; Stylidis et al., 2014) and socio-cultural impacts (Dyer et al., 2007; Frauman & Banks, 2011; Gursoy et al., 2010). These cross-alignments of tourism impacts may reduce noise and variance; however, they create additional confusion about which impacts are most representative of each construct.

Our analysis showed that the tourism-sustainability coupling discussed above resulted in building 'the list' and adding more tourism impacts over the years instead of providing a better understanding of which impacts from 'the list' affect residents personally and which impacts are felt collectively. There is a lack of studies that make this distinction and a lack of studies that have examined how tourism affects individuals apart from having economic gains (i.e. personal economic benefits from tourism). One of the reasons for the lack of such studies could be traced back to conceptually misinterpreting the initial empirical model by Perdue et al. (1990). To reiterate, the authors called for better clarification of the character of the tourism impacts statements, which are still left unheard. For example, some communities may suffer from overcrowding, and their residents may express dissatisfaction with the development and presence of tourism because they are irritated. However, they may also not have experienced overcrowding because they do not visit the affected overcrowded areas for some reason. The latter could be because the affected area is far from where they do their business, a place they have no interest in visiting, or they avoid visiting it during the peak tourist season. Moreover, overcrowding is an old, new phenomenon that has been around since mass tourism was criticised and is becoming relevant again with the rise of overtourism (Mihalič, 2020). For now, overcrowding still means

excessive tourism density or intensity (physical), which irritates residents because of congestion and the associated negative impacts on the economic, socio-cultural, natural, psychological and political environment (Mihalič, 2020). Overtourism is seen as irresponsible tourism that does not pay attention to the socio-psychological capacities of residents, which is reflected in their negative perceptions and attitudes towards tourism. Knowledge of its relevance for individuals or communities remains limited and unexplored.

Discussion of the dependent variables

The dependent variables represent resident responses to tourism. They answer whether residents oppose or support tourism, its development or tourism-related policies, and how they behave in relation to tourism. Our analysis showed that the resident attitudes research mostly surveyed attitudinal responses to tourism, while behavioural responses have been largely neglected.

More specifically, our analysis showed that responses to tourism had been predominately measured by surveying residents on whether they support or oppose tourism development. In reflection on Perdue et al.'s (1990) model, the 'support for additional tourism development' has evolved from a single item to a multi-item construct (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Choi & Murray, 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Lee, 2013; Boley et al., 2014; Nunkoo et al., 2012). The construct includes residents' opinions on tourism's vital role in and importance to community development, its economic power as an industry, its promises and help in the community's future and growth, and if its positive benefits outweigh the costs. Similarly, 'support for tourism' evolved into an ultimate dependent variable, but the research exhibited inconsistency in its measurement—it ranged from a single-item construct to double-item to multi-item, similar to the case of antecedent variables. To unite and uniform the research in its take on this dependent variable, Boley and Strzelecka (2016) proposed a universal measurement of 'support for tourism.' The universal measure consisted of four items that reflected individual's beliefs that tourism should be actively encouraged, supported and remained important to the community, their opinion on whether the community should remain a tourist destination and whether the community should support the promotion of tourism (Boley & Strzelecka, 2016, p. 241). Additionally, many studies were interested in examining resident support for specific tourism planning and development, such as nature-based tourism (Jurowski et al., 1997), gambling (Chen & Hsu, 2001; Kang et al., 1996; Kwan, 2004; Perdue et al., 1999), hunting (MacKay & Campbell, 2004), mega-events (Gursoy & Kendall, 2006; Sharma & Dyer, 2009; Pappas, 2014; Vetitnev & Bobina, 2017; Oshimi et al., 2016; Chen & Tian, 2015), cultural tourism (Gursoy et al., 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Sharma & Dyer, 2009), and mass tourism (Gursoy et al., 2010; Garau-Vadell et al., 2019), to name a few. Specific tourism policies initially proposed by Perdue et al. (1990), such as restrictions on tourism development and the introduction of special tourism taxes, remain largely unexplored (Ahn et al., 2002; Latkova & Vogt, 2012).

However, in addition to knowing how and when residents declare their support for or opposition to tourism, our understanding of residents' other coping mechanisms and reactions to tourism is somewhat limited (Carmichael, 2000; Sharpley, 2014; Jordan et al., 2015; Martín et al., 2018). The prevalence of the planning approach in the resident attitudes research has predominately focused on surveying residents about tourism being a reliable tool for improving life in the community. If and when asked to voice their opinion, residents are willing to do so (Šegota et al., 2017; Lawton & Weaver, 2015; Hung et al., 2011). However, declarative support for tourism is different from behavioural reactions: a resident can declare to support tourism in the community, but they may avoid tourists, not engage in any tourist activity in their community or even leave the community in the hype of the tourist season (Palmer et al., 2013). Understanding how residents behave about tourism opens new avenues of research, which the existing studies have largely ignored. Indeed, by exploring the attitudes-behaviour relationship, Carmichael (2000, p.

604) has demonstrated that residents with negative perceptions of tourism showed “resigned acceptance”—that is, residents with a negative perception of tourism accept tourism as a part of the community development and their behaviour towards tourism-related activities is very passive. Carmichael (2000) also proposed three additional attitude-behaviour combinations: active-positive (e.g. aggressively promoting support for tourism), active-negative (e.g. aggressively opposing tourism), and passive-positive (e.g. passively agreeing with and accepting tourism), which still need empirical validation (Sharpley, 2014). Moreover, tourism was shown to cause stress for individuals and communities (Jordan et al., 2019; Jordan et al., 2021). Jordan and his co-authors discuss how community-wide influence induces individual-level stress and coping mechanisms. In conclusion, the research field is yet to tackle how resident perceptions of tourism influence their attitudinal and behavioural responses (Palmer et al., 2013; Sharpley, 2014; Martín et al., 2018), especially with distinction to individual-level and community-level impacts of tourism.

Future research directions on tourism perceptions

This section aims to map three future research directions connected to the individual- and community-level perceptions and reactions to tourism. They derive from our argument that residents perceive the direct impacts of tourism differently than the impacts on the community and that residents’ attitudinal and behavioural reactions to tourism differ. Therefore, these directions illustrate how conceptually distinguishing between individual- and community-level tourism impacts can be systematically applied to study resident attitudes towards tourism and motivate future research to better understand the attitudinal and behavioural responses.

Future research directions for antecedent variables of tourism perceptions

The seminal exchange model by Perdue et al. (1990) introduced the personal benefits from tourism as the antecedent to resident perceptions of tourism. As we observed, this particular antecedent variable has evolved from a single to a multi-item measurement. However, most of its applications were built on the economic perspective of the resident-tourism relationship, where personal economic benefits are assumed to be the most common type of benefits individuals would have from tourism. However, at the individual level, as Wang and Pfister (2008) showed, benefits originating from tourism are not strictly economic but include social and cultural ones. Therefore, theoretical lenses that could help understand the motivation behind people’s engagement in economic activities such as tourism should go beyond the exchange theory. For example, Weber’s theory of formal and substantive rationality is one such theory that recognises rationality as having a spectrum (Boley et al., 2014), on which people’s motivation to engage in tourism may include economic but social and cultural benefits. This is not to say that the exchange theory has been wrongfully used in the resident attitude studies, but to emphasise its misinterpretation as focusing predominately on the economic gains from tourism. Future research should address questions of what other impacts of tourism exist from increasing choices for residents based on the community’s tourism development, how are these felt directly by an individual or their family, and how are these transformed into social and cultural benefits? Here, we propose future research to use the so-called ‘list of tourism impacts’ (Deery et al., 2012) as a resource for identifying direct tourism impacts on the individual. For example, ‘the list’ can help identify the most tourism-related activities residents engage in. To illustrate, an increase in entertainment, shopping, and restaurant opportunities is an impact from the list that could help identify how and to what extent individuals directly use these infrastructures and services. Future research should look at methodologies more suitable for identifying and analysing such

interrelated activities—a suggestion, modifying the importance-performance analysis tool to suit the needs of resident attitudes research.

On the other hand, the increase in the availability of recreational areas due to tourism, one of the items on the list, could serve as a starting point to examine whether an individual uses a hotel gym or swimming pool. In this vein, the economic theory of value may serve as a starting point to conceptually challenge what constitutes the core of the resident-tourism exchange. Tourism economic scholars emphasise that resources shared between residents and tourists should be looked at from the use and nonuse value (Dwyer et al., 2010; Dwyer et al., 2016). The value attributed to community resources that form the core of the resident-tourism relationship would determine how residents perceive tourism and accept it as a means of community development (Nunkoo, 2016). However, from our research in the tourism literature, studies that bring understanding to how residents value community resources and how that affects perceptions of and reactions to tourism are scarce. Although the valuation of community resources has been discussed in some studies (see Boley et al., 2017; Frauman & Banks, 2011), the differentiation between the use and nonuse value and how these affect perceptions and reactions to tourism impacts are overlooked. Similar to the observations by Rasoolimanesh et al. (2019), we argue that residents perceive tourism impacts differently by using or not using community resources, consequently influencing their responses to tourism.

Future research directions for perceptions of tourism impacts

Future research on how residents perceive tourism to impact life in the community should address the tourism impact statements' polarisation, categorisation, and character. We acknowledge that tourism impacts are cross-dimensional throughout a community and are not firmly lodged in any category. Moreover, we also recognise that many tourism impacts are intangible and thus difficult to measure. For example, measuring residents' opinions on whether they believe tourism results in tax revenue from tourism services is relatively straightforward, measuring satisfaction with the quality of public services is harder, and measuring the impact of tourism on the destruction of the natural environment is the hardest. For each of these impacts, we know that, when monetised, the number is not zero and that tourism impacts are often longer-term, making them more challenging to relate to the current community state. Nevertheless, future research in this area should address questions like:

Q1. How do individuals perceive tourism to worsen or improve life in the community?

Q2. How are community-level perceptions of tourism impacts connected to how individuals value different community resources?

Q3. How and why do perceptions of tourism impacts change across time and space, how do these changes transform into benefits and costs, and how do residents make trade-offs?

Finding answers to the first and second questions is essential for understanding how and why residents perceive tourism impacts positively or negatively. The nonuse value of having tourism to improve the community is very significant. In addition, not having tourism as the dominant economic activity would result in some other industry taking its place, which could reverse the positive impacts felt by the presence of tourism. Hence, a resident might value preserving the option to develop the community as a future tourism destination instead of opening the door for some less desirable industry (e.g. manufacturing, mining, gambling or textiles, apparel, and leather industry) (Marsiglio, 2015). One of the most pressing issues is that most resident attitudes studies have not been keen on reporting or further investigating how residents value different resources and how the latter impacts their perceptions of and reactions to tourism.

Furthermore, identifying the direction of tourism impacts and understanding how residents value environmental, social, cultural, and economic community resources requires methodologic boldness that exceeds some quantitative methods that dominate the research field (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Lastly, finding answers to the third question will help us understand why residents do not perceive some negative tourism impacts as highly problematic but rather accept them as “part of the price of remaining in a tourism destination” (McKercher et al., 2015, p. 63). Such a perspective uncovers structural, social, and behavioural interdependencies between residents and tourism.

Future research directions for responses to tourism

Individual-level impacts are more closely related to directly experienced effects, while community-level impacts are more related to indirect effects. These will yield different responses to tourism. For example, the individual-level reactions to tourism are behavioural in nature (Camichael, 2000; Sharpley, 2014). Therefore, by identifying individual-level impacts of tourism, future research in this area should first analyse how individuals engage with tourism intentionally and unintentionally and/or when and why they decide not to have any contact with tourism. For residents with personal economic benefits from tourism, their encounters with tourists are intentional and based on commercial exchange (Sharpley, 2014). As such, expecting such encounters to yield nothing less than positive attitudes towards tourism and support for tourism would be inevitable. Yet, resident behaviour is not singular and absolute, meaning that residents change between being passive and active. For example, many residents that economically benefit from tourism might support tourism but refuse to engage with tourists outside of the workplace. One of the reasons could be that they do not have time for intentional, uncommercially motivating interactions. Future research should also identify when and why these changes occur.

Second, once a community becomes a tourist destination, it is difficult for residents to completely sidestep experiencing or forming an opinion on any positive and negative impacts of tourism, regardless of the effects felt. By distinguishing between attitudinal and behavioural responses to tourism, future research should address questions such as how important are individual- and community-level impacts to residents; which trade-offs residents are willing to make, and how do these trade-offs manifest in resident declarative support/opposition to tourism and engagement/avoidance of tourism? For example, a resident might consider an increase in tax from renting their private accommodation to tourists (i.e. individual-level cost) in favour of restoring historic buildings and conserving natural resources financed from the tax revenue (i.e. community-level benefit). These trade-offs are complex and interrelated; thus, future research should employ survey designs based on choice modelling, contingent ranking, matrices, or contingent valuation that may be more appropriate for measuring the difference of importance in the levels of impacts as opposed to conventional attitudinal surveys (Boley et al., 2017; Epstein & Rejc Buhovac, 2014). Moreover, coupling passive/active behaviour with support/opposition to tourism could perhaps result in a roadmap with scenarios that link the perception of individual- and community-level impacts of tourism to (dis)engagement in tourism-related activities and (non)usability of tourism-related resources.

Conclusion

The first aim of this paper was to conceptualise resident perception of and reaction to individual-level and community-level tourism impacts. This was done by reviewing the existing theoretical/empirical models published between 1990 and 2020. The provided overview of how the perceptions of and reactions to tourism impacts have been conceptualised and measured vis-à-vis the distinction between individuals and communities showed fragmented conceptualisation

and operationalisation of measurement items and variables, indicating a need for better understanding and systematisation of the prevalent exchange theory itself. The differentiation between individual- and community-level impacts of tourism seems to be explicitly incorporated in the exchange model of Perdue et al. (1990) and recognised by many previous commentaries on the state of the research. However, most studies still treat how an individual reacts to tourism in connection to perceived direct tourism impact to their life and life in a community as unidimensional and static. In general, the research field has theoretically over-relied on the social exchange theory to countlessly explain that individuals who perceive to have benefited from tourism would exhibit more favourable attitudes towards tourism (Sharpley, 2014). If, according to Gursoy et al. (2019), the exchange is the key to study the attitudes, future research needs to move beyond the focus on the unidimensional relationship between perceived impacts and attitudes because this leads to either accumulating conceptualisations or empirically testing these conceptualisations with methods that are not suitable for the study of highly interdependent and complex social phenomenon like a resident-tourism relationship.

The second contribution of this paper is three specific directions for future research. These three directions are connected to three sets of variables (i.e. antecedent variables, tourism impact variables, and dependent variables) that were mapped against the relational structures pioneeringly proposed by Perdue et al. (1990). While the proposed future directions may only scratch the surface of a very complex and highly interrelated relationship between residents and tourism, it is believed that they provide with sufficiently structured and provoking compass for future researchers that are willing to challenge existing perspectives and measurements to study resident attitudes towards tourism. Pursuing these three research directions is merely a more structured start to answering Perdue et al. (1990) and Ap's (1992) questions of how residents support tourism in connection to how they perceive to benefit from it both individually and collectively. The proposed directions should further advance the application of the exchange theory in studying the complex resident-tourism relationship by integrating a new perspective of differentiating between perceived individual- and community-level tourism impacts. In addition, the proposed directions call for a more comprehensive distinction between attitudinal and behavioural responses to tourism. Attitudinal reactions represent declarative support for tourism because a resident can declare to support tourism in the community. However, they may avoid tourists, not engage in any tourist activity in their community or even leave the community in the hype of the tourist season. The latter examples represent behavioural responses, which remain largely ignored.

This review paper is not without limitations. The academic literature review study is viewed as an observational study of the evidence (Egger & Smith, 2001; Snyder, 2019). It is focused on a specific research question that needs identifying, selecting, assessing, and summarising the finding of similar but separate studies (Eden et al., 2011). Identification and selection criteria often relate to reporting biases: e.g. publishing bias, time-lag bias, multiple publication bias, language bias, outcome reporting bias, etc. (Egger et al., 2001). This paper is subject to a few biases that we see as limitations and need further clarification. In this case, language bias was considered not only from the aspect of publishing but also from the aspect of authors' limited language proficiency. For this reason, papers published in languages other than English were excluded from this study. Time-lag bias was also considered when selecting papers, as we included articles published from 1990 to 2020, also considering that published 'online first' in the year 2020. Finally, to control for multiple single-study outcomes as much as possible, the authors documented sample details for each study to avoid unwitting duplication. In addition, one might claim that only specific keywords were used in the data collection process and that many quality research papers were excluded from the analysis because they were not quantitative studies. Therefore, future research that aims to be an observational study of the evidence might address these limitations as follows: (1) invite authors with other than English language proficiency and hence consider resident attitudes studies published in other languages (i.e. Spanish, German,

Mandarin etc.), (2) expand the keywords used in data collection beyond those used in this review paper, such as tourism development, local perception, stakeholder perception etc., (3) include other than quantitative articles, such as conceptual articles cluster analysis articles, qualitative studies, and articles that did not specify empirical model and/or measurement instrument, and (4) extend the publication period observed to include the papers published before 1990 and after 2020.

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