

Local Residents and Tourists: A Symbiotic Partnership

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Abstract

Due to the burgeoning amount of (international) tourists travelling on a global scale, understanding local residents' perceptions of tourists (and vice-versa), has been subject to much debate and research by practitioners and researchers. As a contribution to tourism impact research, this paper systematically conducts a review process, synthesizing the research outcomes on local residents' perceptions of tourists and tourism, as well as tourists' perceptions of local residents, and presenting new implications and avenues for further research. Local residents had a predominantly positive view on tourists when it came to economic impacts, without a dominant consensus for socio-cultural impacts and predominantly negative for environmental impacts. Local resident impacts on a tourist was a far less researched area, but revealed a dominantly positive impact. Local residents and tourists are in a symbiotic partnership, but future research is needed on what specific type of role local residents play to (which specific type of) tourists, how to combat overtourism and touristification at destinations for the benefit of both tourists and local residents, as well as understanding the dynamics of a tourist piercing the veil to achieve 'backstage authenticity' at a destination.

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1. Introduction

According to the UN World Tourism Organization, there has been an unprecedented growth of (inter)national tourism in recent years, reaching 1.4 billion international arrivals in 2018, two years ahead of forecasts (UN World Tourism Organization, 2019). This has undoubtedly brought cause for celebrations, as tourism has been earmarked to positively contribute to a host of economic benefits, such as foreign exchange, attraction of international investments, increase in tax revenues as well as creating additional employment opportunities (e.g., Alam & Paramati, 2016; Comerio & Strozzi, 2018; Ko & Stewart, 2002).

With such an influx of tourists, however, a series of issues have been highlighted by media, practitioners and researchers alike. Issues such as overcrowding and overtourism, sustainability of destinations, and displaced locals who feel a loss of ownership of their home area (e.g., Almeida García et al., 2015; Asmelash & Kumar, 2019; Santana-Jiménez & Hernández, 2011; Seraphin et al., 2018; Wassler & Kirillova, 2019).

This has recently led to several dramatic proposals and responses to deal with the ‘tourism crisis’, where local residents have voiced their frustrations –taking to the streets in protest and performing virulent acts of vandalism (Seraphin et al., 2018). In Barcelona, the annual municipal survey has also revealed that for several years, tourism has been identified as the most significant problem for Barcelonans (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2017). Government and municipal responses have ranged from cutting cruise ship arrivals and limiting airport expansions in Barcelona, banning tourist buses in the city centre of Paris, limiting daily visitors and installing cameras across the city of Dubrovnik, capping the amount of days per year locals can rent out their residences via Airbnb in Copenhagen, to installing checkpoints where only locals are allowed to pass through in Venice (e.g., Abend, 2018; De Clercq, 2019; Kirby, 2017; Ledsom, 2019).

While many of these responses have been formulated with local residents and enterprises primarily in mind, it is imperative to point out that these issues also bear pertinence to tourists themselves, as they face an ever-more challenging quest to encounter meaningful, unique and authentic experiences. To rapidly adapt to the burgeoning amount of tourists, many destinations have started to offer similar tourism services and products (hop-on hop-off tour buses, Segway tours, franchise restaurants and stores, etc.), resulting in inauthentic experiences created by an artificially constructed reality of a place, benefitting the destination more than the tourist (Ryan, 2010). These artificially constructed realities have been termed as ‘McDisneyfied’ destinations (Ritzer & Liska, 1997), contrived in order to sell itself to tourists, and not to reflect local culture and values. This signifies that should destinations even curb their tourism numbers to more sustainable levels, Destination Management Organizations (DMO’s) must still ensure that tourists will have the possibility to experience authentic journeys in order to increase satisfaction (Hui, Wan, & Ho, 2007), receive personal and unexpected experiences (Park & Santos, 2016), increase quality-of-life (Cecil, Fu, Wang, & Avgoustis, 2010; Moscardo, 2009), and augment intent to (re)visit (Niininen, Szivas, & Riley, 2004).

DMO’s have long understood the value of community support when sustainably growing a destination, not only for approving expansion of tourism capacities and attractions, but also for providing a skilled workforce to work in the tourism industry, as well as to augment the tourists’ experiences of their trip. DMO’s and municipal governments are also increasingly under pressure to ensure creating a sustainable destination where local residents can live without being subject to a host of negative economic, sociocultural and environmental impacts (Almeida García et al., 2015), e.g., price hikes in the housing market (Barron, Kung, & Proserpio, 2019), overcrowding & overtourism (Peeters et al., 2018; Santana-Jiménez & Hernández, 2011) and traffic congestion (Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007).

Research has seen a steady stream of publishing activity regarding resident attitudes towards tourism (see: Almeida García et al., 2015; Lawson, Williams, Young, & Cossens, 1998). Oppositely, research on tourists' behavior and preferences is abundant with studies ranging from classical destination preferences – such as different culture experiences, safety, convenient transportation, accommodation and food, attractions, price, image and products & services (e.g. Chen & Dogan, 2001; Hui, Wan, & Ho, 2007; Ryan, 2010; Xu, 2010), to more advanced experiential preferences, such as co-creation experiences betwixt tourism provider and tourist, involvement theory and gaze theory (e.g. Buonincontri, Morvillo, Okumus, & van Niekerk, 2017; Ryan, 2010; Wassler & Kirillova, 2019). As a tourist's perception of their trip is a holistic experience (Park & Santos, 2016), it is understandable that local residents are seen as a single element of the tourism product, and therefore specific research on tourists' attitudes towards locals (and their overall importance to the holistic experience) is limited.

As the increasingly important symbiotic relationship between local residents and tourists becomes apparent, a review of existing literature of these two specific actors and their interrelationships would clearly aid in condensing research outcomes to better chart the current state of the field, and to identify areas for future research (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). In the context of this literature review, a local resident is meant by a resident living in the destination, and does not necessarily work in the tourist/service industry.

This literature review will contribute to the field of tourism research in 3 aspects: (1) harness a clearer understanding of the interdependencies between tourists and local residents (and not only the effect tourists and tourism has on local residents); (2) Synthesize and gain new perspectives (Randolph, 2009) by mapping the relative importance local residents play in the overall holistic experience of a tourist's trip; (3) highlight ambiguous and unambiguous findings (Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2018) in order to provide insights for DMO's and researchers on understanding the affiliation between local resident and tourist.

2. Literature Review

In order to best carry out a review of the literature pertaining to the interdependencies between residents and tourists, Cooper's taxonomy (1988) of literature reviews was utilized. The framework has been used previously for literature reviews in the experience economy (e.g. Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2018) and aids in condensing research outcomes by identifying four main characteristics: focus, goal, coverage and organization.

Table 1. Literature Review Framework

<p>Focus: This review will focus on research outcomes, as this will “help identify a lack of information on a particular research outcome, thus establishing a justifiable need for an outcome study” (Randolph, 2009, p.2).</p> <p>Goal: To map the current research landscape (Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2018), in order to classify central and thematic issues, as well as to discuss and identify implications for future research.</p> <p>Coverage: The tourism realm has changed rapidly due to globalization and emerging markets, so the amount of academic research concerning local residents and tourists has naturally increased as well. Although seminal papers were not foregone, a cut-off point from the year 2000 was deemed beneficial, in order to extrapolate relevant information. Published articles and book (chapters) were only accepted in English for this review.</p> <p>Organization: This review follows the conceptual approach, in order to identify central theories and concepts, rather than displaying studies in the field chronologically (Dragin-Jensen & Kwiatkowski, 2018).</p>

The review has compiled articles concerning the interdependencies on local residents and tourists (Table 2 and 3). In accordance with previous literature, the impacts of tourism/tourists on local residents have been identified into three overlying themes, namely economic, sociocultural and environmental (Almeida García et al., 2015; Hadinejad, Moyle, Scott, Kralj, & Nunkoo, 2019). Local resident impact on tourists has been segmented by direct and indirect host-tourist interactions.

The results are presented thematically, firstly the tourist effects on local residents, followed by local residents' effect on tourists. The final section provides a discussion and identifies implications of the aforementioned effects, as well as avenues for future research.

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Table 2. Research Outcomes: Tourist impact on local residents

Domain	Impact	Author(s)
Economic Impacts		
Employment Opportunities	+	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011), Andereck et al. (2005), Andriotis (2005), Andriotis & Vaughan (2003), Besculides et. al.(2002), Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Chen (2000), Diedrich & García (2009), Dyer et al. (2007), Gursoy et al. (2002), Horn & Simmons (2002), Jackson (2008), Látková & Vogt (2012), Mason & Cheyne (2000), McGehee & Andereck (2004), Muler Gonzalez, Coromina, & Galí (2018), Sánchez Cañizares, Nuñez Tabales, & Fuentes Garcia (2014) Saveriades (2000), Yoon et al. (2001),
Living Standards	+	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011), Andereck et al. (2005), Saveriades (2000),
Community infrastructure/facilities	+	Andereck et al. (2005), Mason & Cheyne (2000), Sánchez Cañizares, Nuñez Tabales, & Fuentes Garcia (2014), Saveriades (2000), Yoon et al. (2001),
Opportunity to negotiate business environments	+	Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Chen (2000), Dyer et al. (2007), Yoon et al. (2001)
Quality of life of residents	+	McGehee & Andereck (2004)
Quality of life of residents	+/-	Liang & Hui (2016), Su, Huang & Huang (2018)
Seasonality of the industry	-	Bujosa & Roselló (2007)
Seasonality of the industry	+/-	Bimonte & Faralla (2016)
Increases cost of living	-	Bujosa & Roselló (2007), McGehee & Andereck (2004), Muler Gonzalez, Coromina, & Galí (2018), Saveriades (2000), Jackson (2008)
Increase cost of housing/land	-	Saveriades (2000), Jackson (2008), Martín, Martínez & Fernández (2018)
Income Inequality	-	Alam & Paramati (2016), Teye, Sirakaya & Sönmez (2002)
Socio-cultural Impacts		
Opportunities for leisure activities	+	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011), Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Gursoy et al. (2002), Yoon et al. (2001),
Services offered by community	+	Andereck et al. (2005), Andriotis (2005), Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Sánchez Cañizares, Nuñez Tabales, & Fuentes Garcia (2014)
Maintaining and preserving historical sites	+	Andereck et al. (2005), Muler Gonzalez, Coromina, & Galí (2018), Yoon et al. (2001),
Civic pride and cultural identity	+	Andereck et al. (2005), Besculides et. al.(2002), Yoon et al. (2001),
Host-tourist interaction: Exchange between locals and tourists	+	Besculides et. al.(2002), Dyer et al. (2007), Eusébio, Vieira & Lima (2018), Luo, Brown & Huang (2015) Jackson (2008), Thyne, Lawson & Todd (2006), Ismail, Alipiah, Manso & Syukri (2018), Yoon et al. (2001),
Host-tourist interaction: Exchange between locals and tourists	-	Teye, Sirakaya & Sönmez (2002), Thyne, Lawson & Todd (2006)
Increases cultural activities	+	Chen (2000), Yoon et al. (2001),
Political Trust	+	Nunkoo (2015)
Perceived life satisfaction/happiness	+/-	Bimonte & Faralla (2016), Okulicz-Kozaryn & Strzelecka (2017)
Perceived life satisfaction/happiness	+	Lin, Chen & Filieri (2017)
Traffic congestion	-	Andereck et al. (2005), Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Dyer et al. (2007), Mason & Cheyne (2000), McGehee & Andereck (2004)
Crime	-	Andereck et al. (2005), Diedrich & García (2009)
Increase in drug usage	-	Diedrich & García (2009), Saveriades (2000),
Tourist behaviour	+/-	Armenski, Dragičević, Pejović, Lukić, & Djurdjev (2011)
Type of tourist (mass foreign tourism)	-	Andriotis (2005), Martínez-Garcia, Raya, & Majó (2017)
Community satisfaction	+	Ko & Stewart (2002)
Social disruption	-	Andriotis (2005), Jackson (2008), Teye, Sirakaya & Sönmez (2002)
Building short/long term relationships	+/-	Sinkovics & Penz (2009)
Environmental Impacts		
Preserves natural resources	+	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011), Andereck et al. (2005),
Overcrowding and congestion (also a socio-cultural impact)	-	Andereck et al. (2005), Andriotis (2005), Bujosa & Roselló (2007), Egresi (2018) Muler Gonzalez, Coromina, & Galí (2018), Peeters et al. (2018), Teye, Sirakaya & Sönmez (2002), Seraphin, Sheeran & Pilato (2018), Yoon et al. (2001)
Improves appearance of destination	+	Andereck et al. (2005), Oviedo-Garcia, Castellanos-Verdugo & Martin-Ruiz (2008)
Pollution/Waste	-	Andereck et al. (2005), Andriotis (2005) McGehee & Andereck (2004), Yoon et al. (2001),

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Table 3. Research Outcomes: Local resident impact on tourists

Domain	Impact	Author(s)
Direct Host-Tourist Interaction Impact		
Tourist satisfaction (friendliness of locals)	+	Andriotis, Agiomirgianakis & Mihiotis (2008),
Tourist satisfaction (welcome and acceptance by local residents)	+	Vajčnerová, Žižar, Ryglová, & Andráško (2014)
Tourist satisfaction (social interactions with locals)	+	Valle, Guerreiro, Mendes & Silva (2011)
Well-being (friendliness of locals)	+	Reitsammer & Brunner-Sperdin (2015)
Memorable tourism experience	+/-	Park & Santos (2016)
Rewarding experiences	+	Unger, Fuchs & Uriely (2019)
Social relationship	+	Pizam, Uriely & Reichel (2000)
Non-tourism related services	+	Nyapuane, Teye & Paris (2008)
Emotional Solidarity	+	Woosnam & Aleshinloye (2013)
Attitude change (intercultural interactions)	+	Yu & Lee (2014)
Willingness to help tourists	+	Tung (2019)
Indirect Host-Tourist Interaction Impact		
Destination image	+/-	Freire (2009), Hui & Wan (2003)
Tourist destination loyalty	+	Nam, Kim & Hwang (2016), Eusébio & Carneiro (2012)
Word-of-mouth intentions	+	Nam, Kim & Hwang (2016), Murphy (2001)
Co-creation	+	Bertella, Cavicchi & Bentini (2018) , Richards (2010), Richards & Marques (2012)
Conviviality and everyday-life (observations) of locals	+	Maitland (2008) Maitland (2010)
Local Gaze	-	Maoz (2006) Tasci & Severt (2016)
Local Gaze	+/-	Wassler & Kirillova (2019), McGregor (2000)

When synthesizing the literature, it is apparent that far more research exists pertaining to measuring tourists' effect on local residents than vice-versa (and table 2. is not an exhaustive compilation of academic literature), thus further highlighting the paucity of research on how local residents directly impact tourists. The two dimensions will be analyzed in greater detail in the following section.

3. Tourists' effect on local residents

From a bird's eye view, local residents' attitudes and perceptions are generally positive towards tourists and tourism development. Much of this can be explained to the economic benefits they can reap, such as employment opportunities, heightening living standards and gaining opportunities to influence the business environment (e.g., Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Diedrich & García, 2009; Gursoy et al., 2002, Látková & Vogt, 2012; Muler Gonzalez et al., 2018). Moreover, tourism also offered possibilities to improve community infrastructure and facilities for the benefit of locals (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Saveriades, 2000; Yoon et al., 2001). There were some contrasting effects, however, with regards to economic impacts. Despite the apparent positive impact on living standards and community infrastructures, several studies (e.g., Jackson, 2008; Martín et al., 2018; McGehee & Andereck, 2004) also noted a negative impact with an increase in cost of living and increase in cost of housing/land, further exacerbated by an increase in income inequality (Alam & Paramati, 2016). There were mixed results with regards to (economic) quality of life of the local residents (Liang & Hui, 2016; McGehee & Andereck, 2004), as well as the seasonality of the industry (Bimonte & Faralla, 2016; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007), where both positive and negative impacts were noted. The duality of the results regarding seasonality intuitively makes sense, as locals are aware that tourism is a driver of the local economy, but also inherently serves as a factor impeding on aspects of everyday life – particularly during the tourist season (Bimonte & Faralla, 2016). This also ties into quality of life, as resident attitudes towards quality of life depended on “whether they perceive the community as a place for earning a living or a place to live” (Liang & Hui, 2016, p. 56).

There appears no consensus on whether there was a dominantly positive or negative perception of socio-cultural impacts, something which bears of great relevance of this review, as the task was to harness a clearer understanding of the interdependencies between tourists and local residents. Studies found a positive trait in tourists and tourism increasing opportunities for local residents to partake in leisure and cultural activities (e.g., Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Chen, 2000; Gursoy et al., 2002; Yoon et al., 2001), as well as increasing beneficial services offered by the community (e.g., Andriotis, 2005; Sánchez Cañizares et al., 2014). Local residents also valued that tourism can help maintain and preserve historical sites (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Muler Gonzalez et al., 2018; Yoon et al., 2001), as well as provide positive benefits in generating civic pride, cultural identity and community satisfaction (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Besculides et al., 2002, Ko & Stewart, 2002). Much like the economic benefit of being able to influence the business environment, another positive benefit was the generation of political trust – more specifically, if the “tourism sector is properly managed and developed, it can have beneficial political effects for governments such as increasing their legitimacy vis-à-vis citizens” (Nunkoo, 2015, p. 623). While several studies revealed a negative impact with regards to host-tourist interactions and (cultural) exchanges (e.g., Teye et al., 2002; Thyne et al., 2006), the majority of the studies revealed a positive impact (e.g., Dyer et al., 2007; Eusébio et al., 2018; Ismail et al., 2018; Luo et al., 2015). Interestingly enough, the type of tourist also seemed to matter with regards to socio-cultural impacts, cross-cultural exchanges and building short-term relationships (e.g., Ismail et al., 2018; Sinkovics & Penz, 2009), where particularly mass foreign tourism was perceived negatively (e.g., Andriotis, 2005; Martínez-García et al., 2017), and domestic tourists more positively (Okulicz-Kozaryn & Strzelecka, 2017). Cultural interactions were deemed important for local residents to accept tourists, but the behavior of tourists could also generate a negative impact if not in-line with respecting local rules and customs (Armenski et al., 2011). The economic duality of seasonality also played a socio-cultural impact, namely with perceived life satisfaction or happiness (Bimonte & Faralla, 2016). Co-creation with tourists also resulted in a positive impact on life satisfaction (Lin et al., 2017). There were a series of negative socio-cultural impacts, namely traffic congestion (e.g., Dyer et al., 2007; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004), increase in

crime (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Diedrich & García, 2009) and social disruption (e.g., Andriotis, 2005; Jackson, 2008; Teye et al., 2002).

Tourism and tourists were deemed as beneficial in preserving natural resources (e.g., Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Andereck et al., 2005) as well as improving the appearance of the destination (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Oviedo-Garcia et al., 2008), but was also seen as detrimental with contributing to pollution and waste (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Andriotis, 2005; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Yoon et al., 2001), thus placing a strain on community facilities and resources. The most common (negative) environmental impact was overcrowding and congestion, which is also considered a socio-cultural impact (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Andriotis, 2005; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007; Peeters et al., 2018; Muler Gonzalez et al., 2018; Seraphin et al., 2018; Teye et al., 2002; Yoon et al., 2001). While negative environmental impacts were identified, it appears that in general, local residents “prefer to support tourism, putting its advantages ahead of environmental damage” (Almeida García et al., 2015, p.35).

4. Local residents’ effect on tourists

When comparing table 2 with table 3, one can see there is far less research pertaining to the impact of local residents on tourists. It is noteworthy to mention, that while there exist a plethora of studies pertaining to assessing how a tourist holistically assesses or chooses a destination, where authors have listed “decision and motivation factors such as availability of activities, affordability, travel costs, loyalty, geographical proximity, availability of cultural and entertainment attractions, nature experiences, relaxation and meeting new people” (Jensen & Svendsen, 2017, p.113), few have assessed the impact of local residents in greater detail. Moreover, fewer studies even draw the distinction between local residents who work in the tourism industry and those who do not. This offers areas of rich opportunity, as the studies in table 3 mostly discovered positive impacts that local residents had on tourists. Direct host-tourist interaction impacts were generally focused on measuring tourist satisfaction, which displayed a positive role. More specifically, the friendliness of locals (Andriotis et al., 2008) as well as social interactions with locals (Valle et al., 2011) had a positive effect on tourists. Moreover, Vajčnerová et al. (2014) found that the most important factor on overall tourist satisfaction was being welcomed and accepted by local residents. The friendliness of locals was also found to have a positive impact on the overall well-being of tourists (Reitsamer & Brunner-Sperdin, 2015).

Park & Santos found that backpacking tourists wished to interact with locals, as these types of interactions could serve as “memorable experiences, those that are deemed unexpected, special, or have an element of exclusiveness” (2016, p. 9), although culture and language barriers could serve as a significant hindrance. Interacting with locals and confronting strangeness (cross-cultural sensitivity) when crossing out of the ‘tourist environment bubble’ was seen as an immensely rewarding experience for travelers (Unger et al., 2019). Pizam et al. found that the “higher the intensity of the social relationship between hosts and working tourists, the more favourable were the tourists’ feelings towards their hosts, and the more positive was the change in attitudes towards host and destination” (2000, p. 395). Nyapuane et al.’s (2008) results revealed that non-tourism related services played an important role (both positively and negatively) with regards to attitude change towards locals and a destination, and stressed that while interaction tourism-related services is very important, the “interaction with the general public is even more important for overall attitude change towards the host country and its residents” (p. 663). Keeping in line with Pizam et al. (2000) and Unger et al.’s (2019) of interacting with local residents, Woosnam & Aleshinloye (2013) found that tourists’ shared beliefs and behaviours with local residents, as well as their degree of interaction, was a predictor for emotional solidarity. Yu & Lee’s study (2014) found that intercultural interactions (reflective, comparative, comprehensive experiences) impacted positively international tourists’ attitudes towards local residents and

their culture. Tung's research (2019) displayed local residents willing to help tourists and display prosocial behavior when attempting to overcome negative metastereotypes of the residents and destination.

Images, reputations and stereotypes of local residents is also to be factored when making decisions about consumption. Freire (2009) found that local residents are used not only as a cue to evaluate decisions made (pre and post consumption), but also to differentiate between places. More specifically, Freire states that local residents are used by tourists to differentiate place brands and thereby play a significant role in intention to (re)visit a destination. Hui and Wan (2003) also found significant differences between tourists of different country origins with regards to their perceptions towards local residents and the local culture.

Nam et al. (2016) found that three attributes of local residents (physical attractiveness, displaying positive emotions, helpfulness) improved the personal connection with tourists, and the personal connection in turn increased destination distinctiveness and word-of-mouth intentions. The study demonstrates that "tourists' perception of local people has a considerable influence on their attitude and behaviors and that this can clarify variations across outcomes above and beyond that explained by just modeling the effects of service employees' perception" (Nam et al., 2016, p. 712). Eusébio & Carneiro (2012) also encouraged to develop tourism strategies to promote interaction to increase destination loyalty, stating that the "goal of the tourism business should be to give tourists the opportunity to meet and interact with the local community" (p. 148). This is corroborated by Murphy's (2001) findings, who stressed the importance of having the right environmental settings where social interactions can occur, and in turn, secure word-of-mouth recommendations about the destination.

Much like Lin et al.'s study (2017) on tourists having a positive impact on other tourists with regards to co-creation, a positive effect has been found on local residents having an impact on co-creating with tourists (Bertella et al., 2018; Richards, 2010; Richards & Marques, 2012). Bertella et al. (2018) found that the experience value was reciprocal, and interestingly enough occurred mainly through spontaneous interactions in common arenas. Richards (2010, p. 11) also stated that a "new breed of tourist coincides with a growth in 'prosumption' - the process by which the consumer becomes a producer of the products and experiences they consume", and that the tourism industry need consider a shift from cultural to creative tourism (Richards & Marques, 2012).

Maitland's (2008) study, however, instead focused on tourists wanting more emphasis on enjoying the conviviality and everyday life of local residents – and not spending time in standardized tourism zones. Not directly co-creating, everyday actions such as shopping at the local market alongside locals, sitting at a café observing local residents going to work or spending time with their families at the park, provided great satisfaction and memorable experiences for the tourist.

Lastly, an emerging strand of literature known as the local gaze (Maoz, 2006; McGregor, 2000; Tasci & Severt, 2016; Wassler & Kirillova, 2019) revealed mostly negative results. Maoz (2006) found that tourists altered their behavior (for the worse) based upon stereotypes made by the locals, and Wassler & Kirilova's (2019, p. 116) local gaze exposed the tourist as "an inauthentic experiencer of positivity, discrimination, alienation and self-consciousness. Moments of true human connections are at best ephemeral".

5. Discussion and Implications for Future Research

5.1 Local Residents play an important role for the tourist experience, but how?

The literature review revealed a great paucity in research pertaining to the specific impact local residents play on the tourist experience, when comparing to the research available on the effect tourists have on local residents. Although trips and experiences are viewed holistically (Park & Santos, 2016) and research has frequently included a single generic variable pertaining to local residents (i.e., friendliness of locals), many studies have chosen to not include them at all, whether they analyze factors affecting outbound tourist' destination of choice (e.g. Guillet, Lee, Law, & Leung, 2011), destination preferences (e.g. Chen & Dogan, 2001) or defining a tourism product (e.g. Xu, 2010). This seems as a missed opportunity as the studies in this review found an overwhelmingly positive relationship of local residents' impact on tourists. Understanding these interactions are key, as Uysal, Sirgy and Perdue (2012, p.673) denote that the area of interaction between tourist and trip characteristics is "highly fertile". Zhang, Inbakaran and Jackson (2006, p.182) reinforce this notion, suggesting that "understanding host-guest interaction is vital for the sustainable development of tourism". With contact between tourists and local residents from diverse cultures and social groups perpetually increasing (Tung, 2019), alongside ever-increasingly congested destinations, DMO's and researchers alike need better insight into the effects (positive and/or negative) local residents have on tourists.

Future research should delve into the specific types of relationships and experiences local residents can have on tourists and their overall experience of a destination – current research is scattered and sparse, and more studies could help synthesize a better understanding of how local residents (and who they are specifically) can impact a tourist (and which type of tourist). For example, backpackers preferred experiences and journeys, and found that meeting people was more memorable than visiting classical destination products such as heritage sites and attractions (Park & Santos, 2016). Would this also be the case for other tourist segments (charter tourists, families, romantic getaways, etc.)? Oppositely, studies are also needed on defining the local resident. Most studies lump local residents (whether they work in the tourism industry or not) as one entity, yet it would be of great value to know to DMO's and researchers if tourists distinguish their local experiences between locals who work in the tourism sector, and those who do not. To conclude, the success of the tourism industry depends not only on local attractions, but also on the hospitality of the local residents (Gursoy et al., 2002).

5.2 Local Residents and support for tourism

The review found that local residents perceive both positive and negative impacts with regards to tourists and tourism development. This is very much in line with previous literature review studies, where conclusions are that "if the residents perceive that the positive effects of tourism development outweigh the negative impacts, they will feel inclined to participate in the exchange and, therefore, will support future tourism development in their community" (Almeida García et al., 2015, p. 38). However, it is important to not merely adopt a 'build it and they shall come' approach with regards to building local resident support for tourism, but to involve them at the earliest stages with regards to developing a destination. In other words, to not use a tourism development model which is "characterized by a strong dependence of foreign investment and little involvement of the local community the tourism development process" (Eusébio et al., 2018, p. 12). This is easier said than done, as highlighted by Park, Lehto & Morrison (2008), who noted that tourist offices gave higher priority to communicate for collaboration with non-profit associations and local residents (when compared to the tourism industry and local government), yet found that they actually rarely collaborate with

local residents. Including local residents (especially those who do not work in the tourism industry) must be seen as an important step in identifying local partnerships, in order to create a unique tourist experience (Simonsen, 2016) and to foster support for tourism development.

Although extensive research exists on local resident support for tourists and tourism, there are still areas which need further research. Tourists and tourism development need to be further segmented, as to cater to not only the tourism industry in the destination, but also to the local residents, who most certainly are an integral part of the 'tourism product'. An example would be to delve further into what type of tourist (i.e., mass tourists, exclusive, backpackers, geographical and/or cultural origins, etc.) is preferred by local residents, as noted by Sinkovics & Penz (2009) – who found that Austrian local residents preferred interactions with German tourists, as opposed to Japanese tourists. Better understanding local resident perceptions on the negatives and positive scenarios of the seasonality of the tourist industry (e.g., Bimonte & Faralla, 2016; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007), would also provide important insights to how local residents wish to see themselves as a part of a destination. In an increasingly globalized marketplace, resulting in overcrowded destinations, understanding what type of destination a city/region/nation wishes to be on the basis of local residents, as opposed to only on the industry and tourists themselves, will be paramount to future development and success of destinations (more on this in chapter 5.3).

5.3 Overtourism: What does the future hold?

One of the more protuberant negative impacts tourists have on local residents was congestion and overcrowding (see table 2). Overcrowding, when not perceived as positive, can lead to overtourism (Egresi, 2018), which in turn is a far more complex and multifaceted phenomenon (Peeters et al., 2018). Overtourism, can be defined as “the situation in which the impact of tourism, at certain times and in certain locations, exceeds physical, ecological, social, economic, psychological and/or political capacity thresholds” (Peeters et al., 2018, p. 15). Seraphin et al. (2018) highlighted the fall of destinations due to overtourism and how the Janus-faced character of the industry (Sanchez & Adams, 2008) necessitates specific management strategies to cope with each specific destination. While it appears that oversaturated destinations are bursting at the seams with visitors, and local residents are ready to join a global revolt against tourism, it is imperative to note that while local residents are against the negative impacts overtourism brings, “many of them are not against tourism” (Colomb & Novy, 2017, p. 4-5).

Tourism transforms the spaces in which it develops (Colomb & Novy, 2017), and it is therefore not merely about cutting down the number of tourists visiting within a certain time frame to combat overtourism. Future research should focus on developing and testing conceptual models on measuring overtourism adequately (e.g., Peeters et al., 2018), as well as developing policy responses and strategies on how to sustainably develop the destination, bearing all key stakeholders in mind. It is noteworthy to mention that the “disproportionally large influx of tourists has become an issue for residents as well as tourists” (Oklevik et al., 2019, p. 1805), signifying that the experience of the tourist is also at risk with regards to overtourism. Future research should not only focus on how to sustainably develop the destination, but also in how to avoid the pitfalls modern and global tourism brings (more on this in chapters 5.4. and 5.5).

5.4 Avoiding touristification of destinations: Creative tourism and co-creation as a way forward?

The literature review revealed that local residents tend to have a strongly positive impact on tourists and their experiences, ranging from pre-trip destination choices based on image (Freire, 2009), memorable and rewarding experiences during the trip (Park & Santos, 2016; Unger et al., 2019) to post-trip satisfaction (Andriotis et al., 2008; Vajčnerová et al., 2014; Valle et al., 2011). However, with overtourism becoming a growing concern as stated in chapter 5.3, tourists find themselves more distant from local residents and planted in artificially constructed realities – ‘McDisneyfied’ destinations (Ritzer & Liska, 1997), places where “tourist experiences are predictable, efficient, calculable and controlled” (Rojek & Urry, 1997, p.3). One of the key issues here is that destinations follow similar strategies “in order to achieve their uniqueness, which ends up making those places look and feel the same...a problem of serial reproduction” (Richards, 2010, p.11). This vicious cycle of tourism development leads to positive tourism development and an increase in visitors and tourist sites, yet result in a degradation in the quality of the experience (Russo, 2002). Local residents shy away from these sites (and the tourists), and voice their concerns on how touristification of their home is not positively contributing to gentrification processes (Colomb & Novy, 2017).

If local residents are to be a positive part of the tourist experience (and vice-versa), then there is a “need for re-humanizing the relationship between visitors and locals” (Richards & Marques, 2012, p.9). Yet a destination cannot simply force its local residents to interact with tourists (nor be friendly about it), and simply cutting the amount of tourists by significantly raising prices of tourism products is not a politically-realistic solution (at least for the time being). Tourism scholars and practitioners alike have been investigating the advantages that creative tourism can foster (e.g., Maitland, 2010; Richards, 2010; Richards & Marques, 2012), where co-creation of experiences is a significant contributor (see: Campos, Mendes, do Valle, & Scott, 2015). Creative tourism focuses on delivering creative potential, active involvement, have characteristic experiences (such as anchoring it in local culture – which requires creativity from the destination as well) and co-creation (Richards, 2010). This means that there should be focus on creating potential synergies between tourists and local residents (Maitland, 2010), signifying that experiences should be designed which can benefit both local residents and tourists – experiences such as events, creative spaces, geo-caching and other consumer-to-consumer co-creation activities (e.g., Binkhorst & Dekker, 2009; Buonincontri et al., 2017; Campos et al., 2015; Ihamäki, 2012; Richards & Marques, 2012). Lin, Chen and Filieri’s research (2017) showed that resident’s perceived life satisfaction increased when co-creating with tourists. Future research should focus on how such experiences contribute to *both* local residents and tourists (as opposed to just tourists as the majority of the existing research), and as well the role local residents play for the tourists in these types of forums. As Séraphin et al. accurately put it, “public places must remain enjoyable first for the local residents which will subsequently lead to enjoyable public places for visitors” (2019, p.3)

Intuitively, this type of research will include discussions whether these experiences will also provide a more authentic experience for the tourist. While this is an important discussion, it is noteworthy that culturally authentic places are not necessarily needed for an authentic experience (Ryan, 2010) – destination trips such as weddings, where only family and friends are around, can also be considered authentic experiences (Bertella, 2015). This ties into the next chapter, on whether tailoring experiences specifically to tourists, is beneficial for capitalizing on local residents having a positive impact on the tourist experience.

5.5 Piercing the ‘tourist veil’ and accessing backstage authenticity

St. Augustine once said ‘*When in Rome, do as the Romans do*’. While coined in 4th century AD, this proverb still rings true for modern tourists who see the benefits of following local customs and traditions while visiting a destination different to their own. Yet this has been perceived as harder to achieve when destinations have undergone touristification (Colomb & Novy, 2017), overcrowding and overtourism leading to local residents

rejecting tourism (Martín et al., 2018), and tourists and residents alike behaving differently by means of a mutual gaze (Maoz, 2006). It appears more arduous than ever to pierce the tourist environmental bubble (Cohen, 1972), also known as the tourist veil (MacCanell, 1999). These 'protective walls' may shield the tourist from risks and inconveniences, but also denies them the opportunity to truly emerge themselves in the destination and only engage in what the DMO has deemed tourist-worthy – an unrealistic view of the destination as tourists have a broad range of experiences travelling, to from and within the destinations, where they partake in non-market related interactions (Carù & Cova, 2003; Walls & Wang, 2011). From the supply side, it intuitively makes sense for DMO's to partake in the construction of the tourist veil, as this allows them to better "control and influence these aspects of the destination experience, a fact which reinforces limits of adopting an overly narrow experience management perspective" (Lugosi & Walls, 2013, p. 6). Research presented in this review has also highlighted that specific type of visitors such as working tourists and business travelers (e.g., Pizam et al., 2000; Unger et al., 2019) get a more realistic experience of the destination, as well as rewarding interactions and relationships with local residents due to being privy to guest-host interactions not available to most mass tourist segments. Yet not every tourist will be a business traveler, or staying for extended periods as a working tourist.

Maitland's research has also challenged the notion of host-guest interactions on piercing the tourist veil, stating that "rather than familiar stories of conflict between 'hosts' and 'guests', the emphasis in some areas is on conviviality among different groups of city users" (2008, p. 15). More specifically, by highlighting creative tourism by the attraction of the everyday (Maitland, 2010), tourists can gain access to backstage authenticity of a destination by partaking in 'mundane' activities such as shopping at the supermarket, sitting in a café in a residential area with no cultural sites nearby, commuting with local residents to work, etc. Tourists enjoyed visiting neighborhoods were seen as "not-touristy: not places that had been designed to attract visitors" (Maitland, 2010, p.180).

Future research should focus on what dynamics motivates tourists to attempt to pierce the tourist veil and allowing them to '*do as the Romans do*', what do the local residents perceive of these types of tourists and these interactions, and what can DMO's do (or don't do) to facilitate these types of experiences, without contributing to social disruption for local residents or simply extending the tourist veil boundaries. Oppositely, future research should also investigate whether or not tourists really do wish to pierce the tourist veil, and whether they prefer to remain in the tourist hotspots.

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