

Residents' perceptions of tourism development in Benalmádena (Spain)¹

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Abstract

This study examines the residents' perceptions of the impact of tourism in Benalmádena, and the profiles of the residents according to socio-demographic characteristics. A questionnaire assessed how these characteristics influence the residents' perceptions towards the environment, economy, and socio-cultural aspects. The survey was administered to a stratified sample of 770 residents in Benalmádena. Results show a significant effect of socio-demographic variables on perception of tourism impact. The educational background, place of birth and how long respondents had been living in the community explain a significant amount of the variance in overall attitudes. Interaction analyses revealed that place of birth moderated the relationship between the tourism dimensions and the years of residence. For instance, the respondents with less than five years of residence showed more positive attitude towards the impact of tourism. We offer a profile of these residents according to their perceptions of the impact of tourism in their community.

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1. Introduction

The term *impact of tourism* has gained importance in the tourism literature. This impact can be assessed through a review of residents. In recent years, numerous studies have examined residents' attitudes towards and perceptions of the impact of tourism development in their communities. The main reason for the growing interest in this type of study is an awareness that tourism development has positive and negative effects at the local level (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Lankford & Howard, 1994). On the positive side, tourism can generate new employment opportunities for local residents (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Bujosa & Roselló, 2005; Diedrich & García, 2009; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997), strengthen towns' business networks, increase residents' quality of life, help preserve monuments and archaeological sites (Andereck, Valentine, Knopf & Vogt, 2005; Akis Peristianis & Warne, 1996; Liu, Sheldon & Var, 1987; Korca, 1996; Oviedo, Castellanos & Martin, 2008; Yoon, Gursoy, & Chen 2001), and preserve residents' identity and the cultural pride (Andereck et al., 2005; Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002; Yoon et al., 2001). However, tourism can also cause friction and have negative environmental, economic and socio-cultural effects – with seasonality being one of the most relevant negative consequences. During the high tourism season, public and leisure infrastructures become saturated, and traffic congestion and parking problems occur (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001), which often cause inconvenience to local residents (Liu & Var, 1986; Sheldon & Var, 1984). Tourism can also increase the standard of living (Liu & Var, 1986; McGehee & Andereck, 2004) as well as drug and alcohol problems (Diedrich & García, 2009; Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996; King Pizam & Milman, 1993; Milman & Pizam 1988); serious environmental damage and significant increases in waste and pollution can also occur (Andereck et al., 2005; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Lankford, 1994; Liu et al., 1987; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Snaith & Haley, 1999). This tourism-related inconvenience and collateral damage could cause the local population to form and perpetuate negative attitudes towards tourism.

Residents' negative attitudes towards tourism began to receive greater attention in the 1970s (Akis et al., 1996; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Chen, 2000; Gutiérrez, 2010; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Lankford, 1994; Liu & Var, 1986; Long, Perdue & Allen, 1990; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Vargas, Plaza & Porras, 2009). There are several reasons for this growing interest in understanding residents' attitudes towards the impacts of tourism. For instance, negative attitudes among residents could be a

handicap in the development and sustainability of tourist destinations (Ap, 1992; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Butler, 1980; Diedrich & Garcia, 2009; Harrill, 2004; Sirakaya, Teye & Sönmez, 2002); the success of this industry depends on local attractions and the hospitality of local residents (Gursoy, Jurowski & Uysal, 2002). Residents' hostile behaviour towards tourists could be a factor in restraining the tourism sector; by contrast, a friendly attitude could support tourism development. Generally, tourists tend to be reluctant to visit places where they do not feel welcome (Yoon, Gursoy & Chen, 1999); that is, there is nothing more important to travellers than the way they are treated by residents, and if they are not accepted, they will avoid visiting such places (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Diedrich & García, 2009).

Therefore, tourism development does not occur in isolation; instead, it occurs within specific environments with their distinct characteristics. Within these specific environments, residents' support is a key factor in tourism development (Butler, 1980; Dyer et al., 2007; Miossec, 1977). Thus, researchers recognize the need to include the local community in early planning stages of tourism development (Liu et al., 1987). Monitoring residents' opinions is necessary to assess local feelings, and such monitoring should be incorporated into tourism projects. It will help planners focus on what residents consider important (Dyer et al., 2007). In particular, knowing residents' attitudes may result in policies that minimize the negative impact on tourism development and maximize the benefits (Prayag, Hosany & Odeh, 2013; Styliadis, Biran & Szivas, 2014; Vargas, Plaza & Porras, 2011). In addition, residents' participation in decision making during tourism planning and development can contribute to the development of more positive attitudes towards tourism (Robson & Robson, 1996). Despite the importance of the residents' attitudes towards tourism, local and national governments are not developing effective mechanisms that favour the local population's participation in the decision-making process. Political initiatives regarding tourism sustainability and development could be more successful if residents were empowered to make their desires, goals and needs known and were given opportunities to benefit both socially and economically from tourism (D'Amore, 1983; Marien & Pizan, 2005).

Residents' attitudes in relation to the impact of tourism development have been investigated in some areas (Table 1), and there is some consensus that the main impacts are economic, socio-cultural, and environmental. Such studies have examined some variables that correspond to these impacts (Table 1). Some research has focused on analysing these categories in relation to residents' attitudes, whereas other studies, such

as the present one, focus on identifying a set of variables that could help develop a resident profile depending on his or her attitude towards the impact of tourism. Residents' attitudes have been the subject of many studies, with a particular focus on identifying the factors that influence or determine them (Akis et al., 1996; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007).

As stated by Jackson and Inbakaran (2006), the factors that influence resident attitudes towards tourism can be classified into the following groups: demographic, personal, social, and factors. These same variables, with other names, are found in other studies, such as Harrill (2004); Vargas et al. (2009) call them socioeconomic factors, spatial factors, and factors of economic dependence. Therefore, the literature did not reveal a clear conceptualization or definition of these classifications, nor did it clearly express the criteria for these classifications. Therefore, in this study, we have decided to include all of the variables that define the social profile of the residents as socio-demographic variables. The variables analysed include (1) gender, (2) age, (3) marital status, (4) the condition of being native, (5) foreign participants' years of residence in the city (these last two variables lead to attachment to the community), (6) parental status, (7) education level, (8) participation in local associations and neighbourhood groups, and (9) the type of work in relation to tourism (Table 2).

<Table 1. Studies of tourism's impacts>

Economic impacts	Aguiló et al., 2004; Akis et al., 1996; Almeida et al., 2015; Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Andereck et al., 2005; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Belisle & Hoy 1980; Besculides et al, 2002; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007; Chen, 2000; Diedrich & García, 2009; Dyer et al., 2007; Gursoy et al., 2002; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Johnson et al., 1994; King et al., 1993; Korca, 1996; Lankford, 1994; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Liu & Var, 1986; Liu et al., 1987; Madrigal, 1995; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Milman & Pizam 1988; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Perdue et al., 1990; Ritchie, 1988; Saveriades, 2000; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Var et al., 1985; Yoon et al., 1999
Socio-cultural impacts	Aguiló et al., 2004; Akis et al., 1996; Almeida et al., 2015; Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Andereck et al, 2005; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Besculides et al, 2002; Brunt & Courtney 1999; Bujosa & Roselló, 2007; Chen, 2000; Diedrich & García, 2009; Dyer et al., 2007; Gursoy et al., 2002; Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996; Johnson et al., 1994; King et al., 1993; Korca, 1996; Lankford, 1994; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Liu & Var, 1986; Liu et al., 1987; Long et al., 1990; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Milman & Pizam 1988; Oviedo et al., 2008; Perdue et al., 1987; Perdue et al., 1990; Saveriades, 2000; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Snaith & Haley, 1999; Var et al., 1985; Yoon et al., 1999
Environmental impacts	Akis et al., 1996; Aguiló et al., 2004; Almeida et al., 2015; Andereck

& Nyaupane, 2011; Andereck et al., 2005; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Bujosa & Rosselló, 2007; Dyer et al., 2007; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Johnson et al., 1994; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Korca, 1996; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Lankford, 1994; Liu & Var, 1986; Liu et al, 1987; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Oviedo et al., 2008; Perdue et al., 1987; Sheldon & Abenoja, 2001; Snaith & Haley, 1999; Teye et al, 2002; Yoon et al., 1999

<Table 2. Socio-demographic variables>

Factors	Studies
Gender	Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012
Age	Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Huh & Vogt, 2008; King et al., 1993; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Ritchie, 1988; Tomljenovic & Faulkner, 2000
Civil status	Allen et al., 1988; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Johnson et al., 1994; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Korca, 1996; Smith & Krannich, 1998
Having children	Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; King, et al., 1993; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Pearce, 1980; Tosun, 2002; William & Lawson, 2001
Education level	Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996; Hernández et al., 1996; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Teye et al., 2002;
Participation	Lankford & Howard, 1994
Community attachment (length of residence)	Haley et al., 2005; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu & Var 1986; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Sheldon & Var, 1984
Type of work (economic dependence)	Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Haralambopoulos & Pizam 1996; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Lankford & Howard 1994; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Snaith & Haley, 1999

Given the importance of residents in the development process of tourist destinations, an increasing number of studies on the subject have appeared. Sharpley (2014) and Sirakaya et al. (2002) underline the significant increase of theoretical and applied research on residents' attitudes that has been conducted since the 1970s. The research interest in residents' attitudes towards tourism began in developed countries,

especially in the United States (Almeida, Balbuena & Cortés, 2015), and in areas and countries where tourism has developed more intensely, such as New Zealand, Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom (Lawson, Williams, Young & Cossens, 1998; Ritchie, 1988; Ross, 1992; Sheldon & Var, 1984). By contrast, fewer studies have examined regions with a strong specialization in tourism, such as the Caribbean Sea and the Mediterranean basin (Pérez & Nadal, 2005; Sharpley, 2014).

Recent research on this issue in Spain has mainly focused on the tourist zones: Marrero (2006) and Gutiérrez (2010) in the Canary Islands; Aguiló Barros, García and Roselló (2004) and Bujosa and Roselló (2007) in the Balearic Islands; Royo and Ruiz (2009) in Catalonia; Huete (2010) in Valencia; Vargas et al. (2009 and 2011) in Huelva; and Oviedo et al. (2008) in Seville. The report by SOPDE (Sociedad de Planificación y Desarrollo) (2004) on the province of Malaga serves as the antecedent of this study area. This research sample is smaller than our sample (495 respondents), which covers a much wider area (7,300 km²) with a larger population (1.6 million people).

Previous analyses have not employed stratified random sampling, which allows the generalization of the results to the entire population. In addition, most of these studies have only evaluated some of tourism's impacts (e.g., socio-cultural, economic, or environmental impacts) or an overall measure of attitude. In addition, the incremental predictive utility of some socio-demographic factors (e.g., native condition, years of residence, type of work, and level of education) and the interaction between socio-demographic factors in accounting for variance in the different tourism attitude dimensions have yet to be studied beyond the effects of basic socio-demographic variables, such as age or gender. These results are relevant when describing residents' profiles according to their attitudes towards the different effects of tourism on the local population. Moreover, we should mention that no studies have yet explored tourism's impact in Benalmádena. Knowing Benalmádena residents' attitudes towards tourism's effects and their relation to residents' profiles would allow us to better understand the status of tourism in this destination. This information might be useful when designing strategies for improving the knowledge about and acceptance of tourism among the local population, which would improve hospitality, development, and the sustainability of tourism in Benalmádena.

Thus, our pioneering study investigates the effects of residents' socio-demographic characteristics on different tourism impacts, thus offering profiles of residents according to their perceptions of tourism's effects on the local environment,

economy, and socio-cultural life. For that purpose, stratified random sampling has been used, and all relevant socio-demographic variables that appear to be associated with perceptions of tourism impact in the literature have been considered. In addition, hierarchical multiple regressions of residents' socio-demographic characteristics on different tourism impacts (e.g., environmental, economic, and socio-cultural impacts and overall attitudes towards tourism) and the interaction between socio-demographic factors – beyond the effects of basic socio-demographic characteristics – have been conducted. In summary, this study aims to explore the role of residents' characteristics in their perceptions of tourism's impacts to propose resident profiles in a mature tourist destination and to propose improvements in the management and planning of this destination.

2. Method

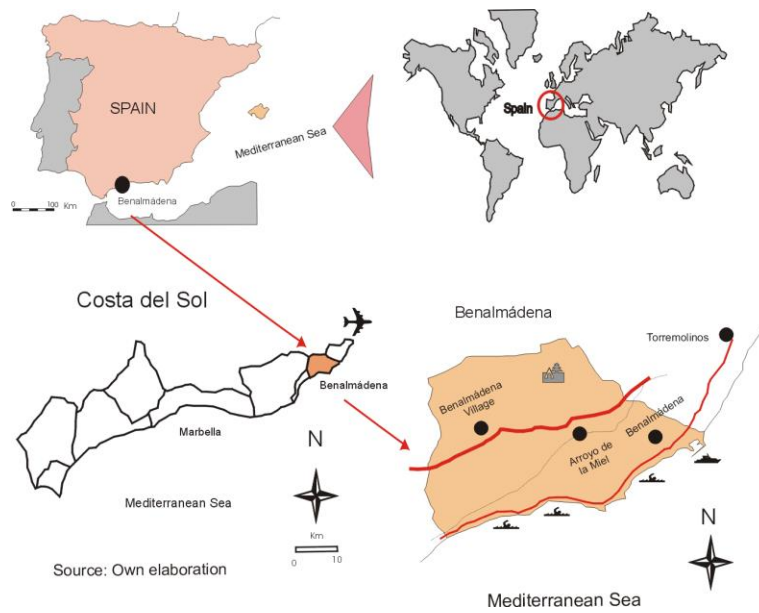
2.1. Localization, study area

Benalmádena is a Spanish municipality in the province of Málaga in Andalusia. It is located on the Costa del Sol, approximately 22 km southwest of the provincial capital. Benalmádena belongs to the metropolitan area of Málaga and the Costa del Sol. The municipality of Benalmádena covers an area just over 27 km², stretching from the Mijas Mountains to the Mediterranean Sea. The city of Benalmádena occupies most of the municipality. Highway A-7 crosses the area from east to west, linking Málaga with other cities along the Mediterranean coast.

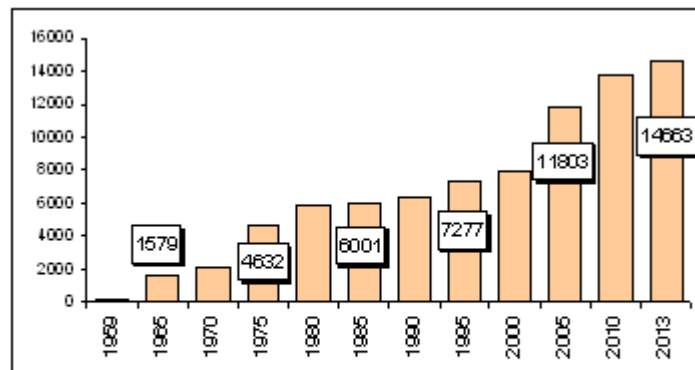
Benalmádena had 66,939 inhabitants in 2014. It is the eighth largest city in the province and third largest metropolitan area, which had 882,658 inhabitants in 2014 (INE, 2014). Only 14% of residents were born in the city, and 33.4% are foreigners, 25% of whom come from the United Kingdom. Over the past ten years, the population of Benalmádena has increased by 57.7% because of a significant positive net migration. In 2014, Benalmádena had an accommodation supply of 14,320 hotel beds and 5,548 tourist apartments – a total of 19,868 tourist accommodations. Moreover, the city offered 55,220 second homes places for tourists. In 2014, 699,066 tourists lodged in hotels and apartments (INE, 2014). This city serves as a case study of a mature seaside destination that specializes in mass tourism (Almeida & Balbuena, 2014). The study area has been growing continuously since the mid-1950s (Figure 2). As an urban environment, Benalmádena has a dense structure, with few open spaces. This destination has been built in strips parallel to the coast (Barrado & Calabuig, 2001 in

Barrett, 1958; Lavery, 1974), from the beach to the mountains; today, the first and second strips are occupied by hotels and apartments (Figure 3), and the third and fourth strips are intended for residential and tourist housing (Figure 4). Most of the local population resides in the inner strips.

<Figure 1. The location and study area>



<Figure 2. Benalmádena’s hotel bed supply. Source: Guía Oficial de Hoteles (1959-2000) and INE (2005-2014)>



<**Figure 3.** View of Benalmádena from the sea. Source: Own elaboration>



<**Figure 4.** View of Benalmádena from the mountains. Source: Own elaboration>



2.2. Sample

The sample consisted of 770 Benalmádena residents. The participants were selected using stratified random sampling. The population of Benalmádena was stratified proportionally according to population composition (native or immigrant), gender, and age (Table 3), based on the 2011 population of 63,788. After the classification of the population by strata, the sample was fixed in each of them. *Affixation* refers to the distribution of the overall sample size among different strata. For this study, we chose *proportional affixation*, in which the distribution of the sample is *proportional* to the stratum's relative weight in relation to the entire population. Thus, a larger sample size corresponds with the levels with more population units compared to

those representing a smaller sample size. This method ensures that the sample is statistically representative of the population, with a margin of error of $\pm 5\%$ and a 2σ (95%) level of confidence. The survey was cross-sectional.

2.3. Instruments

Self-reported questionnaires were used as data collection instruments. The questionnaires were self-administered in June, i.e., the high tourism season in Benalmádena, and from October to December 2012, i.e., the low tourism season in this destination. The questionnaire was prepared after a literature review on the residents' attitudes towards and perceptions of the impacts of tourism (Akis et al., 1996; Dyer et al., 2007; Gursoy et al., 2002; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Johnson, Snepenger & Akis, 1994; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Liu & Var, 1986; Vargas et al., 2009; Williams & Lawson, 2001). The instrument consists of two blocks: socio-demographic questions and an attitude scale consisting of a series of items that combine the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism. In this study, the socio-demographic variables analysed were age, gender, marital status, birthplace, years of residence, parental status, education level, social participation, and type of work. We included four age groups: 'younger than 20', '20–44 years', '45–65 years', and 'older than 65'. Marital status included two categories: 'married' and 'unmarried'. Three categories were considered for birthplace (or native condition): 'born in Benalmádena', 'born somewhere else in Spain', and 'foreign-born' (i.e., born outside Spain). The years-of-residence variable was split into three groups: 'less than five years', 'five to ten years', and 'more than ten years'. For the variable regarding parental status, two dichotomous categories were considered: 'yes' (i.e., has children) and 'no' (i.e., does not have children). The response options for the level of education were 'no education', 'primary education', 'secondary education', and 'university-level education'. The response categories for participation in any social association or neighbourhood group, which reflects concerns about social and/or political issues, were 'no', 'occasionally', and 'regularly'. Finally, four response categories were included for type of work: 'work not related to tourism', 'tourism-induced work' (e.g., real estate, trade), 'work indirectly related to tourism' (i.e., leisure industry professionals), and 'work directly related to tourism' (e.g., catering). These responses were grouped according to the types of jobs linked to tourism that Wall and Mathieson (2006) proposed; we have followed this classification, which no previous study has done.

As stated above, the attitude scale was created using a series of items that refer to environmental impacts, economic impacts, socio-cultural impacts, and overall attitudes, reflecting positive and negative perceptions of tourism's effects in Benalmádena (Table 4). For the attitude scale, the items were measured on a five-point Likert scale, where one indicates 'complete disagreement', two indicates 'slight disagreement', three indicates 'undecided', four indicates 'slight agreement', and five indicates 'strong agreement' (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012).

The information was processed using the statistical program SPSS 19 and PROCESS, a computational tool for moderation analyses (Hayes, 2012). Pearson correlations, ANOVA analyses, and hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to explore the effects of socio-demographic variables on residents' attitudes towards tourism.

<**Table 3.** The stratified sample of the population>

		Native	No native	
Age			Rest of Spain	Foreigners
Men	Under the age of 20	12	46	22
	20 to 44	20	80	48
	45 to 64	16	50	34
	Over the age of 65	8	26	16
Women	Under the age of 20	10	42	26
	20 to 44	18	86	52
	45 to 64	12	54	34
	Over the age of 65	8	30	20

Source: Own elaboration

<Table 4. Questionnaire items>

Economic impacts

Positive aspects	Negative aspects
Tourism is the main economic activity in Benalmádena	Tourism increases the price of housing
More roads and urbanizations are constructed	Tourism increases the cost of living
Tourism increases employment opportunities	Tourism generates employment instability

Socio-cultural impacts

Tourism improves the quality of life in Benalmádena	Tourism increases drugs and alcohol
There are more theaters, exhibitions with the tourism	Tourism causes more crime
Tourism improves public services (health centers, sports, etc.).	Tourism produces more congestion, accidents and parking problems
Tourism stimulates our festivals and traditions (Easter, fairs, ...)	Tourism generates loss or change of our festivals and traditions
I relate to people who speak Spanish	
I relate to Spanish people who speaks my language	

Environmental impacts

There are more public gardens and parks due to tourism	Tourism increases pollution, noise, garbage, etc.
Tourism has improved and protected the environment	Tourism deteriorate the natural environment
	There are too many people in Benalmádena

3. Results

3.1. Descriptive statistics

The results showed an acceptable Cronbach's alpha for all tourism attitude dimensions: *environmental impact*, .618; *socio-cultural impact*, .615; and *economic impact*, .614.

Correlations between the tourism attitude dimensions and the socio-demographic variables were computed (Table 5). Age correlated positively with the *environmental impact*, with older residents reporting more positive attitudes towards tourism with regard to the local environment, and negatively with the *economic impact*, with younger residents considering tourism to have a more positive impact on the local economy. Marital status correlated positively with the *environmental impact*, with married

residents reporting more positive attitudes towards tourism with regard to the local environment. Parental status correlated positively with the *environmental impact*, as residents with children considered tourism to have a more positive impact on the local environment. Level of education correlated positively with the *socio-cultural impact* and the *economic impact*, with more educated residents reporting more positive attitudes towards tourism with regard to local culture and the economy in Benalmádena. Social participation correlated negatively with the *economic impact*, with less socially involved residents considering tourism to have a more positive impact on the local economy. Finally, native condition and years of residence correlated negatively with all tourism attitude dimensions, with native residents and those living in Benalmádena for more than ten years having a more negative attitude towards tourism. No significant correlations were found between gender or the type of work and any of the tourism attitude dimensions.

<Table 5. Correlations between residents' characteristics and tourist impact variables>

	Environmental Impact	Socio-cultural Impact	Economic Impact
Age	.13**	.04	-.08*
Gender	.04	.04	-.01
Civil status	.10**	-.01	-.06
Having children	.13**	.07 [†]	-.03
Level of studies	.04	.18**	.16**
Type of work	.00	.04	-.06 [†]
Social Participation	.01	-.02	-.11**
Native condition	-.14**	-.17**	-.10**
Years of residence	-.19**	-.16**	-.06 [†]

3.2. Effects of socio-demographic factors on attitudes towards tourism

Gender. No main effect of gender on any impact of tourism indicators was found.

Age.

Environmental impact. A significant main effect of age on the *environmental impact* ($F_{(3,770)} = 4.21, p < .05$) was found. Attitudes towards the effect of tourism on the local environment improved progressively with age, with seniors (older than 65) having the best attitudes and the youngest residents (younger than 20) having the worst attitudes. The differences were significant when comparing the following age ranges: < 20 vs. seniors ($t_{(3,266)} = 3.13; p < .01$), < 20 vs. 45–64 ($t_{(3,358)} = 2.73; p < .01$), and 20–44 vs. seniors ($t_{(3,412)} = 2.25; p < .05$).

Economic impact. A significant main effect of age on the *economic impact* was found ($F_{(3,770)} = -2.75; p < .05$). The youngest residents (younger than 20) had better attitudes towards the economic impact of tourism, whereas those between 45 and 64 showed the worst attitudes. The differences between the age groups were significant ($t_{(3,358)} = -2.86; p < .01$).

Socio-cultural impact. The ANOVA did not show significant differences ($F_{(3,770)} = 1.86; p = .14$). However, a post hoc *t*-test showed that, contrary to the economic impact results, the youngest residents had the worst perceptions of the effect of tourism on culture and that residents between 45 and 64 had the best perceptions of the same effect. The differences between these groups were significant ($t_{(3,358)} = 2.25; p < .05$).

Overall attitude. No main effect of age on the *overall attitude* was found.

Marital status.

Environmental impact. Married residents (compared to unmarried ones) had (marginally significant) better perceptions of tourism's effects on the local environment ($F_{(1,770)} = 1.70; p = .06$).

Economic impact. No significant differences were found when comparing married residents to unmarried residents.

Socio-cultural impact. Married residents (compared to unmarried ones) reported better perceptions of tourism's effects on social life and culture ($F_{(1,770)} = 3.98; p < .05$).

Overall attitude. A marginally significant main effect of marital status on the overall attitude was found ($F_{(1,770)} = 2.82; p = .09$).

Parental status.

Environmental impact. Residents with children showed more positive attitudes towards the impact of tourism on the environment ($F_{(1,770)} = 12.74; p < .01$).

Economic impact. No significant differences were found when comparing residents with children to those with no children.

Socio-cultural impact. Residents with children (compared to those with no children) presented (marginally significant) better attitudes towards the impact of tourism on social life and culture ($F_{(1,770)} = 3.79$; $p = .052$).

Overall attitude. A significant main effect of parental status on the *overall attitude* ($F_{(3,770)} = 4.52$; $p < .05$) was found. Residents with children had better attitudes towards tourism compared to those with no children.

Level of education.

Environmental impact. A significant main effect of the level of education on the *environmental impact* was found ($F_{(3,770)} = 2.86$, $p < .05$). Those with no education had worse perceptions of tourism's impact on the local environment, whereas those with university-level education and primary education had the best perceptions. The inter-group differences were significant when comparing no education to primary education ($t_{(3,175)} = 2.45$; $p < .05$) and no education to university-level education ($t_{(3,226)} = 2.26$; $p < .05$).

Economic impact. The level of education had a significant main effect on the *economic impact* ($F_{(3,770)} = 8.63$; $p < .01$). The perceptions of the economic impact of tourism gradually improved with the level of education, with those with a university-level education having the best perceptions and those with no education having the worst. The inter-group differences were significant when comparing no education to primary education ($t_{(3,175)} = 3.12$; $p < .01$); no education to secondary education ($t_{(3,439)} = 4.44$; $p < .01$); no education to university-level education ($t_{(3,226)} = 4.76$; $p < .01$); and primary education to university-level education ($t_{(3,331)} = 2.41$; $p < .05$).

Socio-cultural impact. The level of education had a significant main effect on the *socio-cultural impact* ($F_{(3,770)} = 5.08$; $p < .05$). The perceptions of the *socio-cultural impact* of tourism also gradually improved with the level of education. Inter-group differences were significant when comparing no education to primary education ($t_{(3,175)} = 3.35$; $p < .01$), no education to secondary education ($t_{(3,439)} = 3.80$; $p < .01$), and no education to university-level education ($t_{(3,226)} = 3.59$; $p < .01$).

Overall attitude. A significant main effect of the level of education on the *overall attitude* ($F_{(3,770)} = 8.18$; $p < .01$) was found. The overall attitudes towards tourism gradually improved with the level of education.

Type of work.

Environmental impact. No significant main effect of the type of work on the *environmental impact* was found.

Economic impact. The ANOVA showed significant differences ($F_{(3,770)} = 3.07; p < .05$). Residents working in tourism-induced employment had the best perceptions of tourism's impact on the local economy. Those who worked in jobs indirectly related to tourism presented the worst perceptions. Differences between these groups were significant ($t_{(3,111)} = -2.06; p < .05$).

Socio-cultural impact. The ANOVA showed significant differences ($F_{(3,770)} = 3.16; p < .05$). A post hoc *t*-test showed that residents working in jobs indirectly related to tourism had better attitudes regarding tourism's impact on social life and culture, whereas those working in non-tourism-related employment had the worst attitudes. Differences between these groups were significant ($t_{(3,522)} = 2.18; p < .05$).

Overall attitude. No significant main effect of the type of work on the *overall attitude* was found.

Social participation.

Environmental impact. No significant differences were found.

Economic impact. The ANOVA showed significant differences ($F_{(2,770)} = 5.88; p < .05$). A post hoc *t*-test showed that residents who occasionally participated in social associations had better attitudes regarding the economic effects of tourism, whereas those who regularly participated in associations presented the worst attitudes. Inter-group differences were significant when comparing no participation to regular participation ($t_{(2,704)} = -3.32; p < .05$) and occasional participation to regular participation ($t_{(2,199)} = -2.34; p < .05$).

Socio-cultural impact. The ANOVA showed significant differences ($F_{(2,770)} = 3.13; p < .05$). Residents who regularly participated in social associations presented the worst perceptions of tourism's impact on social life and culture, whereas those who occasionally participated in social associations presented the best perceptions. The inter-group differences were significant when comparing no participation to occasional participation ($t_{(2,629)} = 2.17; p < .05$) and occasional participation to regular participation ($t_{(2,199)} = -2.31; p < .05$).

Overall attitude. Social participation had a significant main effect on the overall attitude towards tourism ($F_{(2,770)} = 3.78; p < .05$), with residents who participated occasionally in

social associations having the best attitudes towards tourism and those who participated regularly having the worst attitudes.

Native condition.

Environmental impact. The ANOVA revealed significant differences ($F_{(2,770)} = 7.88$; $p < .01$). The native population of Benalmádena had the worst perceptions of tourism's impact on the environment, whereas foreigners presented the best perceptions. The differences between natives and foreigners were significant ($t_{(2,358)} = 4.67$; $p < .01$).

Economic impact. Native condition had a significant main effect on the *economic impact* ($F_{(2,770)} = 5.08$; $p < .01$), with native residents having the worst perceptions of tourism's effects on the local economy and foreigners having the best perceptions. Post hoc *t*-tests showed significant differences between natives and foreigners ($t_{(2,358)} = 2.28$; $p < .05$) and between those born elsewhere in Spain and foreigners ($t_{(2,665)} = 2.96$; $p < .01$).

Socio-cultural impact. Native condition also had a significant main effect on the *socio-cultural impact* ($F_{(2,770)} = 11.37$; $p < .01$), with natives presenting the worst attitudes towards tourism's impact on social life and culture and foreigners presenting the best attitudes. The differences between natives and foreigners were significant ($t_{(2,358)} = 3.75$; $p < .01$).

Overall attitude. Native condition had a significant main effect on the overall attitude towards tourism ($F_{(2,770)} = 11.41$; $p < .01$), with natives having the worst attitudes towards tourism and foreigners having the best attitudes.

Years of residence.

Environmental impact. The years of residence had a significant main effect on the *environmental impact* ($F_{(2,770)} = 14.39$; $p < .01$). Perceptions of tourism's effects on the local economy gradually worsen as the years of residence increase. Inter-group differences were significant when comparing those who had resided in Benalmádena for less than five years to those who had resided in Benalmádena for 5–10 years ($t_{(2,629)} = -2.24$; $p < .05$), those who had resided in Benalmádena for less than five years to those who had resided in Benalmádena for more than ten years ($t_{(2,662)} = -5.19$; $p < .01$), and those who had resided in Benalmádena for 5–10 years to those who had resided in Benalmádena for more than ten years ($t_{(2,249)} = -2.11$; $p < .05$).

Economic impact. No main effect of the years of residence on the *economic impact* was found.

Socio-cultural impact. The years of residence had a significant main effect on the *socio-cultural impact* ($F_{(2,770)} = 11.99$; $p < .01$). Perceptions of tourism's effects on social life and culture gradually worsen as the years of residence increase. Inter-group differences were significant when comparing those in residence for less than five years to those in residence for 5–10 years ($t_{(2,629)} = -3.30$; $p < .01$) and those in residence for less than five years to those in residence for more than ten years ($t_{(2,662)} = -4.81$; $p < .01$).

Overall attitude. The years of residence had a significant main effect on the *overall attitude* towards tourism ($F_{(2,770)} = 14.73$; $p < .01$), with those who had resided in Benalmádena for more than ten years presenting the worst attitudes towards tourism and those who had resided for less than five years presenting the best attitudes.

Native condition X years of residence.

Environmental impact. A significant interaction effect of native condition X years of residence on the *environmental impact* was found ($F_{(12,770)} = 4.09$; $p < .01$), with native residents who had lived in Benalmádena for more than 10 years presenting the worst perceptions of tourism's impact on the local environment and foreigners who had lived in Benalmádena for less than five years presenting the best perceptions.

Economic impact. No significant interaction effect of native condition X years of residence on the *economic impact* was found.

Socio-cultural impact. A significant interaction effect of native condition X years of residence on the *socio-cultural impact* was found ($F_{(12,770)} = 4.17$; $p < .01$), with native residents who had lived in Benalmádena for more than 10 years presenting the worst perceptions of tourism's impact on social life and culture and foreigners who had lived in Benalmádena for less than five years presenting the best perceptions.

Overall attitude. Finally, a significant interaction effect of native condition X years of residence on the *overall attitude* was found ($F_{(12,770)} = 4.67$; $p < .01$), with native residents who had lived in Benalmádena for more than 10 years presenting the worst perceptions of tourism's effects and foreigners who had lived in Benalmádena for less than five years presenting the best perceptions.

3.3. Incremental predictive utility

Hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted to investigate the predictive utility of years of residence and the moderating effect of the native condition

on years of residence in explaining the unique variance in the three tourism attitude dimensions (beyond the effects of socio-demographic variables). In the first step, the perceptions of tourism's impact were regressed on age and gender; in the second step, they were regressed on marital status, parental status, level of education, type of work, social participation, and native condition; in the third step, they were regressed on years of residence; and, to explore the moderating effect of native condition X years of residence, the multiplicative interaction term was included in the final step. All continuous predictors were centred to minimize the multicollinearity between variables.

The results indicate that age and gender account for the significant variance of the *environmental impact* (2%) in the first step. Marital status, parental status, level of education, type of work, social participation, and native condition account for the significant variance in the second step – 3% of the *environmental impact* variance, 4% of the *socio-cultural impact* and *economic impact* variance, and 6% of the *overall attitude* variance (Table 6).

In the third step, the years of residence explain the significant variance (1%) in the *environmental impact*, the *socio-cultural impact*, and the *overall attitude*, even after accounting for the variance due to socio-demographic variables. In addition, it is remarkable that we found the native condition X years of residence interaction explained an additional significant variance in the *environmental impact*, the *socio-cultural impact*, and the *overall attitude* ($\Delta R^2 = .01$) (beyond the variance explained by demographic variables and the years of residence).

Older residents and residents with children scored higher on the *environmental impact*, showing a more positive attitude towards tourism's effect on the local environment. Residents with more education reported higher levels of the *socio-cultural impact*, the *economic impact*, and the *overall attitude*, meaning that education is a positive predictor of attitudes towards tourism with regard to the local culture and economy. Residents who were socially involved in associations reported lower levels of the *economic impact*, which implies that frequent participation in social associations is a negative predictor of attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local economy. Native residents scored lower in all of the dimensions, which means that being born in Benalmádena is a negative predictor of attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local environment, culture, and economy. Residents who had lived in Benalmádena longer reported lower levels of the *environmental impact*, the *socio-cultural impact*, and the

overall attitude, showing that the years of residence in Benalmádena is a negative predictor of attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local environment and culture.

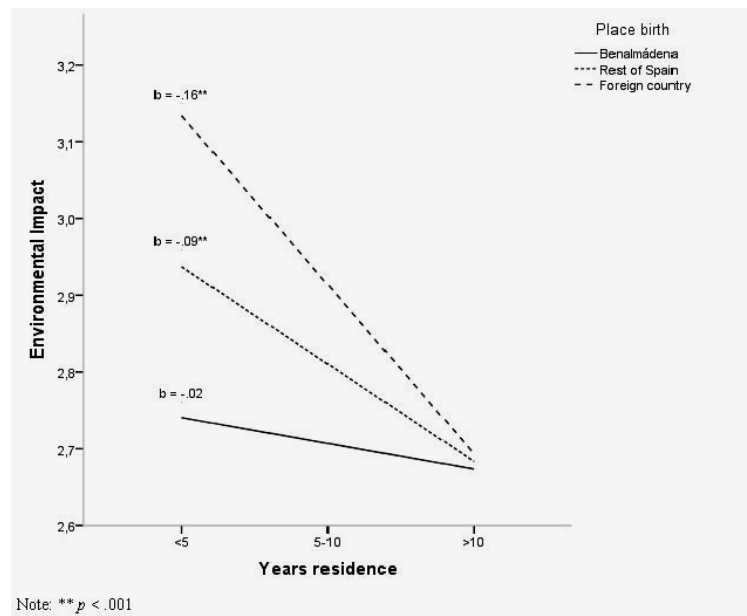
<Table 6. Hierarchical regression analyses showing the amount of variance in attitudes towards tourism by residents' characteristics >

	B	SE _B	β	R ²	F Δ	ΔR^2
<i>Environmental Impact</i>						
1. Age	.07*	.03	.10	.02	6.26**	.02
Gender	.04	.05	.03			
2. Civil status	-.06	.07	-.04	.05	3.78**	.03
Having children	.14*	.07	.10			
Level of studies	.05	.03	.06			
Type of work	-.01	.02	-.01			
Social participation	-.03	.03	-.03			
Native condition	-.10**	.05	-.09			
3. Years residence	-.09**	.03	-.14	.06	11.15**	.01
4. Native condit. X years res.	.07**	.03	.11	.07	7.65**	.01
<i>Economic Impact</i>						
1. Age	-.02	.02	-.05	.01	2.58 [†]	.01
Gender	.00	.03	.00			
2. Civil status	-.02	.04	-.02	.05	5.07**	.04
Having children	.06	.05	.07			
Level of studies	.08**	.02	.14			
Type of work	-.02	.01	-.04			
Social participation	-.05*	.02	-.08			
Native condition	-.07*	.03	-.11			
3. Years residence	-.00	.02	-.00	.05	.00	.00
4. Native condit. X years res.	.03 [†]	.02	.07	.05	3.73 [†]	.00
<i>Socio-cultural Impact</i>						
1. Age	.00	.02	.01	.00	.60	.00
Gender	.02	.03	.02			
2. Civil status	.03	.05	.03	.04	5.48**	.04
Having children	.04	.05	.05			
Level of studies	.06*	.02	.09			
Type of work	.01	.02	.03			
Social participation	-.02	.02	-.03			
Native condition	-.08**	.03	-.11			
3. Years residence	-.05**	.02	-.12	.05	7.74**	.01
4. Native condit. X years_res.	.04 [†]	.02	.07	.06	3.01 [†]	.01
<i>Total Attitude</i>						
1. Age	.01	.02	.03	.00	.79	.00
Gender	.02	.03	.03			
2. Civil status	.00	.04	.00	.06	7.62**	.06
Having children	.07	.04	.08			
Level of studies	.07**	.02	.13			
Type of work	.00	.01	.00			
Social participation	-.03	.02	-.05			
Native condition	-.08**	.03	-.12			
3. Years residence	-.05**	.02	-.13	.07	8.91**	.01
4. Native condit. X years res.	.04*	.02	.09	.08	4.97*	.01

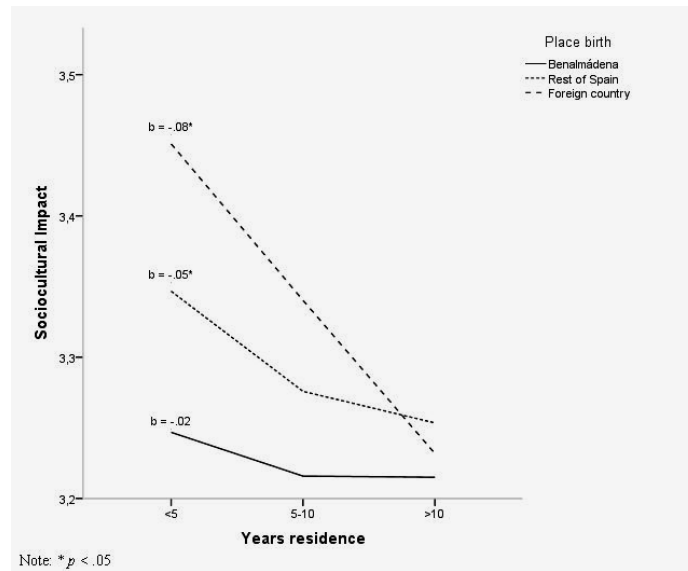
3.4. Native condition as a moderator of the relationship between the years of residence and tourism attitude dimensions

To illustrate the native condition X years of residence interaction effect on the tourism attitude dimensions, we plotted the regression of tourism attitude dimensions on the years of residence by different birthplaces (Benalmádena, elsewhere in Spain, and outside Spain) (Figures 5, 6, and 7), controlling for the effects of the variables related to tourism attitudes (i.e., age, gender, marital status, level of education, parental status, type or work, and social participation). The interaction between the native condition and the years of residence was a significant predictor of the *environmental impact* ($b = -.10$, $t_{(770)} = -2.77$, $p < .01$) and the *overall attitude* ($b = -.05$, $t_{(770)} = -2.23$, $p < .01$) and a marginally significant predictor of the *socio-cultural impact* ($b = -.04$, $t_{(770)} = -1.74$, $p < .10$). Among non-native residents, those who had been living in Benalmádena for less than five years showed better general attitudes towards and better perceptions of tourism's effects on the local economy and socio-cultural life than those who had been living in Benalmádena for longer. In other words, non-natives' attitudes towards tourism gradually worsen as the years of residence in the city increase.

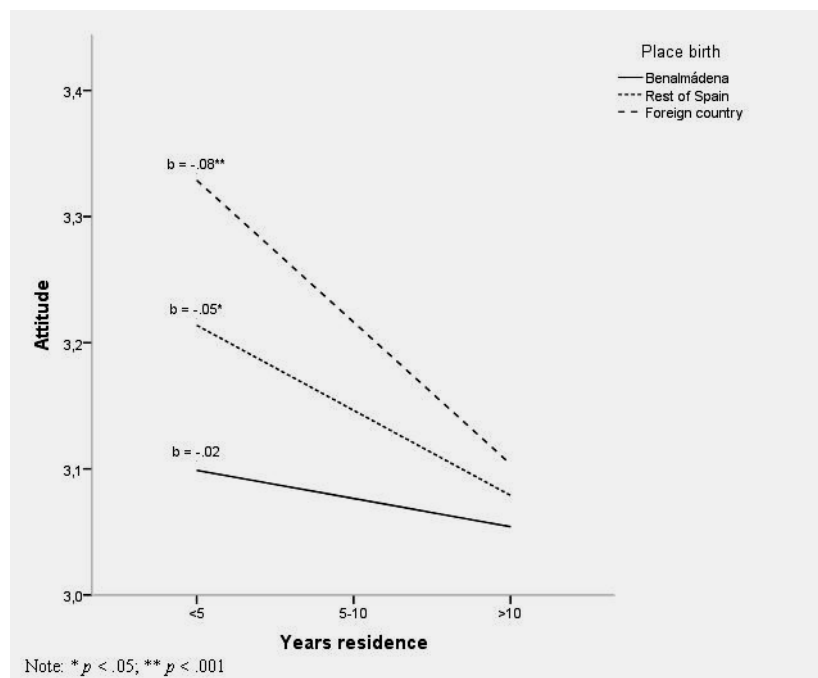
<Figure 5. Interaction of birthplace and years of residence in predicting the *environmental impact*>



<Figure 6. Interaction of birthplace and years of residence in predicting the *socio-cultural impact*>



<Figure 7. Interaction of birthplace and years of residence in predicting the *overall attitude*>



4. Discussion

This study examined the effects of the main socio-demographic characteristics of residents on their perceptions of tourism's impacts on the environment, the economy, and socio-cultural life in Benalmádena.

In accordance with previous studies (Davis et al., 1988; Ribeiro, Oom do Valle & Silva, 2013; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994), this study found no effects of *gender* on residents' perceptions of tourism's impact. Other studies, however, suggest that gender can determine residents' attitudes towards tourism (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012).

Age was found to be a predictor of residents' negative attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local economy and a predictor of positive perceptions of tourism's effects on the local environment. The youngest residents, compared to those aged 45–64, were found to have more favourable perceptions of tourism's effects on the local economy. This result is consistent with Bujosa and Rosselló's study (2007) of the Balearic Islands. The youngest residents could have been still studying and living with their parents; they were thus less aware of the economic crisis affecting Spain, or they may not have been directly suffering the consequences, unlike older residents. In addition, the youngest residents could have more easily obtained a temporary job during the high tourism season. However, for the group aged 45–64, finding a job would be more difficult. Compared to younger residents, this age group would prefer stable jobs that are not based on seasonality (i.e., *not* tourism-related jobs). Huh and Vogt (2008) reached a similar conclusion and indicated that middle-aged cohorts (i.e., 45–54 and 55–64) had less favourable attitudes towards tourism's economic impacts compared to the young adult cohort (aged 25 to 34). Compared to older cohorts, young adults may perceive tourism development as their best economic opportunity for the future. Compared to younger residents, residents over 65 perceived tourism's impact on the local environment more positively. Compared to those over 65, young people have received more in-depth environmental education; consequently, young people may be more concerned about the environment than seniors. Notably, older residents showed a positive view of tourism's effects on the environment, despite their greater environmental awareness, as they have no perceptions of losing an area with great environmental quality. Moreover, these residents were born in rural, non-urban areas, and they have observed the transformation of space in rural areas. Likewise, older residents may be insensitive to environmental degradation if the new facilities and

tourist accommodations provide jobs. Therefore, as residents age, they seemingly value economic issues more than environmental issues. Regarding the socio-cultural impact, residents aged 45–64 have better attitudes than residents younger than 20. This result could be explained by older people's perceptions of tourism as a factor in, for instance, creating new public facilities, preserving traditions, and having opportunities to interact with foreigners; by contrast, younger residents could perceive tourism as a source of deficiencies of cultural services and the supply of cultural activities.

Marital status was found to be a predictor of residents' attitudes towards tourism's impact on socio-cultural life. Married residents, compared to unmarried ones, showed more positive attitudes. Married people perhaps perceive Benalmádena's socio-cultural offerings as better suited to their needs than those who are unmarried. No differences were found between married and unmarried residents regarding their perceptions of tourism's economic and environmental impacts. Similarly, other studies have not found significant differences (Allen, Long, Perdue & Keiselbach, 1988; Korca, 1996; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2002).

Parental status was found to be a strong predictor of positive attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local environment, explaining a significant amount of the variance of the *environmental impact* beyond the effects attributable to age and gender. The most significant environmental elements of Benalmádena are large parks (e.g., Paloma Park), which are recreational areas that are most often visited by retirees and young couples with children. In line with these results, the study that King et al. (1993) conducted in Nadi (Fiji Island) showed that respondents who had children under 18 living in their households were more favourably disposed to tourism than those without minor children in the household (Tosun, 2002). In addition, Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) found that the more minor children that respondents had in the family, the more positive their perceptions regarding tourism's impact on certain socioeconomic issues were and the higher their level of support for the industry was. In other studies, however, this variable did not show statistically significant values (Milman & Pizam, 1988; Pearce, 1980; William & Lawson, 2001).

Level of education was a strong predictor of positive attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local economy, the environment, and socio-cultural life, explaining a significant amount of the variance of the impacts studied beyond the effects ascribable to age and gender. Residents with higher education levels perceived tourism's impacts

more positively than residents with lower education levels. Actually, residents' attitudes towards tourism gradually improve as their levels of education increase. These results are consistent with previous research (Hernández, Cohen & García, 1996; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Teye, Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002). As these researchers explain, compared to residents with high education levels, residents with lower education levels might consider themselves less likely to get a job and, in turn, to directly benefit from tourism. In the same way, residents with lower education levels might be more interested in maintaining their traditional way of life given the socio-cultural changes occurring in their city. Tourism-related immigration has led to strong competition for jobs. These results are similar to those in the study of Kuvan and Akan (2004), who found that less educated residents had more critical attitudes towards tourism.

Type of work (economic dependence) was found to be a predictor of the perceptions of tourism's effects on the economy and socio-cultural life. Compared to those working in jobs not related to tourism, residents working in an activity indirectly related to tourism have better attitudes regarding the socio-cultural impact of tourism. The latter, unlike the former, are engaged in tourism activities related to leisure and culture, and they potentially believe that their jobs positively stimulate socio-cultural activities in the city, which may explain their attitudes. Residents working in tourism-induced jobs have more favourable attitudes towards the economic impact than those working in jobs indirectly related to tourism. Compared to residents with jobs that indirectly relate to tourism, residents with tourism-induced employment may consider their employment to be more favourable, stable, and less conditioned by tourism's seasonality. Residents with indirect jobs and less education have worse attitudes towards the economic impacts of tourism. In general, residents' attitudes about tourism's economic impact are consistent with the principles of social exchange theory that are applied to destinations (Andereck et al., 2005; Ap, 1992; Perdue et al., 1990).

Social participation was found to explain differences among residents' attitudes towards tourism's impacts. Residents who participate in a social association occasionally have more positive attitudes towards tourism than do residents who participate regularly and those who do not participate in social associations. Cultural associations have become centres of both interpersonal relations and social and economic debate, within the context of the economic crisis in Spain, which may explain this result. Residents who regularly attend associations might develop a critical view of

the current social situation and, in turn, tourism. Moreover, these associations have suffered cuts due to the economic crisis in Spain. Thus, the residents who occasionally attend these association meetings may be less critical than those who attend these association meetings regularly; they also may enjoy the socio-cultural life of the city and interpersonal relations with local residents and foreigners more than residents who never attend these association meetings. In line with these results, Lankford and Howard (1994) found that social participation can influence positive attitudes towards tourism if local residents feel that they exert some control over the planning and development process of the tourist space.

Native condition was found to be a strong predictor of attitudes towards tourism's impacts, which explains a significant amount of the variance across all of the considered impacts (beyond the effects ascribable to age and gender). Compared to foreigners, natives have more unfavourable attitudes towards environmental, economic, and socio-cultural impacts. These results are in line with the study of Aguiló et al. (2004), which states, 'the balance between the gains and costs of tourism is more negative for native Balearic Islanders and more positive for those born in the rest of Spain'. In the case of Benalmádena, local residents have observed the transformation of the municipality, and they might believe that this tourism development does not meet their financial, socio-cultural, and environmental expectations. Foreigners residing in Benalmádena are mostly retired or liberal professionals, who chose this destination due to its climate and economic advantages and, in turn, perceive the impacts of tourism more positively.

Years of residence was a strong predictor of negative attitudes towards tourism's effects on local environment and socio-cultural life, explaining a significant amount of the variance in the environmental and socio-cultural impacts, as well as the overall attitude, beyond the effects of all of the other socio-demographic variables considered. The results indicate that residents' attitudes towards tourism become more unfavourable as their years of residence in the town increase. By contrast, those who have lived in the city for less five years have more positive attitudes. These results are consistent with previous research (Haley, Snaith & Miller, 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Sheldon & Var, 1984). These authors explain that the increasingly poorer attitude towards tourism varies with the years of residency, as residents living in the city longer have witnessed many negative changes and, in turn, remember and miss 'the good old days'.

Attachment to the community is usually measured by one's years of residence and/or upbringing in a community (Lankford & Howard, 1994; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). The interaction between native condition and years of residence was a predictor of attitudes towards tourism, with foreigners who had lived in Benalmádena for less than five years showing the best attitudes towards tourism and natives who had lived in Benalmádena for more than 10 years showing the worst perceptions of tourism's impact. In addition, we found a significant effect of the interaction between native condition and years of residence. The longer these residents live in the city, the progressively worse their attitudes towards tourism's effect on the local economy and socio-cultural life become. As mentioned above, these results are consistent with previous research (Haley et al., 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Sheldon & Var, 1984); over time, residents observe negative changes in the city and become frustrated because of their initial expectations about their residence, which might explain these results.

Benalmádena is a mature tourist destination. Regarding residents' attitudes towards tourism worsening as their years of residence increase, we have not found that the long-term residents express hostility or show attitudes towards the tourists based on negative stereotypes, as indicated by the Irridex Model or Doxey's Irridex (1975). This theoretical model proposed that communities pass through a sequence of reactions, ranging from euphoria to antagonism (characterized by the open expression of irritation), to tourism and visitors as destinations evolve from exploration towards stagnation. However, other authors (Horn & Simmons, 2002; Smith & Krannich, 1998) found that destinations at similar phases in tourism development can present very different attitudes, which may depend on the relative economic importance given to tourism in each destination (Smith & Krannich, 1998). Perhaps Benalmádena residents do not express an overall negative attitude towards tourism because this community benefits from tourism and resident-tourist exchanges have become routine and commonly accepted.

<**Table 7.** Main factors influencing Benalmádena residents' attitudes towards tourism's impacts>

	More favourable	Less favourable
Attitude	University students Occasional participation Foreigners. Born rest of Spain Residing less than 5 years	Uneducated Regular participation Native Residing over 10 years
Economic impact	Under 20 years University Students Induced employment Occasional participation Foreigners	45-64 years Uneducated Indirect employment Regular participation Natives. Born rest of Spain.
Socio-cultural impact	45-64 years Married University Students Indirect employment Occasional participation Foreigners Residing less than 5 years	Under 20 years No married Uneducated Employment without regard to tourism Regular participation Native Residing over 10 years
Environmental impact	More than 65 years Have children University students and Primary school Foreigners Residing less than 5 years	Under 20 years Have no children Uneducated Native Residing more 10 years

5. Conclusions

The following is a narrative summary of the main conclusions reached in this research. Based on our results, several profiles of residents, according to their perceptions of tourism's effects, could be identified:

Profile A: Highly educated non-natives who have been living in Benalmádena for less than five years. They show a positive attitude towards the impact of tourism.

Profile A1. Highly educated non-natives, retired and/or with children, who have been living in Benalmádena for less than five years. They show positive attitudes towards the environmental impact of tourism.

Profile A2. Highly educated, married non-natives (aged 45–64) who have been living in Benalmádena for less than five years. They show positive attitudes towards the socio-cultural impact of tourism.

Profile A3. Highly educated, non-native young adults who have been living in Benalmádena for less than five years. They show positive attitudes towards tourism's effects on the local economy.

Profile B. Natives and residents who have been living in Benalmádena for more than ten years. They show an overall negative attitude towards tourism.

Profile B1. Native young adults, with low levels of education, who have been living in Benalmádena more than 10 years. They show negative attitudes towards the environmental and socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

Profile B2. Native and born elsewhere in Spain (aged 45–64), with low levels of education. They present negative attitudes towards tourism's economic impact.

Natives and those who have been living in Benalmádena for more than 10 years generally perceive the impact of tourism more negatively than other residents. Additionally, non-natives' attitudes towards tourism worsen after 5–10 years of residence. This attitude shift is especially pronounced among foreigners, whose initial attitudes towards tourism are generally positive. As non-native residents spend more time in Benalmádena, they are increasingly conscious of the negative and unsatisfactory aspects of living in a mature tourist destination on the coast (i.e., we could say that the residents will 'burn out' living in Benalmádena). By contrast, newcomers highlight the most favourable aspects of the city; therefore, they might more positively value the destination and tourism. In other words, they have only been residing in the city for a few years and are still not 'burned out' from living in Benalmádena. Similar results were found in a study by Davis et al. (1988): native residents expressed a high degree of negativity regarding the Florida experience. Over time, residents in cities with high amounts of tourism development can come to perceive the negative impacts of tourism rather than its positive impacts, as they have lived with the problems created by increased tourism, such as overcrowding, noise, and environmental degradation (Yoon et al., 1999). As the study of Besculides et al. (2002) highlights, residents with strong links to the community are more concerned about the impact of tourism; thus, compared to other residents, they have more negative attitudes about tourism.

Attitudes towards tourism improve as residents' educational levels increase. When residents have higher levels of education, their perceptions of tourism are more positive. By contrast, residents with lower levels of education have more critical views of tourism. Natives and non-native residents who have spent more than ten years living in Benalmádena and who have low levels of education perceive tourism more negatively. Therefore, this resident profile should receive more attention in planning and tourism policies in an attempt to improve their relationships with and attitudes towards tourism. It would be necessary to invest in specific programmes intended to educate residents on the benefits of tourism in mature touristic areas, such as Costa del Sol in general and Benalmádena in particular, whose primary income comes from tourism. The future of mature destinations is linked to the improvement of human capital. Educating native residents and residents who have lived in the city for more than ten years about tourism's effects would encourage more positive attitudes towards tourism (Stylidis et al., 2014). For example, special events, such as 'Native Day', might be helpful in promoting more favourable attitudes towards tourism (Davis et al., 1988). In addition, involving residents in decisions related to tourism development and management could be of great interest to them. Residents' involvement in these decisions would help them understand the importance of tourism in their towns; in addition, once they felt that they were a part of the decision-making process, they would be more likely to accept the inconveniences that come along with tourism.

Therefore, knowing residents' opinions is necessary in the planning process and governance of destinations. Their opinions must be taken into account from a technical point of view during the implementation of tourism plans (Liu et al., 1987; Prayag et al., 2013; Stylidis et al., 2014) and from a political point of view during the development of local tourism policies (Manning, 1998). Tourism could be a great opportunity for development if it considers residents direct beneficiaries, promotes cultural expression, respects the environment and integrates communities at all levels (Contreras, 2011; D'Amore, 1983). If the community does not support the tourism model and does not perceive its benefits, strong opposition to tourism development could arise (Gursoy et al., 2002). For this reason, residents' participation in planning and destination management is crucial for the future of the destination (Dyer et al., 2007).

The present study could serve as a guide to compare this mature and seaside destination with other tourist areas that have similar characteristics, taking into account that the results are not generalizable. The conditions of each context (e.g., topography,

heritage, culture, history, and infrastructure) create results that, although they might have some common characteristics with other places, are still unique to the local area (Almeida, et al., 2015; Ryan, Chaozhi, & Zeng, 2011). Even so, this study constitutes a point of reference for future investigations.

Finally, this research is limited by the exclusive use of quantitative methods, which test the relationship between the variables that influence residents' attitudes towards tourism. This quantitative approach describes what residents perceive, but it does not explain why they have such perceptions (Sharpley, 2014). Thus, a further qualitative analysis would be useful to strengthen the explanations provided, delving into the different profiles that have emerged in our analysis (Deery, Jago & Fredline, 2012). In particular, a series of in-depth interviews could provide a more detailed justification and a greater understanding of these profiles in relation to residents' attitudes.

In another vein, tourist areas are transformed over time; therefore, residents' perceptions and their support for tourism development evolve as well. Hence, the relationship between residents' attitudes and destination modifications should be analysed periodically (Stylidis et al., 2014). For instance, it would be interesting to conduct a longitudinal study and a follow-up study several years later, with the intention of understanding the evolutionary timeline of residents' attitudes towards tourism (Huh & Vogt, 2008).

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Appendix

Survey on the impact of tourism in Benalmádena