

Journal of Travel Research

<http://jtr.sagepub.com/>

Exploring the Theoretical Framework of Emotional Solidarity between Residents and Tourists

Kyle M. Woosnam, William C. Norman and Tianyu Ying

Journal of Travel Research 2009 48: 245 originally published online 27 February 2009

DOI: 10.1177/0047287509332334

The online version of this article can be found at:

<http://jtr.sagepub.com/content/48/2/245>

Published by:



<http://www.sagepublications.com>

On behalf of:



[Travel and Tourism Research Association](#)

Additional services and information for *Journal of Travel Research* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://jtr.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://jtr.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations: <http://jtr.sagepub.com/content/48/2/245.refs.html>

Exploring the Theoretical Framework of Emotional Solidarity between Residents and Tourists

Kyle M. Woosnam
Texas A&M University

William C. Norman

Tianyu Ying
Clemson University

Residents and tourists within destinations are often portrayed as being separate from each other, possessing little in common. Such an approach can undermine the potential for a dynamic, intimate relationship to exist between residents and tourists. This research offers the theory of emotional solidarity, put forth by Emile Durkheim, as a theoretical framework to examine the relationship between residents and tourists. In addition, a series of focus groups with residents of a coastal South Carolina county was conducted to ascertain residents' feelings about tourists and commonalities with tourists (i.e., shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction). Themes corresponding to constructs from Durkheim's model were generated from the qualitative data analysis. Findings are discussed, along with practical implications and future research options.

Keywords: *resident–tourist interaction; Durkheim; emotional solidarity; qualitative; residents' feelings about tourists*

Within any travel destination, residents and tourists are inextricably linked. It is difficult to imagine being on vacation without interacting or seeing residents in day-to-day life activities (Zhang, Inbakaran, and Jackson 2006). Many times, residents as much as tourists are drawn to a location because of an associated image, whether it be as an escape from urban areas (Sherlock 2001), the intrigue of a particular religion or spiritual belief (Evans-Pritchard 1989; Joseph and Kavoori 2001; Laxson 1991), or the appreciation for preservation of a culture or heritage at a destination (Hampton 2005). Residents and tourists are also linked based on sharing amenities and services within a destination, such as patronizing stores and shops (Snepenger et al. 1998; Snepenger et al. 2003), utilizing natural resources (Cohen 2004; Sherlock 2001), and attending festivals (Derrett 2003).

While these examples serve to highlight the potential overlap between residents and tourists, the relationship between the parties has been treated as one that is superficial, where little commonalities exist (Aramberri 2001). Wearing and Wearing (2001) claim that the relationship has been predicated on the dichotomy of the “self” versus the “other.” This dichotomy is experienced not only on the part of tourists looking at the resident as the “other”

(MacCannell 1999; Urry 2002; Van Den Berghe 1994) but also on the part of the resident looking at the tourist as the “other” (Laxson 1991; McNaughton 2006).

A way in which to transcend this dichotomy is to examine the emotional relationships that may exist between residents and tourists (McIntosh 1998; Wearing and Wearing 2001). The purpose of this article is twofold:

1. To offer the theory of emotional solidarity as a framework to examine feelings residents have about tourists
2. To develop the constructs of the theory of emotional solidarity through a qualitative study in coastal Beaufort County, South Carolina

Resident Research

The relationship between resident and tourist in many contexts has been conceptualized in a negative manner. Both Albuquerque and McElroy (1999) and Harper (2001) found that the rate of crime to tourists (e.g., larceny, theft,

Authors' Note: Funding for this project was made possible through a grant from the College of Health, Education and Human Development at Clemson University.

and robbery) was higher than that experienced by local residents. An assumption in this work is that residents of the destination are individuals committing the crimes (Wall and Mathieson 2006). Residents have been cited as being greedy, treating tourists as little more than potential income. Aramberri (2001, p. 746) claims, "The hosts, no matter their individual generosity, are as eager as the clerks at the Plaza to get their dough. . . . Nothing to be ashamed of, the hosts are just taking care of business in the same way as any enterprising business owner would." Residents staging authentic experiences for tourists also can have a negative bearing on the relationship. According to Johnston (2006), residents are reduced to objects while tourists are deceived into thinking they are witnessing how "natives" truly live.

A preponderance of research concerning the relationship between residents and tourists has focused on residents' attitudes toward tourism (McGehee and Andereck 2004). This line of research had initially examined attitudes about the impacts of tourism (Liu, Sheldon, and Var 1987; Sheldon and Var 1984; Um and Crompton 1987) and more recently has examined tourism development options (Andereck and Vogt 2000; Jurowski, Uysal, and Williams 1997; King, Pizam, and Milman 1993; Perdue, Long, and Allen 1990). Such research has focused on residents' attitudes about tourism development and impacts from a cognitive processing perspective (i.e., thoughts) and not necessarily attitudes about tourists from an affective perspective (i.e., feelings). According to Breckler (1984), attitudes are personal dispositions that individuals have for another person, object, or occurrence, which can be either thoughts or feelings. In a basic sense, feelings can be defined as an affective state of consciousness, such as that resulting from emotions or sentiments (Thoits 1989). Thus, feelings were directly examined in the current study by asking residents how they felt about tourists.

Resident attitudes research has been largely focused on determining the best predictor of attitudes. As Harrill (2004) claims, these predictors have been grouped into three main domains: economic dependency, spatial factors, and socioeconomic factors. At best, these predictors have produced mixed findings, with no one variable consistently explaining the most variance in resident attitudes (Andereck et al. 2005). However, three main findings are worthy of noting. First, the more a community is economically dependent on tourism, the more likely it will be in support of tourism development (Long, Perdue, and Allen 1990; McGehee and Andereck 2004). However, as Wall and Mathieson (2006) point out, residents have a tolerance threshold for tourists that ultimately results in less support for development. Second, those who stand to

gain the most financially in a community have the highest support for tourism development (Jurowski, Uysal, and Williams 1997; Lankford and Howard 1994; Smith and Krannich 1998). Finally, despite potential negative impacts of tourism, communities overall tend to favor tourism development (Wall 1997).

In addition, limited theory has been applied within resident attitudes research (Harrill 2004). One of the most commonly utilized frameworks is social exchange theory (Andereck et al. 2005; Andereck and Vogt 2000; Jurowski, Uysal, and Williams 1997; Long, Perdue, and Allen 1990; McGehee and Andereck 2004; Perdue, Long, and Allen 1990; Wang and Pfister 2008). The main issue with social exchange theory is that it treats the relationship between residents and tourists as one based solely on financial transactions. Aramberri (2001) claimed that such financial exchanges are the main phenomena connecting residents and tourists. New theories have been called for to better explain the relationship between resident and tourist (Harrill 2004; McGehee and Andereck 2004).

The facts that findings are often mixed and that little theory has been employed suggest that studies focusing on residents' attitudes toward tourism and accompanying development using existing frameworks may be problematic for understanding complex relationships between residents and tourists. The current research shows a disjoint between residents and tourists, neglecting the commonalities between the parties, which could potentially contribute to the development of intimate relationships. A call for the examination of affective relationships between residents and tourists has been made within the tourism literature. Wearing and Wearing (2001) claim that resident and tourist are linked through emotional connections and interactions that exist and that they are not separate as past literature has stated. Examining degrees of emotions or affect is necessary for a more holistic understanding of tourism experiences and interactions between residents and tourists (McIntosh 1998). Pizam, Uriely, and Reichel (2000) note that research is needed to examine residents' feelings toward tourists through their interactions. McGehee and Andereck (2004) allude to the fact that such an examination could be ascertained through qualitative means of interviews with residents.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework applied in this study to examine residents' feelings toward and commonalities with tourists is that of emotional solidarity. Hammarstrom (2005) claimed emotional solidarity to be the affective

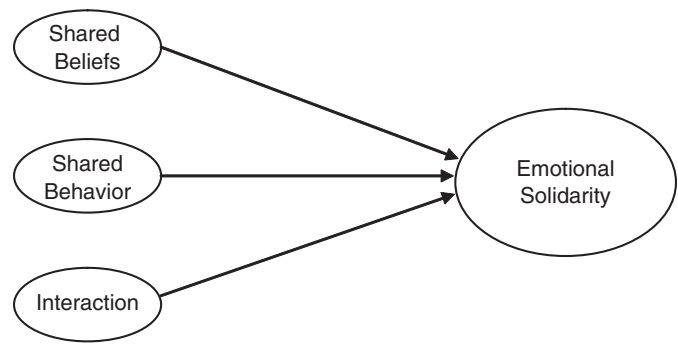
bonds individuals experience with one another, characterized by perceived emotional closeness and degree of contact. Similarly, the concept has been described as a feeling of solidarity that binds a group together, fostering a sense of “we together” as opposed to a “me versus you” sentiment (Jacobs and Allen 2005). Wallace and Wolf (2006) state that emotional solidarity is feeling a sense of identification with others or identifying with other individuals as a result of a common value system.

The theory of emotional solidarity comes out of sociology and the work of Emile Durkheim. Within his book *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Durkheim (1915/1995) posits that the most basic of religions have two fundamental attributes, beliefs and behaviors, that serve to bring about solidarity among members. Interaction between individuals within the religion, a third fundamental attribute (implicitly pointed out in Durkheim’s work), was mentioned later by Collins (1975) as also contributing to feelings of solidarity. Figure 1 shows a schematic of the theoretical model of emotional solidarity.

Emotional solidarity has been applied largely to research in the fields of anthropology, sociology, social psychology, family studies, and gerontology. Initially, many of the studies within these fields were empirical in nature (Geiger 1955; Klapp 1959; Rosengren 1959; Street 1965). A resurgent interest in emotional solidarity has occurred as of late and is evidenced by empirical (Bahr et al. 2004; Lin and Harwood 2003; Lowenstein and Daatland 2006; Mills, Wakeman, and Fea 2001) and conceptual research (Barbalet 1994; Fish 2002; Wilson 2006). However, to date, no one has applied emotional solidarity in the context of tourism. In fact, the work of Durkheim is minimally used within the tourism literature in the development of theory (see MacCannell 1999; Rojek 2000). Some have applied Durkheim’s work in the context of tourism and crime (Dann 1977; Robinson 2008) and community tourism planning and sustainable development (Fredline and Faulkner 2000; Telfer 2003).

Despite the lack of application of emotional solidarity within the tourism literature, there is a logical fit for the framework. As a structural functionalist, much of Durkheim’s work was centered on social phenomena (or social facts) and how components of a system serve a purpose to bring about balance, integration, and cohesion within a society (Wallace and Wolf 2006). A similar systems perspective has received attention within the tourism literature involving the numerous interconnected parts of a tourism system: travel industry, local economies, local communities, local government, hospitality

Figure 1
Theoretical Model of Emotional Solidarity



sector, amenities, residents, and tourists, with the last two components arguably being the main players (Blank 1989; Gunn and Var 2002; Leiper 1990).

Durkheim’s theory in the context of residents and tourists offers a novel way to understand the complex, dynamic relationship between individuals within a destination. Based on Durkheim (1915/1995), it is proposed that residents’ degree of shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction with tourists will significantly predict their emotional solidarity experienced with tourists visiting their community. While it is beyond the scope of this article to test Durkheim’s model in the context of tourism, the main purpose is to identify the feelings and commonalities residents have with tourists.

Research explicitly focusing on emotional solidarity, shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction between residents and tourists has been limited within the literature. Examples of residents identifying with tourists are typically in the form of the demonstration effect (Gossling 2002) and acculturation (MacCannell 1999; Nunez 1989). The demonstration effect is merely shown through local populations mimicking visible aspects of tourists’ culture (e.g., apparel, haircuts, etc.). Gossling (2002) found this to be the case among young Zanzibari children identifying with tourists and their lifestyles by wearing Western sunglasses and T-shirts. Acculturation occurs when individuals from different cultural backgrounds are exposed to one another for extended periods of time and they borrow different mannerisms and ways of life from each other. Unfortunately, such identification comes at a cost to the local population more often than not, through the loss of native cultures (Nunez 1989).

Residents may hold similar beliefs with tourists in destinations. For instance, Laxson (1991) mentions the reverence that both residents and tourists feel for particular Native American ritual dances in the southeastern

United States. Sherlock (2001) talks of residents and tourists in northeastern Australia seeking escape and refuge in a seaside tropical retreat near the Great Barrier Reef where both parties peacefully coexist. Clustering residents in a study surrounding a major motorsport event in Australia, Fredline and Faulkner (2002) found that residents who supported the event held the most similar views of tourists, primarily that they held the highest level of interest in motor racing as a sport. Cohen (2004) and his work on hill tribes and hunter-gatherer groups in Thailand showcased how both residents and tourists share the belief of living in harmony with nature and escaping developed contemporary society.

Participating in similar activities is another area of common ground between residents and tourists. Snepenger and colleagues (1998; Snepenger et al. 2003) have conducted studies focusing on residents and tourists sharing a downtown space for shopping. Derrett (2003) examined residents and tourists attending festivals together and how such interaction facilitates a sense of community. Potential for shared behavior was discussed in the work of Fredline and Faulkner (2000, 2002) showcasing residents' and tourists' interest in attending a motorsports event.

The interaction between residents and tourists is another commonality which has received limited attention. In a study of Ghana residents and their attitudes toward tourism, Teye, Sonmez, and Sirakaya (2002) found that positive interaction with tourists explained a large degree of variance in attitudes among local residents. Pizam, Urieli, and Reichel (2000) focused on working tourists in Israel whose positive interactions with the host community led to a change from typical negative attitudes and feelings toward their host to more positive attitudes and feelings. Prentice, Witt, and Wydenbach (1994) found in a study of tourists in South Wales that tourists may be endeared to a destination and locals through informal social interactions such as chatting with local residents and participating in everyday social activities with residents. Rothman (1978) found that when such informal social interactions are frequent, intimate relations are likely to develop between residents and tourists.

Based on a review of emotional solidarity and potential application to the study of residents' feelings toward tourists in their community, two research questions were formulated:

1. How do permanent residents feel about tourists in their community?
2. What commonalities do permanent residents express they have with tourists in their community?

Method

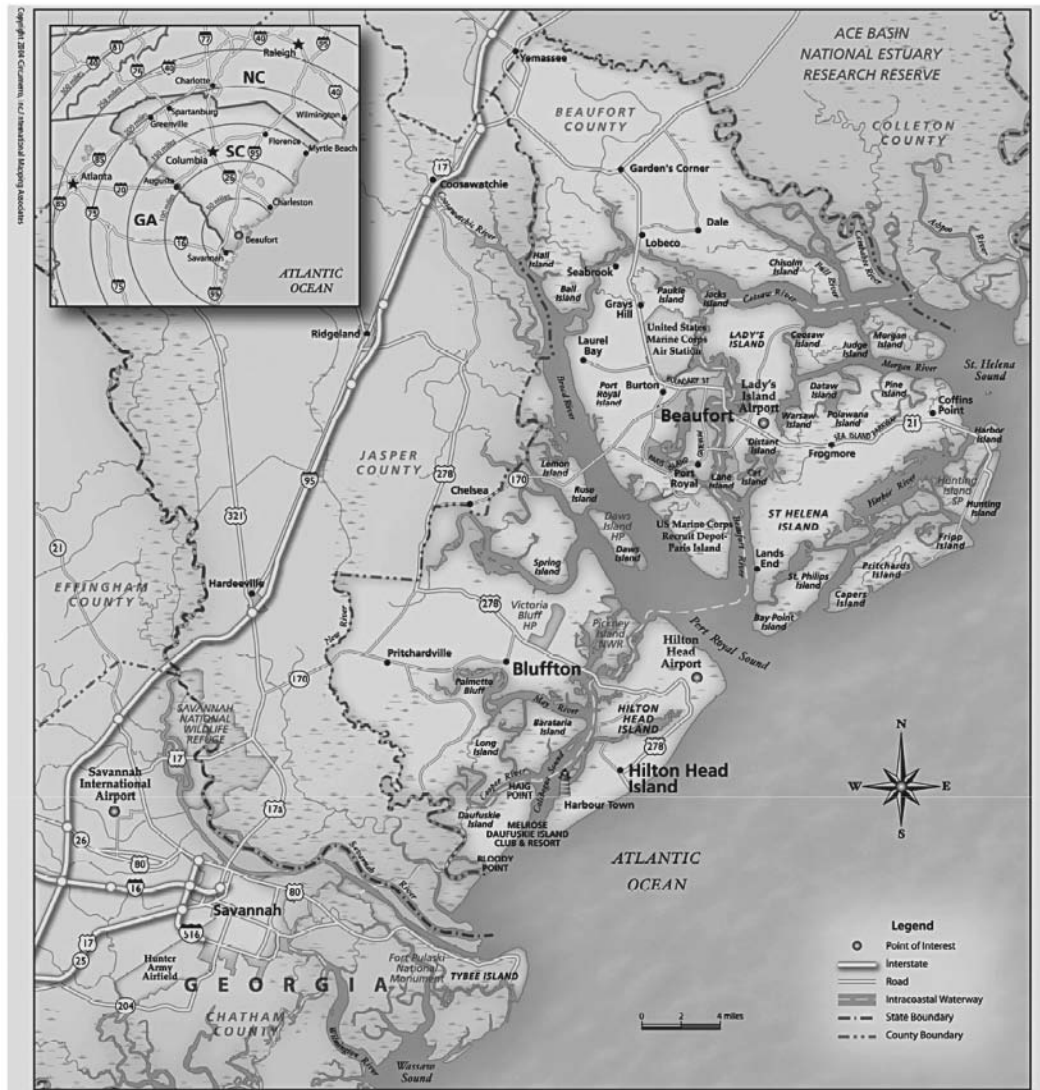
Study Site

Beaufort County, South Carolina, United States, is situated in the southeastern corner of the state, in the coastal region known as the "Lowcountry" (Rowland, Moore, and Rogers 1996). Main travel destinations within the county include Beaufort, Hilton Head Island, and Bluffton (Figure 2). Located in the northern portion of the county, Beaufort is widely known as a day-trip destination (one hour south of Charleston, South Carolina, and 45 minutes north of Hilton Head Island) for travelers interested in Southern history and culture. Visitors are drawn to the town and surrounding areas for the historic downtown (with more than 90 structures on the U.S. National Historic Register) and rustic views of the coastline and because many famous movies have been filmed there (e.g., *Forrest Gump*, *The Big Chill*, *The Prince of Tides*, and *The Legend of Bagge Vance*). Beaufort is also the gateway to a number of South Carolina's coastal barrier islands and home to the Gullah culture (an African American culture dating back to the antebellum era; Rowland, Moore, and Rogers 1996).

Hilton Head Island and Bluffton are located in the southern portion of the county. Hilton Head Island is a well-known tourist destination attracting both domestic tourists from across the United States as well as international visitors. Tourists are drawn to the area as a result of its appeal as an exclusive resort destination with oceanfront views, beaches, tennis, golf courses, and extensive retail opportunities. Bluffton is somewhat of a hybrid between Beaufort and Hilton Head Island, being a day-trip destination for Hilton Head Island visitors to experience a quaint historic river town with local boutiques, countless eateries, and numerous retail shops (including outlet malls). According to a report by the Bureau of Business Research and Economic Development (2008) at Georgia Southern University, the current visitor to Beaufort County, on average, stays 3.9 nights, spends \$548 per trip, and is part of a group size of two people. In addition, according to the Hilton Head Island-Bluffton Visitor and Convention Bureau (2008, p. 22), "A majority of visitors come from markets that are a one-to-two-day drive/fly," with the top five states of origin being Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, and Florida.

In 2006, Beaufort County ranked third in the state for domestic travel expenditures (\$958 million) (Travel Industry Association of America 2007). As a result, tourism is the largest employer within the county, accounting for approximately 45% of all jobs (Hill and Hill 2004). To date, Beaufort County is one of the fastest-growing

Figure 2
Map of Beaufort County, South Carolina



counties in South Carolina as a reflection of residential and tourism development. In fact, since 1990, the population of senior citizens in Beaufort County has increased 96.2% (Lowcountry Council of Governments Planning Department 2006). Much of this growth in the senior citizen population is reflected in Bluffton annexing nearly 50 miles of surrounding private communities, growing from 1,275 to 15,000 residents in 2007 (Town of Bluffton 2008).

Beaufort County was selected as the study site specifically because it was believed that it was the best setting to study emotional solidarity in the state of South Carolina. It was purposefully chosen because of its role in the state's tourism industry, the diversity of its residents

(e.g., 29.8% of the county residents older than 55, 20.3% African Americans, and 60.8% of individuals born outside of the state (U.S. Census Bureau 2008), and the various tourism opportunities in the area. In addition, Beaufort County government officials and tourism planners have expressed interest in assessing how permanent residents feel toward tourists, especially in the wake of increased local development.

Data Collection

Qualitative data were collected through three focus groups of permanent residents in Beaufort County during

Table 1
Sociodemographic Composition of Focus Groups

Focus Group	<i>n</i>	Length of Residency	Employed in Tourism Sector (<i>n</i>)	Racial Composition	Gender Composition
Beaufort	10	Range = 1 to 40 yrs <i>Mdn</i> = 20 yrs	3	1 African American 9 Caucasians	5 women 5 men
Hilton Head	8	Range = 10 to 80 yrs <i>Mdn</i> = 19.5 yrs	4	3 African Americans 5 Caucasians	3 women 5 men
Bluffton	11	Range = 1 to 50 yrs <i>Mdn</i> = 12 yrs	5	3 African Americans 8 Caucasians	7 women 4 men

the spring of 2007 in Beaufort, Hilton Head Island, and Bluffton. Gatekeepers were utilized to provide lists of potential participants to contact for each focus group. Such gatekeepers included chamber of commerce employees, local university employees, a local tourism institute director, and the county extension agent. On receiving names and contact information, participants were recruited (by offering incentives) using a criterion sampling scheme (Miles and Huberman 1994). Such criteria included residents who felt strongly (either positively or negatively) about tourists (so as to ensure a wealth of perspectives in fostering dialogue as Krueger [1994] recommends), were permanent residents of the county, and were at least 18 years of age. Strong feelings of residents were ascertained based on gatekeepers' familiarity with each potential participant. In addition to this, care was given to recruit individuals for the focus groups with differing lengths of residency, occupations, and racial and gender composition (Table 1).

Morgan (1988) recommends an optimal group size between 8 and 12 participants. The focus groups held in Beaufort, Hilton Head Island, and Bluffton had 10, 8, and 11 participants, respectively, and were led by a moderator and assistant moderator. Focus groups were all held on site in public facilities (i.e., libraries and county extension building), were audiotaped for data analysis, and lasted approximately two hours. The moderator followed a semistructured interview script with questions including the following: How do you feel about tourists that you encounter locally? What beliefs do you feel you have in common with tourists? What activities do you share with tourists? What degree of interaction do you personally have with tourists? Creswell and Plano Clark (2006) point out that such a semistructured format allows for flexibility in the interview to take different directions as the interviewees dictate their responses and allows the researcher to probe further.

Data Analysis

Utilizing the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo7, both the moderator and assistant moderator coded and

Table 2
Conceptual Content Analysis Procedures

Data Step	Procedure
1.	Make decision to code by phrase
2.	Make decision to code only for four parent nodes
a.	Feelings about tourists
b.	Shared beliefs between residents and tourists
c.	Shared behavior between residents and tourists
d.	Interaction between residents and tourists
3.	Make decision to code data for frequency
4.	Make decision to code data exactly as they appear
5.	Make decision to disregard irrelevant information
6.	Code the text
7.	Evaluate and assure reliability of codes between coders
8.	Formulate themes based on common codes within each parent node

analyzed transcribed focus group data. In so doing, an eight-step conceptual content analysis procedure (Table 2) was followed as formulated by Carney (1990) and utilized by Busch, DeMaret, and Flynn (2008).

As mentioned in Carney (1990) and Busch, DeMaret, and Flynn (2008), the first five steps involved determining the level at which analysis would occur. Four parent nodes (or concepts) were coded from the data: (1) residents' feelings about tourists, (2) shared beliefs about Beaufort County between residents and tourists, (3) shared behaviors in Beaufort County between residents and tourists, and (4) interactions between resident and tourist. The decision to code data exactly as they appear was a measure to increase both face and internal validity, as Babbie (2007) suggests.

Once data were coded separately by the two researchers, interrater reliability (IRR) tests were conducted. The particular IRR test that was conducted was the percentage agreement test as put forth by Holsti (1969) using the following equation,

$$IRR = 2(A)/(n_1 + n_2),$$

where A represents the number of common codes between coders, n_1 represents the number of codes of the first coder, and n_2 represents the number of codes of the second coder. On the conclusion of the IRR tests, themes were generated between the researchers for the common codes within each of the parent node categories.

Results

Coding data separately, the moderator and assistant moderator developed 366 and 372 individual codes, respectively, across the four concepts of Durkheim's model. Overall, the coders had 307 codes in common, yielding an IRR of 83.1%. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), an IRR should be at least 80.0%. Percentage agreement between the coders was lowest for shared behaviors (77.9%) and highest for interaction (92.4%), with feelings about tourists (79.0%) and shared beliefs (84.2%) falling between the extremes. Based on common code frequency, themes for each of the four concepts were developed collectively by the coders.

Feelings

Positive feelings. Positive feelings toward others in society is inherent in the work of Durkheim (1915/1995) as individuals strengthen solidarity through sharing beliefs and behavior. An overwhelming majority of the feelings that residents expressed about tourists were positive, including empathy, enjoyment and pride, gratefulness, and appreciation. Empathy was communicated through understanding what it is like to be a visitor. One retired participant living on Hilton Head Island said,

I try to remind people all the time when they start complaining about the tourists, I say, "We were all . . . most of us were all tourists at one time. So we should be very careful about how critical we are of tourists and have a little bit more empathy for people out there."

Similarly, a middle-aged woman who moved to Bluffton nearly 30 years ago said she felt that "everybody was a tourist at one time, even if they came with their family or whatever."

Because of this understanding, some residents communicated they were all right with tourists getting lost, holding up traffic, or contributing to longer lines at businesses. A middle-aged homemaker from Hilton Head Island recounted,

Whenever I do feel frustration towards a tourist who may not know where they are going or may

not be sure where they are or whatever. . . . I think back to whenever we first moved here and/or when I am a visitor in another town.

After all, as one young woman from Bluffton said, "[The tourists] are people just like us. They like what we like . . . we are here for the same reason they are."

Empathy for tourists has even gone so far as accepting individuals who have visited Beaufort County for years as "natives." One retired lifelong resident of Hilton Head Island said, "[Repeat visitors] have interacted with people here, eventually moved here, and so now this is home to them. That is why we are so willing to accept them."

Many statements were made by residents that conveyed they enjoyed having tourists in Beaufort County. One inn owner in Beaufort said,

The more people that are around, the more vibrant it feels. When you walk down the waterfront park and you see every one of the swings being swung, it just makes you feel good that everyone is enjoying your town.

Some residents claimed that they enjoyed tourists for the educational opportunities that exist. A realtor living on Hilton Head Island said,

I love that aspect of all the tourists that come here, because it gives me a chance to just learn about where they are from and other areas. I have accepted tourists my whole life being here because of that.

Many residents claimed they were grateful for tourists being in the county with greater services and maintained infrastructure. A retired resident of Hilton Head Island said, "I can recognize things that exist for my pleasure and my family's pleasure on the island because there are tourists here. Just look at all of the activities that are available." Commenting on the infrastructure, another retiree from Bluffton offered, "We are very appreciative of the tourists because we like the way the roads look and the enhancements that are made."

In a similar vein, residents mentioned being economically appreciative of tourists. A local newspaper columnist in Beaufort said, "I think there is always the thought in the back of peoples' minds that if all of the sudden the tourists went away, a lot of people would be in tough straights." This was apparent in the story shared by a handyman in Bluffton. "I've been working with tourists since I was in college and they helped put me through college. So, yes, we do appreciate them—their presence." A retired antique store owner in Bluffton spoke of a

similar appreciation: “We appreciate the tourists that come into our shops. They provide us with a livelihood.”

Negative feelings. Despite asking residents their feelings toward tourists, many spoke of their feelings in regard to impacts tourists create. This highlights the difficult time residents have in separating tourists from their corresponding impacts. Some negative feelings that were mentioned included perceived crowding, the feeling of being bothered, and the feeling of being offended. A lifelong retired resident of Hilton Head Island has seen the increase in tourists over the years and shared, “We do have the problem with accommodating them on highways or streets and crowded restaurants where you personally go.” This sentiment of feeling crowded was echoed by a gentleman from Bluffton commenting on highways. “We have crowded highways. We don’t have enough access, egress, or all of that.”

Even though some residents claimed they felt crowded with tourists, there was a degree of acceptance of such a feeling. A retiree from Hilton Head Island said,

Sure I don’t like the traffic coming on and off the island—coming on the island in the morning and going off the island in the afternoon. But if you are reasonable about it, you just say well I am not going to go at that particular time. I’m going to go some other time. It is not so bad.

However, not all residents communicated such understanding. Within the historic district in Beaufort, a number of antebellum homes have been used in films recently and have attracted many visitors to the Pointe area. As a result, tour operators conduct walking tours through the historic district neighborhoods. An artist in Beaufort shared how some are bothered by tourists:

Historically there has been some a little bit of a rub with regard to folks that live on the Pointe, with regard to the carriage tours and the bus tours. I don’t think there are as many busses going through there now. But I have heard the rumbling that we have heard for a time regarding tourists on the Pointe.

An inn owner in Beaufort said that, “If it were up to a majority of the Pointe residents, they would close [the neighborhood] to tourists.”

Commonalities

It was rather easy for residents to communicate commonalities they possessed with tourists visiting Beaufort County. The overlap is seen through similar beliefs,

engaging in the same activities, and interacting with tourists in the area—three predictor variables of emotional solidarity according to Durkheim’s (1915/1995) model. As with feelings, a number of themes for each concept were uncovered by the moderator and assistant moderator.

Shared beliefs. The two most apparent beliefs residents said they shared with tourists concerned an appreciation for history and an appreciation for natural beauty. A retired teacher in Beaufort was quick to point out residents and tourists are linked based on their “appreciation for the Deep South, for the history of the area.” An elderly lifelong resident of Hilton Head Island who owns a kayaking outfit spoke of the nostalgia and affinity residents and tourists have for the area:

I find the common belief in the history and preservation of the island. Many of the visitors who take our tour end up talking about the past and conservation district that this island once was—you both yearn for half-way back, wishing we could just be somewhere in between where we are now and where we were then. There are things we should have saved and we didn’t. History is very important to many of our tourists. It is important to us.

An artist from Beaufort claimed that the appreciation for history comes about by being able to visit the historic districts in Beaufort County. “Just going to the old cities and the ruins that people can visit where all of these things [such as slavery, the Civil War, etc.] happened is important to appreciate the history of the Lowcountry.”

Residents commented on a similar appreciation for the natural beauty of the area. One resident who has lived in Bluffton for more than 35 years said,

I get a particular feeling when I walk up from the [May] River right at dusk and see the moss moving in the breeze and the palmetto fronds cracking against one another. That is very special and I believe [tourists] feel the same way.

Additional themes involving shared beliefs between residents and tourists were mentioned to a lesser extent. Those themes involved sharing a similar value system, uniqueness of the place, and a wealth of local shops and eateries. One retiree living in Bluffton said, “We have very much the same thoughts as tourists who like to come down to visit.” Considering second homeowners a type of tourist, a mortgage banker on Hilton Head Island spoke to sharing a similar value system with such individuals:

People that own their second homes here and aren't here all the time—they really think they are local. They have the same beliefs we do. They say, "Oh we cannot come down in June, July, and August—it is too busy. We cannot get to our favorite restaurants."

Another shared belief between residents and tourists was that Beaufort County has a wealth of local shops and eateries. An artist working in the historic district of Beaufort said, "Visitors cannot believe how many artists are represented by the galleries. There are over 500 artists." In speaking of the Bluffton–Hilton Head Island area, a marketing director for a local resort said, "We have a lot of dining. Dining opportunities you wouldn't have [without tourism]. If you think of how many restaurants there are within a 10-square-mile area . . . now you have over 250 on the island."

Residents communicated that both they and tourists believe Beaufort County is a unique place. This is in part because of the fact that both the Myrtle Beach and Charleston areas receive the greatest deal of marketing attention and yearly visitation in South Carolina, while the Beaufort area "slips under the radar." As one retired teacher in Beaufort said, "I really believe Beaufort may be one of the hidden treasures of South Carolina." What makes it so appealing to residents and visitors is the fact that there is something for everyone to do in Beaufort County—whether it is shopping at boutiques, taking historic tours, relaxing on the beaches, participating in fishing or boating, staying at a resort, and so on. One recently transplanted Hilton Head Island resident claimed,

I think a shared belief is that we all believe it is a special place. That is why they have chosen to visit here or buy a home here or buy a timeshare. And that is why we have chosen to live here as well.

Shared behavior. With so many amenities in Beaufort County, it is easy to see how the natural and built environments hold many opportunities for both residents and tourists to participate in similar activities. The most commonly mentioned forms of shared behavior by residents concerned traditional "tourist" activities at a destination, including attending special events and festivals, visiting cultural and historic sites, engaging in beach activities, and participating in outdoor recreation activities.

Special events and festivals occur in each of the three towns throughout every month of the year. One long-time resident of Bluffton spoke of a special event called Third Friday that attracts residents and tourists alike: "Third Friday has been a big promotion of the area. Every third

Friday they block off Calhoun Street, have vendors, musicians, and performers and it allows people to interact with the local community." An elderly woman in Hilton Head Island spoke of the Gullah Festival, which celebrates Lowcountry African American heritage, saying, "We have started a tradition of the Gullah Celebration and that brings in people. People that had not been coming prior to that are now coming regularly."

Visiting cultural and historic sites is another common behavior between residents and tourists. Beaufort residents communicated that many attend the antebellum house tours and visit area plantations alongside tourists. A retiree in Hilton Head Island spoke of cultural art performances:

I have also noticed that tourists are participating in the arts center's activities. The orchestra now has 5 out of 10 of their concerts duplicated in order to have space for non-season ticket holders. We have little difficulty getting 600 or 700 to come to those concerts.

With the ocean and the numerous rivers in the county, many residents claimed they engaged in beach and outdoor recreation activities with tourists. Nearly every focus group participant from Bluffton and Hilton Head Island said in a word or two, "We go to the beach." This is likely a function of the beaches being near both towns in the southern part of the county. In terms of outdoor recreation, boating was named as the top activity residents had in common with tourists. This was echoed by a small business owner in Beaufort. She said, "A lot of local folks and tourists also have boats, so they are on the river on a beautiful day with beautiful weather."

Participating in regular, more commonly occurring activities with tourists was mentioned far less than the traditional "tourist" activities by residents. Those shared behaviors involved shopping at local stores, attending church, and dining out. Residents commented on having shopping in common with tourists, from antiques to the outlet malls to local boutiques to grocery stores. A storeowner in Bluffton said, "We all like to shop a lot!"

Attending church together was another regular activity pursued by residents and tourists. One resident of Bluffton spoke of the impact second homeowners and family tourists are having on local church attendance:

It's getting crowded on Sunday. So many people [tourists] from up North are catholic and they come down here and they up the attendance at Saint Andrew's Catholic Church out on Pinckney Colony

[Road] and they had to build a great big church. The Methodist church has also experienced the same growth pains. These are not bad things. These are good things.

Another regular shared activity mentioned by residents was dining out at local restaurants with tourists. As one resident of Beaufort put it, "I think the most obvious behavior we share with tourists is eating out." For one resident of Hilton Head Island, eating at a restaurant with tourists was more than a shared behavior; it allows for greater interaction with tourists and the feeling of being on vacation. He said,

I like to take time off to go down to the Salty Dog, which is just a really tourist-focused area, a little outdoor café bar with some outdoor entertainment. I love to go into a place like that, because for that hour or two, it is just like, "Yeah, I'm on vacation, gotta love it, this is living."

Interaction. In the work of Durkheim (1915/1995), interaction was implicit in sharing beliefs and behavior. In this study it was difficult to imagine residents and tourists to possess common beliefs and behaviors without some degree of interaction. Three major themes regarding interaction with tourists emerged: where or when interaction occurs, degree of intimacy of the interaction, and frequency of interaction.

Most codes were focused on where or when residents claimed they interacted with tourists in the county. Local businesses were the most likely spots to "run into" tourists, including retail stores, restaurants, and grocery stores. A county extension agent in Beaufort highlighted on interacting with soldiers at the Marine Corps base on Parris Island and their visiting families who come to see them graduate on the weekend: "That is about the only interaction that we have with tourists—is when we go out to eat on Friday night and wait in a long line with soldiers and their families." Grocery stores were an even more common place to interact with tourists. A radio personality in Beaufort said,

I interact with them at Publix all the time as they are heading out to Hunting Island, Fripp Island, and Harbor Island. And I have been asked a number of times at the stores, "Do you live here?" And then of course the door is open.

A realtor on Hilton Head Island recounted something similar. "I always find it a lot of fun to stop people in the grocery store and say, 'Where are you here from? And is there anything we can help you with.'"

Local businesses were not always the places interactions occurred. Residents mentioned bumping into tourists on the street. The husband of a frequent shopper in Beaufort commented,

Places that I speak with people who are visiting from out of town are right on Bay Street [in the historic district]. I am great for standing outside of a store while my wife is inside shopping and I'll engage in small talk saying, "Hi, where you from? Do you live here?"

A homemaker in Hilton Head Island spoke of the numerous times she has helped provide tourists with change at the highway toll booth entering the island: "I keep a stash of quarters for those [tourists] who either realize they had to have correct change or they are not sure where they are going."

Level of intimacy was a second theme involving interaction. Approximately half of the codes surrounding this theme dealt with residents claiming interaction with tourists was typically superficial. This is likely a function of the time some visitors spend in Beaufort County. A curator at the local estuarium claimed, "Some folks just breeze through in 30 minutes." An artist in Beaufort felt that "most folks are in and out and you don't know where they are from. I try to ask almost everybody why they are here and all of that. So those conversations go on—they are a little bit superficial."

Some residents indicated their interactions were more personal, some involving a level of friendship. The owner of a local inn in Beaufort said, "Certainly my business requires or permits us to get to know our guests pretty well. And quite often they share their lives as we share our lives. Our interaction with tourists is personal and upfront." A resident on Hilton Head Island spoke of a deeper relationship with tourists: "There is a friendship that develops, and when people have been visiting and seeing you for 3, 4, or 5 years you quickly become old friends. I've even gone to visit a couple where they live." Friendships go back even further for one retired antique storeowner in Bluffton, as he recounted,

Our little antique shop for the first 35 years used to be in my mother's house and a lot of people would come. A lot of people that shop with us now remember having stopped there. You do establish personal relationships with tourists, particularly if they are visiting every year and kind enough to come by the shop.

The third theme, frequency of interaction with tourists, was mixed among residents. Some residents indicated

that they rarely interacted. "Maybe two times per year I will shake hands with a visitor to town. It happens, but it doesn't seem to be a regular occasion," said a retiree from Beaufort. A writer from Beaufort said something similar: "I never actually have any personal interaction with them, unless someone stops me on the street and asks me where to go eat." For some, this infrequent interaction was a function of where they lived. "As a retiree in a gated community, I would say my interaction is not very much," one older gentleman from Hilton Head Island claimed.

Interaction with tourists for other residents was quite regular and frequent. A tour guide on Hilton Head Island said, "We interact with them everywhere, constantly." For the curator of the estuarium, such regular interactions have led to deeper relationships with tourists. He said,

There are people that I see very regularly and they become almost like friends. "Oh, you are back again!" And they say, "Yes we are here and we brought family this time." And people ask all sorts of questions about everything and you get into some pretty involved conversations and I feel pretty close to some of them.

Conclusion and Discussion

This article was exploratory in nature, offering emotional solidarity as a novel theoretical framework for examining relationships between residents and tourists within a destination. In so doing, it utilizes qualitative methods to further conceptualize the constructs within the theoretical model formulated by Durkheim (1915/1995). While Durkheim's framework has received some attention in fields outside of tourism, the model proposed in this article is positioned in the context of tourism. It is proposed that residents' degree of shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction with tourists significantly predict residents' emotional solidarity they experience with tourists visiting their community.

Based on qualitative data across the focus groups in Beaufort County, it is apparent that residents do indeed consider their relationship with tourists to exist beyond financial exchanges. In general, participants communicated positive sentiments toward tourists. This is similar to what is reported in studies concerning residents' attitudes about tourism development (Andereck and Vogt 2000). One of the major themes developed from the dialogue regarding feelings was that of sympathetic understanding or empathy for tourists. This reflects the residents' willingness to realize they are not entirely different from tourists, debunking the standard "us" versus "them" mind-set that Evans-Pritchard (1989) points out. Such empathy allows

participants to "put themselves in others' shoes" when it comes to negotiating negative social impacts of tourism in their community (Kohn 1997).

The finding of residents feeling empathy for tourists stands in stark contrast to some previous work. Research in human geography (see Holt and Griffin 2003; Pritchard, Morgan, and Sedgley 2002) has highlighted the fact that some tourists through their heterosexual gaze and their lack of understanding have actually "degayed" the local homosexual space, which has led to many gay and lesbian residents resenting tourists. The opposite is true in cultural heritage research, whereby residents have been more empathetic toward tourists because the latter have indicated the desire to understand the local culture and preserve local ways of life (Besculides, Lee, and McCormick 2002). Such research parallels findings from this study.

The positive feelings participants communicated for tourists are likely the result of sharing beliefs, behavior, and interaction. Shared beliefs with tourists were conceptualized through an appreciation for the local area through history and natural beauty. Residents are proud of the fact that they live in a county that has a rich cultural and natural heritage, just as they are proud others want to visit to experience such resources. Laxson (1991) reported similar findings whereby Native Americans in New Mexico were proud of their heritage and wanted to share their traditions of performing ceremonial dances with tourists.

Shared behavior between residents and tourists was typically in the form of traditional "tourist" activities such as attending special events and festivals and sightseeing. This is likely a function of the extensive degree of festivals and special events in the county (approximately 75) celebrating cultural and natural resources, which are frequented by residents and tourists (Bureau of Business Research and Economic Development 2008). Derrett (2003), in his work with residents and tourists, claimed that festivals serve to bring individuals together, fostering a sense of place collectively. Contrary to the work of Snepenger et al. (1998) and Snepenger et al. (2003), residents in the current study minimally mentioned shopping at local stores and boutiques with tourists. This is likely a function of such an activity being implicit in daily life as residents mentioned.

In the way of interaction, residents largely focused on when or where interactions occurred throughout the county. Such conceptualizations were likely easiest for residents to recall specific interactions and encounters with tourists. Degree of interaction intimacy with tourists was a secondary focus for residents, with an even split between those residents who felt their interactions

were less personal and those who felt their interactions were quite personal. This contradicts finding from Rothman's (1978) work conveying that most residents in the coastal destination study had developed long-term friendships with tourists. Although frequency of interactions between residents and tourists has been examined to a greater degree within the literature (see Akis, Peristianis, and Warner 1996; Teye, Sonmez, and Sirakaya 2002), participants rarely mentioned how often interactions occurred.

Implications

Findings of this investigation can assist local tourism marketing professionals. With such knowledge that residents do indeed possess positive feelings for tourists, local chambers of commerce and convention and visitors bureaus could utilize local residents in advertising spots, whereby residents encourage visitors to "come to my Beaufort County." A similar marketing strategy has been utilized recently by the town of Pigeon Forge, Tennessee. Such a strategy could perpetuate the "Southern hospitality" notoriety of this region. Sustainable tourism opportunities also need to be a focus of marketing Beaufort County to tourists, as residents communicated the importance of preserving history and natural beauty of the area. One way in which tourism professionals can promote sustainable tourism would be to have written columns about cultural and natural amenities (and the various outfitters, guides, and other businesses providing services) in their promotional packets as well as on their Web site. Ultimately, sustainable tourism opportunities would provide jobs for locals and all the while preserve the integrity of cultural and natural resources. As Wall and Mathieson (2006) claim, one key to successful sustainable tourism is to strike a balance between providing necessary income to residents and not overexploiting the resources.

Limitations and Future Research

This study is limited in some regards. Only residents were included in this study. As a result, reliance was placed on residents' perceptions of shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction with tourists. Subsequent studies should be conducted among tourists to assess their perceptions of Durkheim's constructs.

This study was exploratory in nature and sought to offer the framework of emotional solidarity to begin to examine the potential for intimate relationships between residents and tourists. As a result, it is difficult to generalize findings to other settings. Research is still needed to ultimately determine if shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction all significantly predict emotional

solidarity. In this regard, quantitative research needs to be conducted among the four constructs. It is recommended that scales for each construct be developed and refined (using exploratory factor analysis) based on the qualitative findings from this study. Scale development should follow a rigorous procedure of assessing psychometrics measures (i.e., reliability and validity). Once scales are developed, Durkheim's (1915/1995) model should initially be tested from the perspective of residents. This requires two steps. First, a measurement model with the four scales must be prepared (using confirmatory factor analysis) with adequate fit based on goodness-of-fit statistics (e.g., comparative fit index). Second, paths between each of the constructs can be tested using structural equation modeling to determine if shared beliefs, shared behavior, and interaction do significantly predict emotional solidarity. This procedure has most recently been used by Li and Petrick (2008).

Model testing should also be done among tourists' level of emotional solidarity with residents. At that point, it would be interesting to conduct comparative studies examining both residents' and tourists' level of emotional solidarity with each other. Finally, the model of emotional solidarity should be expanded to include additional antecedents and outcomes of the four constructs. This would be similar to the work of Jurowski and Gursoy (2004) that included amending structural models of residents' attitudes toward tourism development.

References

- Akis, S., N. Peristianis, and J. Warner (1996). "Residents' Attitudes to Tourism Development: The case of Cyprus." *Tourism Management*, 17 (7): 481-94.
- Albuquerque, K., and J. McElroy (1999). "Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 26 (4): 968-84.
- Andereck, K. L., K. M. Valentine, R. C. Knopf, and C. A. Vogt (2005). "Residents' Perceptions of Community Tourism Impacts." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (4): 1056-76.
- Andereck, K. L., and C. A. Vogt (2000). "The Relationship between Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism and Tourism Development Options." *Journal of Travel Research*, 39 (1): 27-36.
- Aramberri, J. (2001). "The Host Should Get Lost: Paradigms in the Tourism Industry." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28 (3): 738-61.
- Babbie, E. (2007). *The Practice of Social Research*. 11th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson-Wadsworth.
- Bahr, H., C. Mitchell, X. Li, A. Walker, and K. Sucher (2004). "Trends in Family Space/time, Conflict, and Solidarity: Middletown 1924-1999." *City & Community*, 3 (3): 263-91.
- Barbalet, J. M. (1994). "Ritual Emotion and Body Work: A Note on the Uses of Durkheim." In *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, edited by D. Franks and W. Wentworth. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 111-123.
- Besculides, A., M. Lee, and P. J. McCormick (2002). "Residents' Perceptions of the Cultural Benefits of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (2): 303-19.

- Blank, U. (1989). *The Community Tourism Industry Imperative*. State College, PA: Venture.
- Breckler, S. J. (1984). "Empirical Validation of Affect, Behavior, and Cognition as Distinct Components of Attitude." *Journal of Personal Social Psychology*, 47 (6): 1191-1205.
- Bureau of Business Research and Economic Development (2008). *The Recreation Economy and the Economic Impact of Tourism and Arts: Beaufort County and Surrounding Area*. Statesboro: Georgia Southern University.
- Busch, C., P. DeMaret, and T. Flynn (2008). Content Analysis: Writing at CSU. <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/content/> (accessed September 1, 2008).
- Carney, K. (1990). "Content Analysis." In *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, edited by R. E. Asher. Edinburgh, UK: Pergamon, pp. 725-30.
- Cohen, E. (2004). "Hunter-gatherer Tourism in Thailand." In *Contemporary Tourism: Diversity and Change*, edited by E. Cohen. Oxford, UK: Elsevier, pp. 275-94.
- Collins, R. (1975). *Conflict Sociology: Towards an Explanatory Science*. New York: Academic.
- Creswell, J. W., and V. Plano Clark (2006). *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dann, G. M. (1977). "Anomie Ego-enhancement and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 4 (4): 184-94.
- Derrett, R. (2003). "Making Sense of How Festivals Demonstrate a Community's Sense of Place." *Event Management*, 8 (1): 49-58.
- Durkheim, E. (1915/1995). *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. New York: Free Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, D. (1989). "How 'They' See 'Us': Native American Images of Tourists." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 16 (1): 89-105.
- Fish, J. (2002). "Religion and the Changing Intensity of Emotional Solidarities in Durkheim's *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893)." *Journal of Classical Sociology*, 2 (2): 202-223.
- Fredline, E., and B. Faulkner (2000). "Host Community Reactions: A Cluster Analysis." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27 (3): 763-84.
- Fredline, E., and B. Faulkner (2002). "Residents' Reactions to the Staging of Major Motorsport Events within Their Communities: A Cluster Analysis." *Event Management*, 7 (2): 103-14.
- Geiger, K. (1955). "Deprivation and Solidarity in the Soviet Urban Family." *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1): 57-68.
- Gossling, S. (2002). "Human-environmental Relations with Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (2): 539-56.
- Gunn, C. A., and T. Var (2002). *Tourism Planning*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge.
- Hammarstrom, G. (2005). "The Construct of Intergenerational Solidarity in a Lineage Perspective: A Discussion on Underlying Theoretical Assumptions." *Journal of Aging Studies*, 19 (1): 33-51.
- Hampton, M. (2005). "Heritage, Local Communities and Economic Development." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32 (3): 735-59.
- Harper, D. W. (2001). "Comparing Tourists Crime Victimization." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28 (4): 1053-56.
- Harrill, R. (2004). "Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism Development: A Literature Review with Implications for Tourism Planning." *Journal of Planning Literature*, 18 (3): 251-66.
- Hill, J. R., and J. C. Hill (2004). *The Economic Impact of the Tourism Economy and Tourism Profile of Beaufort County and the Surrounding Area*. Statesboro: Georgia Southern University, Bureau of Business Research and Economic Development.
- Hilton Head Island-Bluffton Visitor and Convention Bureau (2008). *Hilton Head Area 2008-09 Marketing Plan*. Hilton Head Island, SC: Hilton Head Island-Bluffton Chamber of Commerce.
- Holsti, O. (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. New York: Random House.
- Holt, M., and C. Griffin (2003). "Being Gay, Being Straight and Being Yourself." *Cultural Studies*, 6 (3): 404-25.
- Jacobs, S., and R. T. Allen, eds. (2005). *Emotion, Reason, and Tradition: Essays on the Social, Political and Economic Thought of Michael Polanyi*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Johnston, A. M. (2006). *Is the Sacred for Sale?* London: Earthscan.
- Joseph, C., and A. Kavoori (2001). "Mediated Resistance—Tourism and the Host Community." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 28 (4): 998-1009.
- Jurowski, C., and D. Gursoy (2004). "Distance Effects on Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31 (2): 296-312.
- Jurowski, C., M. Uysal, and D. Williams (1997). "A Theoretical Analysis of Host Community Resident Reactions to Tourism." *Journal of Travel Research*, 36 (2): 3-11.
- King, B., A. Pizam, and A. Milman (1993). "Social Impacts of Tourism Host Perceptions." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20 (4): 650-65.
- Klapp, O. (1959). "Ritual and Family Solidarity." *Social Forces*, 37 (3): 212-14.
- Kohn, T. (1997). "Island Involvement and the Evolving Tourist." In *Tourists and Tourism: Identifying with People and Places*, edited by S. Abram, J. Waldren, and D. Macleod. Oxford, UK: Berg, pp. 15-28.
- Krueger, R. A. (1994). *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lankford, S., and D. Howard (1994). "Developing a Tourism Impact Attitude Scale." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21 (1): 121-39.
- Laxson, J. (1991). "How 'We' See 'Them': Tourism and Native Americans." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18 (3): 365-91.
- Leiper, N. (1990). *Tourism Systems: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University Printery.
- Li, X., and J. F. Petrick (2008). "Examining the Antecedents of Brand Loyalty from an Investment Model Perspective." *Journal of Travel Research*, 47 (1): 25-34.
- Lin, M., and J. Harwood (2003). "Accommodation Predictors of Grandparent-grandchild Relational Solidarity in Taiwan." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 20 (4): 537-63.
- Liu, J., P. Sheldon, and T. Var (1987). "Resident Perception of the Environmental Impacts of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 14 (1): 17-34.
- Long, P. T., R. R. Perdue, and L. Allen (1990). "Rural Resident Tourism Perceptions and Attitudes by Community Level of Tourism." *Journal of Travel Research*, 28 (3): 3-9.
- Lowcountry Council of Governments Planning Department (2006, August). *The People and the Economy of the Lowcountry: A Demographic Overview*. Beaufort, SC: Lowcountry Council of Governments.
- Lowenstein, A., and S. Daatland (2006). "Filial Norms and Family Support in a Comparative Cross-national Context: Evidence from the OASIS Study." *Ageing & Society*, 26 (2): 203-23.
- MacCannell, D. (1999). *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California.
- McGehee, N. G., and K. L. Andereck (2004). "Factors Predicting Rural Residents' Support of Tourism." *Journal of Travel Research*, 43 (2): 131-40.
- McIntosh, A. (1998). "Mixing Methods: Putting the Tourist at the Forefront of Tourism Research." *Tourism Analysis*, 3 (2): 121-27.
- McNaughton, D. (2006). "The 'Host' as Uninvited 'Guest': Hospitality, Violence and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 33 (3): 645-65.

- Miles, M. B., and A. M. Huberman (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Sourcebook of New Methods*. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Mills, T., M. Wakeman, and C. Fea (2001). "Adult Grandchildren's Perceptions of Emotional Closeness and Consensus with Their Maternal and Paternal Grandparents." *Journal of Family Issues*, 22 (4): 427-55.
- Morgan, D. L. (1988). *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Nunez, T. (1989). "Touristic Studies in Anthropological Perspective." In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by V. Smith. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 265-79.
- Perdue, R. R., P. T. Long, and L. Allen (1990). "Resident Support for Tourism Development." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 17 (4): 586-99.
- Pizam, A., N. Uriely, and A. Reichel (2000). "The Intensity of Tourist-host Social Relationship and Its Effects on Satisfaction and Change of Attitudes: The Case of Working Tourists in Israel." *Tourism Management*, 21 (4): 395-406.
- Prentice, R. C., S. F. Witt, and E. G. Wydenbach (1994). "The Endearment Behaviour of Tourists through Their Interaction with the Host Community." *Tourism Management*, 15 (2): 117-25.
- Pritchard, A., N. Morgan, and D. Sedgley (2002). "In Search of lesbian Space? The Experience of Manchester's Gay Village." *Leisure Studies*, 21 (2): 105-23.
- Robinson, R. N. S. (2008). "Revisiting Hospitality's Marginal Worker Thesis: A Mono-occupational Perspective." *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 27: 403-13.
- Rojek, C. (2000). *Leisure and Culture*. London: Palgrave.
- Rosengren, W. R. (1959). "Symptom Manifestations as a Function of Situational Press: A Demonstration in Socialization." *Sociometry*, 22 (2): 113-23.
- Rothman, R. A. (1978). "Residents and Transients: Community Reactions to Seasonal Visitors." *Journal of Travel Research*, 16 (3): 8-13.
- Rowland, L. S., A. Moore, and G. C. Rogers (1996). *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina: Volume 1, 1514-1861*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Sheldon, P., and T. Var (1984). "Resident Attitudes to Tourism in North Wales." *Tourism Management*, 5 (1): 40-47.
- Sherlock, K. (2001). "Revisiting the Concept of Hosts and Guests." *Tourist Studies*, 1 (3): 271-95.
- Smith, M., and R. S. Krannich (1998). "Tourism Dependence and Resident Attitudes." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25 (4): 783-802.
- Snepenger, D. J., L. Murphy, R. O'Connell, and E. Gregg (2003). "Tourists and Residents Use of a Shopping Space." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30 (3): 567-80.
- Snepenger, D. J., S. Reiman, J. Johnson, and M. Snepenger (1998). "Is Downtown Mainly for Tourists?" *Journal of Travel Research*, 36 (3): 5-12.
- Street, D. (1965). "The Inmate Group in Custodial and Treatment Settings." *American Sociological Review*, 30 (1): 40-55.
- Telfer, D. J. (2003). "Development Issues in Destination Communities." In *Tourism and Destination Communities*, edited by S. Singh, D. J. Timothy, and R. K. Dowling. Wallingford, UK: CABI, pp. 155-80.
- Teye, V., S. Sonmez, and E. Sirakaya (2002). "Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism Development." *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29 (3): 668-88.
- Thoits, P. (1989). "The Sociology of Emotions." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15: 317-42.
- Town of Bluffton (2008). History. <http://www.townofbluffton.com/link.php?link=history> (accessed January 26, 2008).
- Travel Industry Association of America (2007). The Economic Impact of Travel on South Carolina Counties 2006. <http://www.scprt.com/files/Research/2006SCReport8-20-07.pdf> (accessed May 7, 2008).
- Um, S., and J. Crompton (1987). "Measuring Residents' Attachment Levels in a Host Community." *Journal of Travel Research*, 26 (1): 27-29.
- Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.
- U.S. Census Bureau (2008). 2006 American Community Survey Data Profile Highlights: Beaufort County, South Carolina. http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/ADPTable?_bm=y&-geo_id=05000US45013&-context=adp&-ds_name=ACS_2006_EST_G00_-tree_id=306&-lang=en&-caller=geoselect&-format= (accessed September 1, 2008).
- Van Den Berghe, P. (1994). *The Quest for the Other*. Seattle: University of Washington.
- Wall, G. (1997). "Rethinking Impacts of Tourism." In *Tourism Development*, edited by C. Cooper, B. Archer, and S. Wanhill. Chichester, UK: Wiley, pp. 1-10.
- Wall, G., and A. Mathieson (2006). *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities*. Harlow, UK: Pearson.
- Wallace, R. A., and A. Wolf (2006). *Contemporary Sociological Theory: Expanding the Classical Tradition*. 6th ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.
- Wang, Y., and R. E. Pfister (2008). "Residents' Attitudes toward Tourism and Perceived Personal Benefits in a Rural Community." *Journal of Travel Research*, 47 (1): 84-93.
- Wearing, S., and B. Wearing (2001). "Conceptualizing the Selves of Tourism." *Leisure Studies*, 20 (2): 143-59.
- Wilson, L. (2006). "Developing a Model for the Measurement of Social Inclusion and Social Capital in Regional Australia." *Social Indicators Research*, 75 (3), 335-360.
- Zhang, J., R. Inbakaran, and M. Jackson (2006). "Understanding Community Attitudes towards Tourism and Host-guest Interaction in the Urban-rural Border Region." *Tourism Geographies*, 8 (2): 182-204.

Kyle M. Woosnam is an assistant professor at Texas A&M University in the department of recreation, park & tourism sciences. His research interests include examining the relationships between residents and tourists in rural destinations.

William C. Norman is an associate professor at Clemson University in the department of parks, recreation & tourism management. He is researching aspects of sustainable tourism and community tourism development.

Tianyu Ying is a doctoral student at Clemson University in the department of parks, recreation & tourism management. His research interests pertain to issues of social networks in tourism and endogenous rural tourism development.