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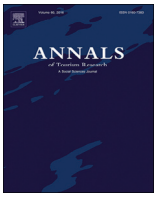

The impact of tourism on residents' intention to stay. A qualitative comparative analysis

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ABSTRACT

Venice being an iconic example, several popular locations are de-populating as residents are driven out by tourism. We address the complexity of residents' decision to stay by adopting the complexity theory. The study runs a fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis to understand the impact of perceived tourism benefits (economic, environmental, and socio-cultural), place attachment, and length of residence on residents' intention to stay. The findings highlight five different combinations of antecedents that distinctly but equally contribute to high intention to stay. The results further establish that economic benefits are more relevant for long-term residents than newer ones.

Introduction

Tourism affects a variety of stakeholders in a community: among them, probably most importantly, community residents (Kim et al., 2013). Research in tourism has emphasized the importance of understanding and analyzing residents (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Ko & Stewart, 2002). These studies highlighted that when residents perceive tourism as beneficial, it further supports their willingness to cooperate and significantly aids in developing further initiatives (Lin et al., 2017; Yu et al., 2011). However, few studies have addressed the role of tourism's positive effects in preventing residents from leaving the city in areas experiencing over-tourism. In areas that live (socially and economically) on tourism and where tourism is a pervasive, omnipresent reality, tourism is often the main reason to either stay in a city or leave it (e.g., to relocate to the immediate outskirts, outside the main touristic routes) (Russo, 2002; Seraphin et al., 2018).

Several studies have concentrated on the intention to stay among tourists (Han et al., 2010)—for instance, in terms of length of visit (Alegre & Pou, 2006). However, tourism studies have spent less time on residents' perspectives and how tourism affects their lives (Lee & Han, 2019), leading to calls for more research (Confente & Scarpi, 2020; Ma et al., 2020; Monterrubio et al., 2020). Thus, this research aims to understand how residents' perceptions of tourism's impact (economic, social, and environmental benefits), together with their length of residence and place attachment, lead to their intention to keep staying in an over-tourism location.

Residents' staying intention is particularly relevant, as several over-touristic locations worldwide suffer from depopulation (Henley, 2020; Kajanus et al., 2004). For instance, locations like Venice or Florence have witnessed a massive, double-digit-

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percentage exodus of residents (Firenze Today, 2020; Gasparon, 2021). Cities like Venice and Barcelona are experiencing a negative population trend that risks turning certain city areas into inhabited amusement parks for tourists (Arte TV, 2017; Confente & Scarpi, 2020). Analysis of the motives of residents who left Venice in 2017, for instance, revealed that over-tourism was the main cause in more than 90 % of cases (Coldwell, 2017).

This study contributes to tourism research by addressing residents' intention to stay. This is a relatively novel theoretical construct that could even complement or replace more conventional outcome variables such as residents' support for tourism (Olya & Gavilyan, 2017) or perceived quality of life such as well-being (Cheng & Xu, 2021). It is particularly important in light of the depopulation that some over-tourism locations are experiencing as residents are driven away by an excessive flow of tourists (Tokarchuk et al., 2021). Tourism programs should be developed to balance tourism development with residents' well-being to ensure their collaboration. Furthermore, as our conceptual background will highlight, contradictory findings emerge from previous studies on the role of social, environmental, and economic benefits; place attachment; and length of residence in shaping residents' intention to stay. Accordingly, a further contribution of this study is that it explores which factors must be combined to ensure residents' intention to keep staying. Specifically, this research helps deepen the understanding of those residents who decide to stay in an over-tourism destination, focusing on tourism's impact on their decision to stay. Finally, this study contributes extending the debate of tourism's impacts by focusing on benefits rather than costs. It focuses on the underlying motivation that leads residents to stay in an overcrowded destination rather than investigating the motivation to leave it due to over-tourism (Lin et al., 2017; Woo et al., 2015). In doing so, as the trend of tourism overcrowding destinations calls for more sustainable tourism, this research mainly focuses on the three dimensions of sustainable tourism: social, environmental, and economic benefits (Streimikiene et al., 2021), exploring the impact of each of these dimensions on the intention to stay.

To do so, this analysis adopts the perspective of complexity theory, overcoming the reductionist approach (Greckhamer et al., 2018; Papatheodorou & Pappas, 2017) and acknowledging the complexity of residents' decision to stay in an over-tourism location (Andereck et al., 2005). Adopting the lens of complexity theory and employing fsQCA allows us to study a complex social and management problem going beyond the net effect of predictors in isolation (Kumar et al., 2022). Specifically, we combine complexity theory with fuzzy-set qualitative comparative analysis (fsQCA) to understand how the length of residence, place attachment, and perceptions of tourism's economic, social, and environmental benefits combine and affect residents' intention to stay in an over-tourism location.

Conceptual background

Benefits from tourism for residents

Both the literature and praxis have identified different benefits that tourism can provide to a destination and its community (Confente & Scarpi, 2020; Kim et al., 2013). In particular, researchers have explored tourism's sustainability under three main dimensions: economic, socio-cultural, and environmental benefits (Confente & Scarpi, 2020; Kim et al., 2015; Lyon et al., 2017). From an economic perspective, tourism development can raise residents' income, increase jobs, and add value to the land (Kim et al., 2013). From a socio-cultural perspective, tourism can improve an area's recreational and cultural facilities (Lin et al., 2017) and provide more opportunities to meet new people (Kim et al., 2015). From an environmental perspective, tourism can respect the natural and artificial resources that attract tourists and make local administrations focus on preserving a place's natural and historical beauty (Amuquandoh, 2010).

Further, the literature has shown that these economic, socio-cultural, and environmental benefits impact a destination and those who live there (Kim et al., 2013). In this vein, research has highlighted the importance of adopting residents' perspectives (Confente & Scarpi, 2020; Lin et al., 2017) and considering their perceptions of those benefits. Moreover, the perception of tourism as beneficial also impacts residents' life satisfaction (Kim et al., 2013; Woo et al., 2015) and, likely, intention to stay. Previous studies have explored residents' well-being to determine whether they support tourism development and planning (Kim et al., 2013; Woo et al., 2015). However, few have explored whether the perceived benefits of tourism can affect intention to stay in a tourist location.

Place attachment

The tourism literature defines place attachment as the emotional connection between a person and a place (Raggiotto & Scarpi, 2021). This connection typically stems from a direct experience (Hammitt et al., 2006) or a set of social interactions (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). Accordingly, scholars found a positive relationship between individuals' attachment to a place and their intentions to revisit or reside there (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Brunarska, 2020).

Place attachment is often envisioned as a commitment to a place and therefore invokes loyalty (Eom et al., 2020; Yuksel et al., 2010). Thus, it has been identified as a key driver of loyalty for location tourists (e.g., Stylos et al., 2016) and residents of a place. For instance, Von Wirth et al. (2016) showed that significant changes to an environment strain residents' affective bonds to it, critically affecting their staying intention. Similarly, Brown, Perkins, and Brown et al. (2003) found that place attachment is pivotal for revitalizing a neighborhood and increasing residents' likelihood of staying.

Length of residence

Studies have suggested that residents' decision to stay in a location could depend on their length of residence (Hernandez et al., 2007). In this vein, Lewicka (2010) and Scarpi et al. (2022) suggested that time length is key to developing attachment

bonds. Several scholars suggested that residents living longer in a place establish more intense links, making it more difficult for them to leave (e.g., Anton & Lawrence, 2014). However, scholars do not know how length of residence interacts with place attachment and have thus called for further investigations (Tournois, 2018).

The relationship between length of residence and intention to stay in a location has usually been debated by comparing new residents with their long-term counterparts. Overall, studies agree that length of residence increases people's involvement and interest in a place (Tournois, 2018). For instance, length of residence increases intention to reside in and volunteer for a community and invest in its future (Rotolo et al., 2010).

Residents' staying intentions from the perspective of complexity theory

Residents' staying intention reflects their retention of a place (Chen & Dwyer, 2018). Staying intention transcends mere place satisfaction or attachment, although satisfaction and attachment can help create it (Chen et al., 2014). It is a relatively novel concept, as most studies have stopped at place satisfaction and attachment (Chen & Dwyer, 2018) or have addressed residents in terms of their attitudes toward tourism or tourism-related initiatives (e.g., Cheng & Xu, 2021; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; Olya & Gavilyan, 2017). However, most studies have not addressed how tourism impacts residents' decision to stay or leave, despite recent research highlighting the relevance of this topic (e.g., Chen & Dwyer, 2018), especially in over-tourism settings (Celata & Romano, 2020).

Previous research highlights contradictory findings on the importance of economic, socio-cultural, and environmental benefits in shaping residents' perceptions and behavior. Some scholars emphasize the importance of economic benefits (e.g., Boley et al., 2018; Webster & Ivanov, 2014). Others suggest, however, that economic benefits could be less relevant and even harm residents—for instance, when these conflict with environmental benefits (Hunt et al., 2015; Wilson & Tisdell, 2003). Others contend that socio-cultural benefits are most relevant (Krippendorf, 1982).

Place attachment may also play a contradictory role in residents' intention to stay. On one hand, it is considered a driver of the decision to stay (Eom et al., 2020; Stylos et al., 2016)—one that outweighs tourism's potential economic benefits (Gu & Ryan, 2008). However, social psychology scholars have documented that people could decide to relocate when groups of relevant others (relatives, friends, colleagues) are no longer in that environment (Challiol & Mignonac, 2005). According to these studies, social benefits can override place attachment (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005). Other studies posit instead that economic benefits can override place attachment (Frey & Jegen, 2001; Lopez-Mosquera & Sanchez, 2013). Thus, a resident could stay for the economic benefits despite a lack of psychological connection, or, vice versa, residents could decide to stay because of their emotional connection to the place despite a lack of economic benefits.

Finally, studies suggest that length of residence affects residents' susceptibility to the benefits of living in a place (Yürük et al., 2017) and interacts with place attachment (Hay, 1998). However, there is disagreement on the sign of such interactions (positive for Hay, 1998; neutral for Rosenthal & Feldman, 1990; and negative for Birman & Trickett, 2001). Similarly, Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2003) found opposing views on tourism development for newer and longer-term residents. The former were more interested in economic benefits; the latter, in environmental benefits. By contrast, Williams and Lawson (2001) found no effect of length of residence on residents' perceptions of these benefits.

These contradictory findings support the notion that none of the considered antecedents of residents' staying decisions are necessary or sufficient for maturing such a decision, nor do they have a unique sign. Overall, it is clear that residents' staying decision is a complex phenomenon and that considering only symmetrical X ➔ Y relationships might not be sufficient to explain it.

However, those inconsistencies can be resolved by adopting the perspective of complexity theory. This theory acknowledges that the interaction between variables can be asymmetric and heterogeneous, and that the same causes can produce different effects. In other words, high values of an antecedent can have an opposite impact on an outcome variable depending on the values and presence/absence of other antecedents (Wu et al., 2014). This lack of symmetry can create "unexpected structures and events whose properties can be different from the underlying elementary laws" (Urry, 2005, p. 5). This tenet of complexity theory aligns with the notion of causal asymmetry (Meuer & Fiss, 2020), suggesting that a single attribute (socio-cultural, environmental, and economic tourism benefits; place attachment; and length of residence) can be necessary but not sufficient for promoting residents' intention to stay. The attribute must be combined with other attributes (Wu et al., 2014). Thus, complexity theory allows multiple different combinations of the same variables (here: tourism's socio-cultural, environmental, and economic benefits; place attachment; and length of residence) that can equally lead to the same outcome (here: residents' intention to stay). This principle is called equifinality (Russo et al., 2019).

In summary, complexity theory indicates that the same variable can positively or negatively impact the outcome, depending on the presence or absence of the other variables (Ordanini et al., 2014). Hence, the impact of a single antecedent depends on the co-presence of other antecedents (the following paragraphs offer specific examples of such antecedents). More formally, the following proposition has been developed:

Research Proposition. *Across configurational causes, the socio-cultural, environmental, and economic benefits that residents perceive from tourism, as well as their place attachment and length of residence, can make a positive, negative, or no contribution to their intention to stay, depending on the presence or absence of other variables in the combination.*

Context

Venice is an ideal setting for understanding what could drive residents' decision to stay in an over-tourism context. Virtually all residents in Venice earn their living from tourism-related activities, such as hotels, restaurants, and so forth. Tourism shapes

the everyday lives of nearly all residents of the area, and tourism-related policies determine election results. Specifically, 87 % of the city's revenues come from tourism (Manente & Montaguti, 2019). Further, due to its worldwide fame, Venice is probably one of the locations with more written records of the development of tourism and population over time.

Founded in the fifth century CE by people fleeing barbarian hordes, present-day Venice has become a place where some residents flee hordes of tourists. The city has only about 55,000 residents but receives an average of 60,000 visitors per day, with peaks of 90,000 per day, for a total of 20 million visitors per year (Modak, 2017). Also, within the already small city area of barely 44 km^2 (13 $mile^2$), tourists tend to limit their visits to an even smaller subset of the city, further concentrating their presence.

Under pressure from over-tourism, residents leave, unable to sustain the stressful living conditions and the high prices caused by tourism that make Venice the most expensive city in Italy (VeneziaToday, 2016). The population has decreased steadily—from 137,500 in 1961, 93,000 in 1981, 66,000 in 2001, to 50,992 in 2021 (Gasparon, 2021)—squeezed by a yearly flow of tourists of roughly 200 times its population (CVSSR Report, 2018; Di Gennaro, 2018). Departing residents sell their homes and relocate to nearby cities (Arte TV, 2017), where housing costs can be as little as less than one-tenth those of Venice (Immobiliare, 2022). Foreign investors then buy these homes and convert them to hotels (VoxNews, 2020). The negative population trend risks turning Venice into an open museum or amusement park for tourists (Seraphin et al., 2018). For instance, the city already in 2019 had contemplated introducing an entrance fee for single-day-trip tourists requiring an entrance fee and advance booking (Ansa, 2019). Then, despite the pandemic's halting tourism worldwide, over-tourism returned immediately after city visits reopened. The government recently planned to introduce, beginning in June 2022, a booking system for more balanced management of tourism. This measure will apply to day-trippers, who will need to book ahead and pay between €3 and €10, depending on how crowded the city is that day. Overall, a maximum threshold of 40,000 or 50,000 daily visitors will be set (Giuffrida, 2022).

Method

Sample, procedure, and measurements

The sample comprises 500 adult residents in Venice, gathered in November 2020, about 65 % of whom are female, with a mean age of 41 years and a median of 39 years. This sample largely aligns with figures for the city's demographics overall (mean age 40–46 years, depending on the part of the city; VeneziaToday, 2017).

As in Olya and Gavilyan (2017), a local authority introduced the researchers to residents and helped with targeting respondents from different parts of the city. Respondents were collected in each borough to reflect its demographics and population size as reported in the City Hall's figures for the city's demographics. This procedure allowed for a high response rate (Lee, 2013) of about 60 %, aligning with previous studies (e.g., Yaeger et al., 2019).

Residents were approached with a paper-and-pencil questionnaire pre-tested for clarity on a pilot sample of 40 respondents not included in the analysis (Scarpi & Pizzi, 2013; the pre-test led to no changes). Podsakoff et al. (2003) was followed to reduce evaluation apprehension bias. Thus, respondents were assured that there were no right or wrong answers, that their answers would not be shared with anyone, and that their personal details would not be disclosed, and they were explicitly asked to answer questions honestly. These assurances were read to respondents before they began the questionnaire.

The questionnaire adapted extant scales for tourism benefits: environmental (Amuquandoh, 2010; 4 items), socio-cultural (Kim et al., 2015; 4 items), and economic (Kim et al., 2015; 3 items). Intention to stay was measured using Ghosh et al.'s (2013) one-item measure, and place attachment was measured by adapting Cheng and Wu's (2015) three-item scale.

The items were measured using 7-point Likert scales ranging from 1 (*completely disagree*) to 7 (*completely agree*), except for intention to stay, which ranged from 1 (*least likely*) to 7 (*most likely*). Finally, respondents were asked for demographic information (age, gender, occupation) and length of residence (i.e., how many years they had lived in the city) before being thanked and debriefed. Questionnaire items are reported in Appendix A (Table A.1).

Estimation of set relationships

To bolster understanding of a complex causal process, such as residents' decision-making about staying or leaving a touristic location, this research employs the asymmetrical modeling approach of fsQCA. This procedure allows estimating different combinations of the measured variables in line with the logical tenets of complexity theory. Accordingly, fsQCA was used to identify how the socio-cultural, environmental, and economic benefits derived from tourism, place attachment, and length of residence can predict residents' intention to stay.

Asymmetric tests (such as fsQCA) reflect realities well, given that the causes of high Y scores usually differ substantially from the causes of low Y scores (i.e., the principle of causal asymmetry; see Fiss, 2011). Moreover, they can uncover configurations for less known explanations by identifying the various solutions that lead to an outcome. A key point of fsQCA is to describe and explain combinations of features that accurately indicate a high score in an outcome condition rather than a single and main effect of X on Y (Woodside, 2014). For example, statistically insignificant results with an unacceptable p-value might limit the insights scholars can infer from data analysis. At the same time, fsQCA could generate richer explanations from a theoretical and managerial perspective (Pappas & Woodside, 2021).

To run fsQCA, scale scores must be converted into values between 0 and 1. This process is known as calibration. These scores indicate degrees of membership of a defined category (e.g., long-term residents): 1 means full membership, 0 means full non-membership. A score of 0.5 means neither in nor out of the set and is the point of maximum ambiguity, or crossover point

(Schneider & Wagemann, 2010). We calculated the crossover point by observing each attribute's distribution and median scores, as is commonly done when the literature does not recommend a specific crossover point. The cut-off value for distinguishing high from low intention to stay was 5. This choice and related decisions are consistent with Greckhamer et al. (2018) and Gligor et al. (2019). Specifically, we used the fifth, fiftieth, and ninety-fifth percentiles as the 0, 0.5, and 1 fsQCA anchors, respectively.

The next step is to construct a truth table: researchers select the outcome they wish to explain (here: residents' intention to stay) and the causal factors (i.e., the variables, also known as antecedents) that may potentially be necessary or sufficient for the outcome to happen. The truth table treats each case as a combination of the characteristics selected (or configuration in fsQCA terminology). Only cases with the same configuration are considered the same type. Each row in a truth table lists all possible 2^k combinations of potential causal conditions (where k is the number of causal conditions). It records the number of cases with that configuration and whether the outcome happened or not (Ragin et al., 2008).

The advantage of using fsQCA is that it reveals combinations of features that lead to a high score in the outcome condition (here: staying intention) rather than providing a single main effect of X on Y (Woodside, 2014). Accordingly, the main outcome from fsQCA is the 'truth table solution', a list of different configurations (i.e., combinations of causal factors) that have met specified sufficiency criteria for the outcome to occur. The software then uses fuzzy membership scores to weigh the relevance of each case. Consistency is to set relationships what p-value is to statistics: the higher the consistency, the stronger the set relationship (Pappas & Woodside, 2021). Ordanini et al. (2014) suggest a minimum consistency threshold of 0.75 for a solution to be acceptable.

Next, the software computes the solution coverage that explains how many cases are accounted for. Coverage represents "the empirical importance" (Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, p. 407), the "quantity of cases that are in the typical cases zone" (Veri, 2018, p. 145). While "a coverage threshold is not identified in fsQCA literature" (Veri, 2018, p. 135), Schneider and Wagemann (2010) suggest that 0.7 is a more than acceptable value.

In line with best practices for fsQCA, we selected a consistency cut-off of 0.80 (Ferguson et al., 2017; Ragin, 2008) and a minimum case cut-off of 3 for samples larger than 150 respondents (Ordanini et al., 2014; Scarpi et al., 2018) and report the intermediate solution (Pappas & Woodside, 2021).

Results

Measurements adequacy and solution robustness

Following Martínez-Martínez et al. (2019), we tested for common method bias by running (1) a confirmatory factor analysis (length of stay was not included, being a single-item measure) and (2) Harman's one-factor test. The factor analysis on the variables showed four factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.0, and the total variance explained was 75.52 %. Harman's test showed a worse fit for the one-factor model: specifically, it yielded a Satorra-Bentler $\chi^2(54) = 1828.87$; χ^2/d.f. = 33.87 (compared with the Satorra-Bentler $\chi^2(24) = 47.19$; χ/d.f. = 1.97 for the measurement model). This evidence might reduce concerns about common method bias.

We followed Paulhus's (1981) principal-factor deletion technique during the factor analysis. This technique might help manage the risk of social desirability bias. The output of the factor analysis, performed in SPSS AMOS 18 (χ^2/d.f. = 1.97; RMSEA = 0.06; CFI = 0.93), supports the measure's validity. Cronbach's alphas ranged from 0.79 to 0.85. Details can be found in Appendix A (Table A.1).

The analysis identified five configurations and an overall solution coverage of 0.82 and consistency of 0.76. These values suggest an excellent fit and show that the five configurations account for a substantial proportion of the outcome (Fiss, 2011; Ordanini et al., 2014).

Because fsQCA is sensitive to membership measure calibration, it is good to perform a robustness test. Robustness is confirmed if somewhat different calibration decisions yield comparable findings (Greckhamer et al., 2018; Schneider & Wagemann, 2010, 2012). We ran the analysis using the scales' values 2, 4, and 6, respectively, as cut-offs for scoring as full non-membership (0), crossover (0.5), and full membership (1) (Ordanini et al., 2014; Pappas et al., 2016). We also imposed the stricter 0.80 consistency threshold rather than 0.75 (Ordanini et al., 2014). The outcome yields roughly the same results and fit, indicating adequate solution robustness.

Findings from fsQCA

Before analyzing the sufficient conditions of fsQCA, we identified the necessary conditions. Following Ragin et al. (2008), Schneider and Wagemann (2012), and Xie et al. (2021), we ran a necessary condition analysis, considering consistency the criterion for a condition to be necessary for an outcome and setting the threshold at 0.9. As Table 1 shows, no variable reaches the threshold, evidencing that no single condition is necessary for explaining residents' intention to stay.

Next, sufficient configurations were obtained. The results are reported in Table 2 and indicate five different combinations of antecedents, all leading residents to remain in Venice. This evidence indicates equifinality in reaching a high intention to stay.

Following the guidelines suggested by Ragin and Fiss (2008), we graphically report the results to highlight the presence and absence of the variables in each combination as shown in Table 2, where black circles (●) indicate the presence of a condition and circles with an x (⊗) indicate its absence. Further, a blank cell indicates the do not care condition, which means that the antecedent is not relevant in that configuration. As shown, none of the antecedents alone can sufficiently explain a high intention to stay

Table 1
The necessity of conditions for high intention to stay.

Condition tested	Consistency	Coverage
Social benefits	0.486138	0.763645
~Social benefits	0.688273	0.726367
Environmental benefits	0.524690	0.773985
~Environmental benefits	0.652197	0.719665
Economic benefits	0.591336	0.731728
~Economic benefits	0.587624	0.757227
Length of residence	0.732921	0.756612
~Length of residence	0.381931	0.620551
Place attachment	0.877320	0.761045
~Place attachment	0.277506	0.643308

Note: the notation ~ means the absence of the variable.

among residents. This finding shows that no single antecedent alone leads to the outcome and must be combined with at least some others.

The first and second configurations (1-high and 2-high) have the highest raw coverage (0.66 and 0.45, respectively), highlighting that they best represent residents' intention to stay. Specifically, configuration 1-high combines length of residence and place attachment (the two variables are reported in configuration 1-high with a black circle). Both variables must be present in the configuration to reach a high intention to stay. That is, configuration 1-high represents the case of long-term residents who are willing to stay in Venice, regardless of the benefits of tourism, because of their emotional bond with the place.

Configuration 2-high represents residents whose staying in Venice is not due to some benefits from tourism. However, contrary to configuration 1-high, length of residence and place attachment are not core variables for retaining these residents. This configuration suggests that there might be additional variables at play for these respondents that this research could not anticipate (see Limitations and future research).

Configuration 3-high sees the presence of two perceived benefits from tourism (i.e., socio-cultural and environmental benefits), plus a high degree of place attachment, as drivers of these residents' willingness to stay in Venice. In contrast to configuration 2-high, both socio-cultural and environmental benefits matter here for reaching a high intention to stay. This evidence aligns with our Proposition, which states that across configurations, each antecedent could make a positive, negative, or no contribution, depending on the presence or absence of other antecedents in the configuration. Configuration 3-high represents residents whose decision to stay is driven not by the economic benefits they might perceive (economic benefits are neither present nor absent in the configuration) but by the socio-cultural and environmental benefits and their place attachment.

Residents in configuration 4-high need to perceive high socio-cultural and environmental benefits from tourism in order to stay in the location, but economic benefits are absent. This configuration describes those residents who haven't lived in Venice long and are still deciding whether to settle in the city or to work in Venice's tourism industry. As new residents, their decision to stay is driven by Venice's beauty and the social and cultural opportunities deriving from the tourism activities in this destination. Configuration 5-high represents the case of long-term residents, who perceive all the benefits provided by tourism (including economic ones) and need no emotional bond to decide to keep living there. They appear to be residents who will keep living there because of all the benefits of tourism.

Next, we ran a supplemental analysis, examining the sufficiency of conditions for weak intention to stay, as reported in Table 3. Four configurations emerge that all require the absence of place attachment (i.e., core causal condition absent). Thus, when place attachment is absent, tourism's benefits no longer make residents stay, whether socio-cultural (configurations 1-low, 2-low, and 3-low), environmental (configurations 1-low and 3-low), or economic (configurations 2-low and 3-low).

Table 2
Sufficient configurations for residents' high intention to keep staying in Venice.

	Configurations				
	1-High	2-High	3-High	4-High	5-High
Social benefits		⊗	•	•	•
Environmental benefits		⊗	•	•	•
Economic benefits		⊗		⊗	•
Length of residence	•			⊗	•
Place attachment	•		•		
Raw coverage	0.66	0.45	0.36	0.15	0.25
Unique coverage	0.20	0.05	0.04	0.01	0.01
Consistency	0.81	0.78	0.87	0.87	0.93
Solution coverage 0.82					
Solution consistency: 0.76					

Note: • = Core causal condition present; ⊗ = Core causal condition absent.
Raw coverage = outcome share explained by a configuration; unique coverage = outcome share exclusively explained by a configuration.

Table 3
Sufficient configurations for residents' low intention to stay.

	Configurations			
	1-Low	2-Low	3-Low	4-Low
Social benefits	•	•	•	⊗
Environmental benefits	•		•	⊗
Economic benefits		•	•	⊗
Length of residence	⊗	⊗		⊗
Place attachment	⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗
Raw coverage	0.27	0.30	0.29	0.26
Unique coverage	0.001	0.03	0.03	0.05
Consistency	0.83	0.83	0.77	0.87
Solution coverage 0.40				
Solution consistency: 0.77				

Note: • = Core causal condition present; ⊗ = Core causal condition absent.

Finally, we tested for specific models and examined the number of cases in the same configuration for which these models hold. Thus, following Pappas and Woodside (2021), we created five models, one for each of the five solutions. Then, we plotted each model against the outcome variable (i.e., intention to stay). Overall, this analysis shows consistencies above 0.80 and coverages ranging from 25 % to 68 %, suggesting good representation of cases for each configuration. Examples for models 1 and 5 (related to solutions 1-high and 5-high, respectively) are provided in Appendix A (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

Discussion

This research accounts for the interaction between residents' perceived benefits from tourism (economic, environmental, socio-cultural), place attachment, and length of residence. In particular, five different configurations of the considered variables were identified that could equally lead to intention to stay, thereby representing residents' different decision-making processes. These configurations show which of the perceived benefits from tourism matter for residents' intention to stay, under what

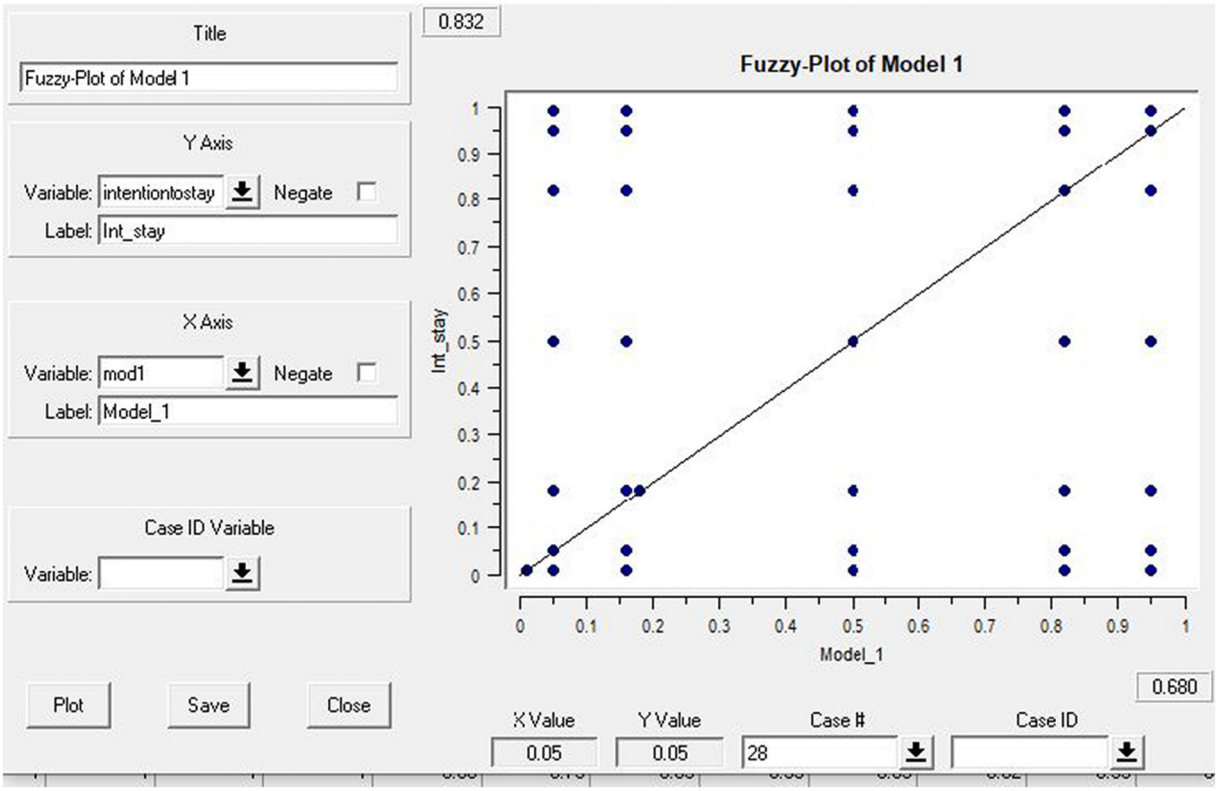

Fig. 1. Fuzzy-plot of Model 1 (solution 1-high).

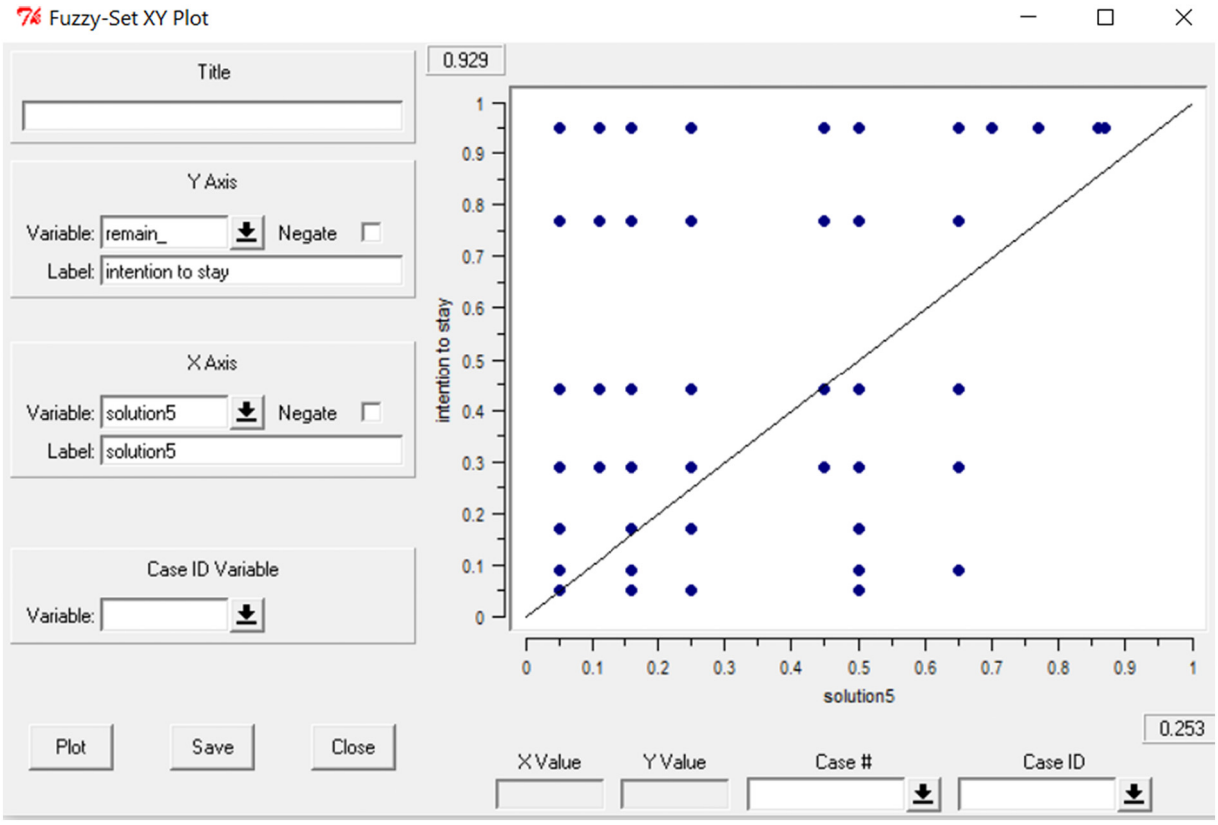

Fig. 2. Fuzzy-plot of Model 5 (solution 5-high).

conditions, and what roles place attachment and length of residence play. The results offer several theoretical contributions to the literature.

First, only a few studies in tourism, if any, addressed residents' intention to stay, which constitutes a novelty of our contribution. However, some addressed intention to leave (e.g., Chen & Dwyer, 2018) and residents' life satisfaction (e.g., Lin et al., 2017). They used symmetric approaches such as regressions. For example, Lin et al. (2017) showed through a PLS-SEM model that social-cultural benefits of tourism development influence residents' life satisfaction and are more important than economic benefits. Further, Chen and Dwyer (2018) found that place satisfaction and attachment negatively impact residents' intention to leave. While those findings do not contradict our analysis, they provide only main effects. Adopting the lens of complexity theory and employing fsQCA allows us to account for asymmetric relationships and to indicate how multiple different combinations of the three dimensions of sustainable tourism, place attachment, and length of residence can lead to residents' intention to stay. For instance, configuration 4-high shows that newer residents stay because of environmental and socio-cultural benefits, not economic benefits, aligning with Lin et al. (2017). However, fsQCA reveals other residents for whom economic benefits are important in shaping intention to stay (configuration 5-high, long-term residents).

Similarly, configuration 3-high shows that long-time residents stay because of a mix of place attachment, and social and environmental benefits, in line with Chen and Dwyer (2018). However, configuration 1-high adds that place attachment is sufficient for long-term residents to stay, regardless of further benefits. Configuration 5-high shows instead that other long-term residents stay not because of place attachment but because of the benefits they derive from tourism. These two configurations specify how Chen and Dwyer's (2018) mix of place attachment, and social and environmental benefits does work.

Furthermore, Látková and Vogt (2012) and McCool and Martin (1994) reported inconsistencies in the relationship between place attachment and residents' perceptions of tourism's impact. Our findings resolve them, envisioning the combinations of benefits and place attachment and identifying them as non-necessary conditions for residents' intention to stay. Thus, configuration 1-high is place-attachment-driven with no necessary presence of benefits, while configuration 5-high is all benefit-driven with no necessary presence of place attachment.

Overall, this research makes a useful contribution by integrating findings for how tourism affects residents' lives from a theory-based perspective. The diverse combinations that emerge from residents' responses prove that residents can develop intention to stay for different reasons. This evidence supports the phenomenon's complexity and the necessity to go beyond a predominantly reductionism approach, supporting complexity theory as a valuable perspective for tourism studies.

Thus, the findings reconcile contradictory evidence on the relative importance of tourism benefits and further resolve those contradictions through the idea of tourism destinations as a complex adaptive system. For instance, some studies found that

economic benefits have a negative impact (Hunt et al., 2015; Wilson & Tisdell, 2003), whereas others found a significant and positive impact (Boley et al., 2018). Still other studies found these benefits to be irrelevant (Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2003; Williams & Lawson, 2001). The present research results show that all these contradictory findings can be right, depending on length of residence. Thus, the economic benefit is positive for newer residents when environmental and socio-cultural benefits are present (configuration 4-high) but negative for longer-term residents (configuration 5-high). These findings further illustrate the importance of accounting for the complexity associated with different tourism-issue phenomena like sustainability, indicating that complexity theory and fsQCA can help provide new insights.

Similarly, tourism and environmental psychology studies focus on place attachment as a valuable predictor of residents' intention to stay (Brown et al., 2003; Von Wirth et al., 2016). The findings from this research do not deny place attachment's importance: indeed, in no configuration is staying intention achieved with negative place attachment. However, the results underline that place attachment is unnecessary: only two of five configurations require place attachment to reach staying intention (configurations 1-high and 3-high).

Again, this evidence reconciles previous contradictory findings on place attachment. For instance, Gu and Ryan (2008) found that residents' place attachment is a more important behavioral driver than economic benefits from tourism. Others instead suggested that economic (Frey & Jegen, 2001; Lopez-Mosquera & Sanchez, 2013) and socio-cultural benefits (Shamai & Ilatov, 2005) are more important than place attachment. This research shows that all these conflicting findings can be right, depending on the presence and absence of the other predictors. Indeed, in configurations 1-high and 3-high, place attachment overrides the need for some (configurations 1-high) or all (configurations 3-high) of the benefits. In contrast, in configurations 4-high and 5-high, different benefits render place attachment irrelevant. The configurations provide empirical evidence for the need to consider the role of place attachment when exploring tourism phenomena from residents' perspective.

Managerial implications

In Venice, tourism has become the basis of the city's financial sustainability, bringing an estimated $2.3 billion in income and producing jobs for many residents (Blanco et al., 2014). As is true for other tourism destinations, policymakers often intervene on the economic side, using over-tourism to solve the problem of depopulation. Thus, they provide economic benefits, investing in tourism to increase jobs, reduce local taxation, and provide free services to residents (Città di Venezia, 2022; Seraphin et al., 2018). We find that economic benefits for residents are not as core to shaping or necessary to shape residents' decision to stay. This evidence provides a counterpoint to the use of monetary incentives alone and helps explain such initiatives' scarce success (McCartney, 2020).

In addition, we find that in three of the five configurations, social and environmental benefits are what matter. Further, different motives drive long- and short-term residents. Accordingly, policymakers cannot solve tourism's impact on depopulation by addressing all residents in the same way. They should instead tailor their policies and resources based on citizens' perceptions of tourism's impact, acknowledging other benefits related to nature, the environment, culture, and socialization, that motivate residents to stay.

Policymakers in overcrowded destinations should thus consider measures to increase residents' perceptions of non-economic benefits. They could introduce a card or pass that enables residents to access various facilities such as public transportation, bike-sharing, cultural events, museums, and theatres. Along these lines, Venice recently introduced a ‘city pass’ that grants residents access to several socio-economic benefits. Further, policymakers could create successful aggregation moments for residents, such as the open-air free cinema in Bologna's (Italy) main square, whose costs are easily covered by tourism.

However, our results add that no single benefit is a necessary or sufficient condition for residents to keep staying. Also, place attachment is a relevant driver of such intention, being a necessary condition in two configurations. Policymakers could design interventions to cultivate more positive emotions and bonds between residents and a place, to enhance attachment. Art and cultural initiatives can help communicate a city's quality of life. For instance, city quality of life is ranked nationally by the independent Italian financial newspaper *Il Sole 24 Ore* and would be easy to communicate. Further, some cities have begun opening apolitical and free community houses where residents can gather and receive free medical, legal, and socio-cultural services, professional integration, and continuative assistance, for all age ranges, in the heart of some boroughs (Bologna Today, 2022).

Finally, it might appear premature to focus on over-tourism. However, experts predict that tourists will soon be traveling again (Brock, 2020), even more than before experiencing lockdowns, due to revenge spending (Toh, 2020) and because traveling provides psychological relief from anxiety (Pearce, 2009). For instance, more than half a billion social media comments have mentioned Italy as a tourist destination since the pandemic began (ENIT, 2020). As tourism demand threatens an intense comeback, policymakers must grapple with the issue of over-tourism and mitigate a potential backlash. In particular, practitioners and administrators may use the COVID-19 crisis as a transformative opportunity to balance tourism's economic benefits with preservation of the environment and people's well-being (Mair, 2020)—that is to say, to achieve sustainability (Sigala, 2020).

Limitations and future research

This study has several limitations that also present opportunities for future research. First, future studies could consider additional antecedents, such as residents' values, personalities, climate change, and construal level, as possible drivers of residents' and tourists' decisions (Gössling et al., 2012; Pizzi et al., 2014). In this vein, future research could also incorporate residents' personal life events: work transfers or romantic attachments, for instance, could impact the decision to stay (Challiol & Mignonac, 2005), as could satisfaction with the community, local services, and quality of life. These other variables might also explain what drives residents' staying intention in configuration 2-high (wanting to stay despite receiving no benefits from tourism).

Second, tourism's economic, environmental, and social benefits have many aspects, some of which could be more (or less) context-specific, such as increased local income, sports sponsorizations (Visentin et al., 2016), and land protection (Amuquandoh, 2010). Thus, future studies could incorporate further benefits and even consider residents' individual quality of life.

Third, several studies focused on the negative impacts of tourism, such as socio-cultural (Kim et al., 2013), economic (Mikulić et al., 2021), and environmental costs (Nunkoo & So, 2016). These include increased prices for goods and services, dilution of local culture, and the spread of pollution. Thus, future studies could adopt complexity theory and fsQCA to investigate residents' decision to leave rather than stay, focusing on socio-cultural, economic, and environmental costs instead of benefits. Are the decisions to stay or to leave opposing but symmetric? Do the configurations for costs mirror those for benefits, or do they represent entirely different decision-making paths?

Finally, the COVID-19 pandemic was one of the most impactful events in modern history, spreading worldwide. Undoubtedly, travel and tourism are among the sectors most affected; further research might study the post-pandemic evolution of overcrowding tourism destinations. For example, the pandemic has surely been a temporary hold on over-tourism and a way to rethink tourism for the future. Thus, very interesting questions for future research would be as follows: Are municipalities and administrations able to drive more resilient and sustainable practices for tourism supporting the digital innovation and the low-carbon transition? Can tourism policy manage a good balance between over-tourism and under-tourism areas? This research ends with a broad call for scholars to flesh out sustainable tourism practices, both theoretically and empirically, and examine their development and boundaries within different contexts in promoting tourism recovery.

Data availability

The authors do not have permission to share data.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

Appendix A

Table A.1
Questionnaire items, means, and standard deviations.

	Mean	St. dev.	Cronbach's alpha
Intention to stay	5.32	1.98	–
1. How much do you intend to keep living in Venice? (1 means “least likely” and 7 means “most likely”)			
Economic benefits	4.20	1.62	0.83
1. Tourism increases trade for local businesses			
2. Tourism improves economic conditions			
3. Tourism increases community development investments			
Environmental benefits	2.26	1.69	0.79
1. Tourism leads to the beautification of Venice			
2. Tourism leads to the protection and maintenance of environmental assets of Venice			
3. Tourism results in the preservation of sites of historical and cultural significance			
4. Tourism contributes to the preservation and restoration of the environment			
Social benefits	2.16	1.27	0.79
1. Tourism increases the number of cultural events			
2. Tourism increases the understanding of other cultures and societies			
3. Tourism provides an incentive for the preservation of the local culture			
4. Tourism provides residents the opportunity to meet new people			
Place attachment	6.27	1.14	0.85
1. Venice has a deep meaning for me			
2. I have a strong sense of identifying with Venice			
3. I have a strong sense of belonging regarding Venice (special feelings for locals and tourists)			

Appendix B. Supplementary data

Supplementary data to this article can be found online at https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2022.103472.

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