

観光地のライフサイクルと地域住民への影響

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Influence of Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALK) on Residents' Attitudes

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要 旨

住民の観光に対する態度は、観光地としての成熟ステージによって変わるとされている。一般的には、比較的新しい観光地では、住民の態度は前向きであるが、観光地がある程度の成熟度を超えると、観光地化による住民生活への悪影響が目立ち始めるため、反対に転じると言われている。また、特に外国人街の観光地化に関しては、同じ地域内でも個人のエスニシティが観光地化に対する態度に違いがあると考えられる。本研究では、観光地化されている二つの外国人街を例に挙げ、1：二つの地域間で住民の観光地化への態度に違いがあるのか、2：同地域内でも、住民のエスニシティによって違いがあるのか、の2点について探る。合計1276名からのアンケート調査の分析から、新しく出来た観光地の住民のほうが、古くからある観光地の住民よりも、観光に関する態度が前向きであることが明らかになった。また、新しい観光地の住民のほうがエンパワーメントのレベルも高いことが分かった。さらに、両地域においてマイノリティ住民のほうが日本人住民よりも観光に関してすべての面で前向きであることが分かった。

Abstract

Residents' attitudes towards tourism may vary depending on the maturity level. Generally, residents have positive attitudes toward tourism in a relatively new tourism destination, while their attitudes turn to be negative when the tourism destination reaches to a certain maturity level because the negative effects of tourism on the lives of local residents become apparent. In addition, ethnicity of the residents may affect their attitudes towards tourism especially in an ethnic neighborhood. The goals of this study are to examine whether attitudes of residents in two ethnic neighborhood tourism destinations differ (1) between these communities and (2) between the dominant ethnic groups and the ethnic minority groups within the same community. The

author conducted the survey with 1276 residents living in Oizumi, Gunma Prefecture (newly developed tourism destination) and Ikuno, Osaka Prefecture (mature tourism destination). The results indicated that residents living in the newly developed tourism destination had more favorable attitudes toward tourism than those in the mature destination. Similarly, the levels of empowerment were higher among residents in the newly developed tourism destination. In addition, minority residents' groups (Brazilian and Korean residents) have more positive attitudes towards tourism, more empowered, and feeling close to their counterparts than Japanese residents.

Introduction

Despite the popular perception that Japan is ethnically homogeneous, the number of migrating residents has dramatically increased since 1980s (Befu, 2007; Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000). Prior to that time, foreign-born residents were limited to those migrating from Korea and China. However, with the booming Japanese economy and changing immigration laws in the 1980s an influx of unskilled workers (many of whom were of Japanese descent) from Latin American countries began to settle in Japan. These immigrants were faced with adapting to a new society and cultures along with prejudices and resentment from residents born in Japan. As such immigrants either self-selected neighborhoods or were segregated intentionally by the dominant cultures, giving way to “ethnic neighborhoods” (Befu, 2007), where, in essence, ethnic enclaves were formed. Around such neighborhoods, clear social boundaries were drawn between members of the ethnic minority and Japanese residents, putting the former in disempowered positions (Murphy-Shigematsu, 2000; Tsuda, 2003). At the same time, however, in some ethnic neighborhoods in Japan, the unique, authentic culture of migrated residents has begun to be recognized as a resource for destinations as they promote “ethnic neighborhood tourism” (Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015).

Ethnic neighborhood tourism (ENT) is associated with commodifying unique ethnic culture of neighborhoods not easily found within other parts of the city or country as a whole. While it essentially provides ‘authentic’ ethnic experiences for tourists without having to travel abroad, it also reinvents an ethnic neighborhood, a previously under-privileged “no-go” area, as a space for leisure and consumption. As ENT becomes a popular type of tourism in different parts of the world, research has explored its influence on tourists’ understanding of different cultures (Santos, Belhassen, & Caton, 2008) and locals’ perception of ENT (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2016;

Pang, 2012).

Several ENT destinations are found within Japan, and each destination can be placed at different stages of development. Some neighborhoods are well-known tourist destinations (e.g., Chinatown in Yokohama and Korea town in Osaka), while others are emerging as new destinations (i.e., Myanmar town in Tokyo and Brazilian town in Gunma). Scholars (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980) have argued that residents' attitudes towards tourism vary depending on the stages of tourism development. While such a premise has been supported in resort areas (Diedrich, 2007; Omar, Othman, & Mohamed, 2014), few studies compare residents' attitudes between ENT destinations at different levels of tourism development.

In addition, residents' attitudes towards ENT may differ within a community depending on ones' ethnicity. Some studies (Henderson, 2000; Pang & Rath, 2007) suggest that minority residents may have negative attitudes towards ENT because they tend to be excluded from the planning process. Yet, others (Drew, 2011; Maruyama et al., 2016) indicate that minority residents perceive more benefits from tourism because ENT focuses on promoting ethnic culture as a means to attract potential visitors. However, only a few studies have quantitatively explored residents' attitudes differences regarding tourism within a multi-ethnic community (Maruyama et al., 2016, 2017).

The goals of this study are twofold: to examine whether attitudes of residents in two ENT destinations differ (1) between destinations at distinct stages of development and (2) within destinations between members of the dominant ethnic and ethnic minority groups. To do so, this study compares residents' attitudes among four groups at two different destinations of ENT, namely; Japanese and Brazilian residents at Oizumi town, Gunma, and Japanese and Korean residents at Ikuno-ward, Osaka, Japan. Identifying factors that influence residents' attitudes toward tourism is crucial for tourism destinations to be successful and sustainable because welcoming attitudes of hosts are an essential factor in fostering positive images of a destination (Diedrich & Buades, 2009). Additionally, if tourism has the potential to facilitate cooperation among different ethnic groups (Palmer, 2007), knowing how members of such groups perceive tourism is a critical step for local governments seeking to resolve inter-cultural conflicts through ENT.

As indicators of residents' attitudes regarding tourism development, this study considers the concepts of emotional solidarity (Woosnam, 2011), residents' empowerment (Boley & McGehee, 2014), as well as perceived tourism impacts (Lankford & Howard, 1994). Applying multiple scales is particularly significant in this research because in ethnic neighborhoods (where different ethnic groups reside), the issues regarding tourism are often intertwined with history of

segregation, continuous discrimination, and dominance of power (Abramson, Manzo, & Hou, 2006). Therefore, examining residents' attitudes toward ENT from multiple perspectives allows researchers the opportunity to understand residents' attitudes more holistically.

Literature Review

Residents' attitudes and levels of tourism development

Stage-based models of tourism (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Karplus & Krakover, 2005) associate residents' attitudes towards tourism with various stages of tourism development. In this regard, two different trends have been reported. On the one hand, the social disruption theory (England & Albrecht, 1984) and boomtown tourism theory (Perdue, Long, & Kang, 1999) postulate that local residents initially have negative reactions to a sudden change precipitated by tourism, but the negative perceptions slowly become more positive as time passes because locals adjust to the change (Didrich & Buades, 2009; Lepp, 2007). At the same time, Vong (2009) states that positive attitudes at the later stage of development are more likely to decline because as the rate of development slows, the benefits from the development are less likely to offset costs. Research conducted in large-scale tourism projects, such as casinos, has reported this type of trend (Jacques & Ladouceur, 2006; Lee & Back, 2006).

The other trend is that residents may have positive attitudes towards tourism when levels of development are minimal, and the positive attitudes increase as the development levels increase (Akis, Peristianis, & Warner, 1996; Brida, Osti, & Faccioli, 2011; Mansfeld & Ginosar, 1994). However, their attitudes begin to decline after a certain threshold point because costs related to tourism become manifest. This trend has been more commonly reported (e.g., Diedrich & Buades, 2009; Latkoba & Vogt, 2012), and several models to represent this trend have been developed, such as Ap and Crompton's (1993) continuum of four strategies and Doxey's (1975) Irritation Index.

Amongst such models, Butler's (1980) Tourism Area Life cycle (TALC) has been the most influential model to examine the relationship between the residents' attitudes and stages of tourism development process. TALC explains that development of a tourism destination moves through five stages, and as a development goes through the stages, significant changes occur in the number and types of tourists, local and tourism facilities, levels of local involvement, and locals' attitudes. More precisely, at the initial stage, locals' attitudes towards tourism are generally positive because social and economic impacts of tourism are still not manifested, and locals hold high expectation to the tourism sector as a potential economic driver. In addition, the destination

at the initial stages attracts tourists interested in the genuine local cultures. For those tourists, observing local “authentic” life itself is a significant attraction, and thus the number of facilities provided specifically for tourists are still minimum. However, at the later stages of development, representation of external organizations (e.g., major franchise and chains) takes place. Such external business may not respect local standards of business, out-compete local businesses, and increase leakage of benefit. In addition, at later stages of development, the destination begins to target tourists who prefer familiarity and stay confined to the proximity of a hotel or other touristic facilities, which limits wider distribution of benefits. These changes may cause decline in residents’ attitudes towards tourism over time (Sirakaya, Teye, & Sonmez, 2002; Russo, 2002).

The model has been widely examined in various destinations of both cross-sectional and longitudinal contexts (e.g., Akis et al., 1996; Garay, 2011; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Also see Butler’s edited volumes 2006a, b). For example, Diedrich and Buades (2009) compare residents’ attitudes of five communities at different stages of TALC in Belize, and support the premise of the model. Also, Johnson’s (1994) longitudinal study in a rural area in the United States demonstrates that residents’ initial high expectation of tourism diminishes over time. On the contrary, Latkoba and Vogt (2012) suggest that residents’ attitudes are not directly influenced by the stages of development, but rather explained by economic dependence on tourism.

Because Butler’s (1980) model has been criticized for its simplicity and difficulty to put into operation (Haywood, 1986), many of the previous studies (e.g., Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Vong & McCartney, 2005) use social science theories, particularly social exchange theory (Ap, 1992), in conjunction with TALC to explain residents’ attitudes. That is to say, locals embrace tourism in the initial stages of development because of the subjective evaluation of the potential benefits to the community. However, when some of the negative impacts start to manifest, they start feeling ambivalent about its benefits, and then finally they withdraw from supporting the development.

The stage-based model has also been examined in various locations, such as Europe (Brida et al., 2011; Farahani & Musa, 2008), Oceania (Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2010), and Asia (Meng, Li, & Uysal, 2010), while no study has been conducted in Japan where the importance of residents’ attitudes has only recently been recognized (Suzuki, 2010). In addition, while the model has been tested in resort areas with natural resources (i.e., coastal and mountain areas) (Diedrich, 2007; Omar et al., 2014), only a few studies (Russo, 2000) has been conducted in destinations with cultural resources. Therefore, it is of interest to examine whether locals’ attitudes differ between matured and emerging destinations of ethnic neighborhood tourism (ENT) in Japan.

Residents' attitudes within a community

In addition to the residents' attitudes differing between destinations with various stages of development, locals' attitudes may differ within a single community. A "community" is often fractured into various social groups, and likely have divergent perceptions of tourism (Crehan, 1997). Van der Duim et al. (2006) argue that overlooking such existing division within a community greatly impacts the success of community participation. Indeed, past studies have identified both economic (Choi & Murray, 2010; Perdue et al., 1990) and non-economic determinants that differentiate locals' attitudes within a community, including education (Sirakaya et al., 2002), occupation (Akis et al., 1996), community attachment (McCool & Martin, 1994), and trust to authority (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011).

In the case of ENT, ethnicity of residents may be one of the significant, non-economic determinants of residents' attitudes. On the one hand, ethnic minorities in a community may have negative attitudes towards tourism because the minorities are excluded from the planning process while dominant groups' view of "ethnic culture" is often represented to tourists (Timothy, 2007; Wang, Chang, Yen, Chang, & Li, 2010; Yang & Wall, 2009). Indeed, development of ENT is often led by the state or regional government as a part of a larger urban revitalization plan, and local minorities are often excluded from the planning (Chang, 2000; Shaw, Bagwell, & Karmowska, 2004; Pang & Rath, 2007). Henderson (2000) illustrates that, in the effort to revitalize Chinatown in Singapore, local Chinese residents were not involved in the process. As a result, the town became an "artificial creation" separated from the local Chinese perspective. On the other hands, to attract tourists, destinations of ENT need to focus on promoting "authentic ethnic culture" (e.g., ethnic restaurants, events, and souvenir shops) over the culture of the dominant ethnic group. It may cause unequal distribution of social and economic benefits in favor of ethnic minority groups whose culture is represented to tourists, and in turn create more positive attitudes towards tourism among members of the ethnic minority group. With this in mind, it is of interest to examine ethnic majority and minority residents' attitudes towards tourism to see if they differ.

Measuring Residents' Attitudes

Past studies of residents' attitudes generally used residents' perceived impacts of tourism as indicators of residents' support of tourism or appropriateness of the development to the community (e.g., Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012). For example,

Lankford and Howard (1994) develop a two-dimensional scale to measure both resident support for tourism and resident perceptions of tourism's contributions to the community. Ko and Stewart (2002) as well as Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) also suggest expanded models with multiple dimensions to examine perceived economic, socio-cultural, and environmental costs and benefits. While these scales have helped researchers capture the complexity of the residents' attitudes toward tourism, solely applying one of these scales may fail to analyze other important aspects significant for sustainability of tourism. Sustainable tourism is holistic and multi sectorial (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005). Remoaldo and Ribeiro (2014) also argue using a variety of research tools make the analysis more rigorous. If so, residents' attitudes need to be approached from multiple perspectives.

Residents' perceived empowerment is one of the important indicators of appropriateness of tourism to the local community while often missing from existing attitudes scales. Empowerment is broadly referred to as gaining "mastery over one's affairs" (Rappaport, 1984), and has long been identified as a critical aspect of the sustainable tourism (e.g. Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 1999, 2000). Sofield (2003), for example, acknowledges that without resident empowerment, sustainable tourism is difficult to achieve. The concept of empowerment has been broken down into several dimensions within the sustainable tourism literature (Ramos & Prideaux, 2014; Scheyvens, 2002). Particularly, when considering the empirical measurement of resident empowerment, scholars have focused on tourism development's influence on the psychological, social and political empowerment of residents (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Ramos & Prideaux, 2014). Psychological empowerment within a tourism context relates to tourism's impact on resident pride and self-esteem. Because of tourists traveling to their community to experience their natural and cultural resources, residents reevaluate the value of their community, which leads to increased general confidence (Di Castri, 2004). Social empowerment, within a tourism context, is concerned with cohesion and collaboration of a community. It ensues when the community's equilibrium is maintained or enhanced from tourism development (Scheyvens, 1999). Finally, political dimension of empowerment focuses on "gaining mastery over one's affairs." Within a tourism context, political empowerment moves beyond the mere inclusion of residents to a focus on real distribution of power by providing residents with the opportunity to raise questions about tourism development, share their concerns, and ultimately influence the direction of tourism development (Scheyvens, 1999).

Cohesiveness or emotional closeness within a local community is also an essential aspect (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Especially in ethnically divided communities, friendly inter-group relationship within a community may encourage active participation and joint decision making

by various stakeholders (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Ryan, 2002), while hostility to each other diminish the locals' support for ethnic tourism (Maruyama & Woosnam, 2015; Woosnam, 2011).

Research Methods

Study Sites

The current study was conducted in two locations, namely Oizumi town in Gunma prefecture and Ikuno ward in Osaka city. Oizumi is located approximately 110 km northwest of Tokyo (i.e., the equivalent of a two- and a half hour train ride). According to the Census conducted in 2010, 40,257 people, including 5,223 foreign-born residents, reside in Oizumi (Oizumi-town, 2014). Among the registered foreigners, 3,678 people are Brazilians, which is the highest concentration of Brazilian residents in Japan.

Immigration of Brazilians to Oizumi began in the late 1980s. To solve the serious labor deficiency caused by the booming economy at the time, the Japanese government amended the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1989, granting long-term residence visas to all Japanese emigrants, their descendants, and family members up to the third generation (Tsuda & Cornelius, 2004). The mayor of Oizumi at the time actively recruited the Brazilian immigrants to work in the manufacturing factories in town.

Because of the high concentration of foreigners, the town has become known as a model for multi-culturalism. In reality, however, cultural conflicts are often experienced between Nikkei Brazilians and local Japanese residents, resulting in labeling Brazilian residents as “negative minority” (Tsuda, 2003). Stereotypes of Brazilians as uneducated, unskilled factory workers with low socio-economic origins are pervasive especially among older generations because many of the Brazilian immigrants accepted positions as unskilled factory workers. Tension between Japanese and Brazilian residents often arise regarding noise, garbage disposal, and children's education (Tamagawa, 2006), and Japanese residents in Oizumi rarely visit Brazilian restaurants and shops in town (Personal communication).

Ethnic neighborhood tourism centered on Brazilian culture was launched in 2007 by the local government in an attempt to revitalize the town's declining economy. From its onset, the bureau identified Brazilian culture as a primary resource for tourism. To attract tourists, several events regarding Brazilian culture were organized by the tourism bureau, including “Gourmet Yokocho”, street food festival held every fourth Sunday, and the “Oizumi Samba Festival” a major, annual event to celebrate Brazilian culture. Other tourism resources in town are two Brazilian supermarket, several small snack stores, and restaurants, all of which have been predominantly

used by local Brazilian residents. The two mega events (i.e., FIFA World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016) held in Brazil increased the media exposure of the town and made it known to the wider public. However, it is still at an emerging level of tourism development as aforementioned two events are the only tourism events regularly held. According to data from the Bureau of Statistics in Gunma prefecture, 204,200 people visited the town in 2013, and all of them are one-day visitors from the surrounding areas.

The Korean town in Ikuno, also known as Tsuruhashi Korean town, Osaka, is a more mature tourism destination. While there is no statistics that show the number of tourists to the area, approximately 177,800 people per day use Tsuruhashi station, the closest train station to the Korean town, whereas only 1415 people use Nishi-koizumi station in Oizumi Town. The Korean town located in close proximity of the central area of Osaka. Tsuruhashi station is approximately 15 minutes train-ride from Osaka Station.

According to the statistics, the Ikuno ward hosts 127,783 people, including 27,801 foreign residents, and among the foreign residents, 23,499 claim as Korean residents (Ikuno Ward, 2016). This is the largest concentration of Korean residents in the country.

The Korean neighborhood in Ikuno emerged at the early 1900, when a large number of colonial migrants from Korea emigrated particularly from Chae-Joo island to work for the maintenance project of the Hirano river that begun 1919 (Ueda, 2011). Although the Korean town had long been reputed by the Japanese population as a place to avoid, the 1988 Summer Olympics and the 2002 FIFA World cup increased the popularity of the town as a tourism destination. Yet, the most significant turning point for the town was the “Korean Wave,” also known as *Hallyu*, the global popularity of South Korean pop culture that swept Japan at the early 2000s. Because of the sudden increase of popularity of Korean culture, the Korean town became re-fashioned as a “sacred place” for *Hallyu* fans.

The current Korean town is in a form of a shopping street with approximately 120 restaurants, grocery stores, souvenir shops, clothing stores, and some other types of Korean businesses. Although many shops in the Korean town were originally wholesalers, some shop owners begun to sell small size, take-out food in front of their shop spaces to attract tourists who want to sample authentic Korean dishes (personal communication). In addition, a number of new, modern stores targeting fans of “K-pop” have opened in the Korean town and along the road between the train station and the Korean town.

The history of Japanese and Korean residents’ relationship is largely characterized with hostility and anti-Korean sentiments among Japanese population. Owing to the history of colonization, Japanese’ superiority had been the predominant Japanese attitude towards Korean

residents throughout the pre- and postwar periods (Lie, 2012). Indeed, the vast majority of Korean residents in Japan needed to use Japanese aliases to avoid discrimination (Chung et al., 2006). However, the Korean Wave caused the countervailing movement among Korean residents. Kim (2002) argues that, while a large number of Korean descendants have been naturalized to Japan, simultaneously they are revealing their ethnic origin and using their Korean names. At the same time, some (Kim, 2002; Kumpis, 2015) argue that such *Hallyu* phenomenon has little effect on Japanese national sentiments towards Korean residents. Particularly, in the past several years, the interstate relationship among Japan, South and North Korea have constantly been tense around the various issues, (e.g., historical grievances for “comfort women,” unresolved territorial issues over Takeshima/Dokdo islands, and military activity of North Korea). Accordingly, the Korean town has been facing with intense hate speeches from ultra-right wing Japanese groups since the beginning of year 2013, which may negatively affect the tourism in town (Kumpis, 2015).

Methods

Residents living in Oizumi and Ikuno, namely Japanese, Brazilian, and Korean residents, comprised the target populations for the study. Heads of households or their spouses residing in both areas were sampled on weekends from November of 2013 to June of 2015. Following a multi-stage cluster sampling scheme (Babbie, 2014), Oizumi was reduced to 30 administrative areas designated by the town office. These administrative areas were then randomly selected. Within each administrative area, homes were then randomly selected and visited. Similarly, Ikuno-ward was reduced to 19 areas, and the same steps are taken as in Oizumi town.

Research teams were composed of two student assistants from several local universities. Each team visited every second household, starting in randomly-selected locations within each area using city maps. The research team described the nature of the study and asked each head of the household or their spouse to participate in the survey. If the resident agreed, a questionnaire was left with the participant and picked up later that day (Woosnam, 2011). If no one answered the door, the research team visited the next immediate house, and the second-house sequence was restarted. Survey instruments were prepared in Japanese, Portuguese, and Korean languages. For all languages, back translation was performed.

In total, 5,566 households in Oizumi were visited, and at approximately 72% ($n = 4,022$) of the homes, no one answered the door. At the remaining 1,554 homes, 854 declined and 700 surveys were distributed (an acceptance rate of 45%). In total, 662 surveys were completed by the residents (a completion rate of 94%). The overall response rate (662 completed survey instruments from the 1,554 individuals contacted) was 42%. Of the 662 surveys completed, 12

were less than half completed and were discarded, resulting in 650 usable instruments (i.e., 467 completed by Japanese residents and 183 completed by Brazilian residents). In Ikuno, 5,930 households were visited, and no one answered the door at approximately 58% of the homes. At the remaining 2,489 homes, 733 surveys were distributed (an acceptance rate of 29%). In total, 640 surveys were returned (a completion rate of 89 % and overall response rate of 26%). Of the 640 surveys completed, 14 were less than half completed and were discarded, resulting in 626 usable instruments (i.e., 466 completed by Japanese residents and 160 completed by Korean residents).

Survey Constructs and Analysis

The constructs under investigation in this study are residents' perceived tourism impacts, empowerment through tourism, and emotional solidarity. To examine resident attitudes toward tourism, the authors adopted 17 items from the Tourism Impact Attitude Scale (TIAS) developed by Lankford and Howard (1994). TIAS is a two-dimensional scale to measure both resident support for tourism and resident perceptions of tourism's contributions to the community. One drawback is the lack of including cultural impacts and negative social impacts within its measurement items (Woosnam, 2012). However, the current study attempts to use the other scale (i.e. RETS and ESS) to measure the residents' perceptions of psychological, social, and political empowerment and emotional ties with their counterparts, which are in fact types of socio-cultural impacts.

In order to examine the levels of resident empowerment among residents, the authors adopted 11 items from the Residents Empowerment through Tourism Scale (RETS) developed by Boley and McGehee (2014). The 11 items comprised three factors, namely *psychological empowerment*, *social empowerment*, and *political empowerment*.

To examine differences in emotional solidarity between residents of ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups, the authors utilized the 10-item *Emotional Solidarity Scale* (see Table 1) as developed by Woosnam and Norman (2010). The 10 items comprised three factors: *welcoming nature* (four items); *emotional closeness* (two items); and *sympathetic understanding* (four items). These three scales have been used in a number of tourism studies conducted in various tourism settings across different countries (Maruyama et al., 2016; Petrović, Bjeljac, & Demirović, 2016; Woosnam, 2012), demonstrating its strong reliability and validity. For all scales, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement by using a 7-point scale, where 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree. Finally, residents were asked questions concerning socio-demographic information (e.g., gender, age, marital status, education, annual household income, and length of residency). To compare the scores of all three scales among the four groups, three

Table 1 : Test of Significance between four groups

	Mean Oizumi Japanese	Mean Oizumi Brazilian	Mean Osaka Japanese	Mean Osaka Korean	Mean Square	F	Sig.
TIAS 1	4.69 ^a	5.99 ^a	4.34 ^a	5.05 ^a	106.79	69.10	.000
TIAS 2	3.77 ^a	5.56 ^{a,b}	3.21 ^a	3.45 ^b	216.23	142.61	.000
RETS 1	3.43 ^a	3.46 ^b	1.88 ^{a,b}	2.44 ^{a,b}	209.62	108.59	.000
RETS 2	3.90 ^a	5.55 ^{a,b}	3.01 ^{a,b}	3.80 ^b	258.67	179.57	.000
RETS 3	4.05 ^a	5.41 ^a	2.96 ^a	3.58 ^a	257.15	150.63	.000
ESS 1	4.37 ^{a,b}	5.74 ^{a,c}	4.51 ^c	5.57 ^b	105.37	91.24	.000
ESS 2	3.90 ^a	4.75 ^a	5.47 ^a	6.56 ^a	314.76	82.78	.000
ESS 3	4.04 ^a	5.40 ^a	4.44 ^a	5.78 ^a	146.93	105.35	.000

Note: For ANOVA, df=3.

a,b,c: Significant difference ($p < .05$) was found in the Turkey test.

separated analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used.

Results

Among Japanese residents in Oizumi, average age was 53.7 years old, and almost two-thirds of the respondents were at least 50 years of age. On the contrary, Brazilian residents' average age was 41.7 years old, and nearly 75 % of them were the ages of 18-49 years old. A Japanese residents indicated that they live longer ($M = 31.6$ years) in Oizumi than Brazilian residents ($M = 8.8$ years). Approximately one third of individuals in both sample had a minimum of a technical or vocational degree. Also, for both samples, the median range of annual household income was ¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999. While almost 90 % of Japanese residents indicated 0 % of their income came from spending from tourists in town, over 50 % of Brazilians answered that their income came from such spending.

In Ikuno, average age of Japanese residents was 58.2 years old, while Korean residents' average age was 50.4 years old. Both groups had the same level of education (high school graduate) as well as household income level of ¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999. The length of residency was also similar. Japanese residents indicated the average of 40.93 years, and Korean residents indicated 34.52 years. Also, for both samples, the median range of annual household income was ¥2,000,000 – 3,999,999.

The descriptive analysis indicated that on TIAS, Oizumi Brazilian scored the highest while Japanese residents in Osaka scored the lowest. On all three factors of RETS, both Japanese and Brazilian residents' scores are higher than residents in Osaka. On all three factors of ESS, Oizumi Japanese group has the lowest scores (Table 1). The results of the ANOVA test indicated that

there were statistically significant differences among four groups for all factors of the three scales (i.e. ESS, RETS, and TIAS). (Table 1). Therefore, for each of the scales, a Turkey HSD test was conducted to determine which specific groups were significantly different. On all the factors, residents living in the different destinations as well as having different ethnic backgrounds had different perceptions about the tourism.

Discussion

The goal of this study was to examine whether attitudes of residents at ENT destinations differ between destinations of different development stages and between members of dominant ethnic and ethnic minority groups within a destination. To do so, this study compared residents' attitudes among four groups at two different destinations of ENT, namely; Japanese and Brazilian residents at Oizumi town, Gunma, and Japanese and Korean residents at Ikuno-ward, Osaka, Japan.

In terms of the difference between the destinations, the analysis revealed that levels of perceived impacts of tourism, particularly perceived contribution of tourism, in Ikuno was lower than the levels in Oizumi. This parallels with previous studies (Diedrich & Buades, 2009; Russo, 2002; Sirakaya et al., 2002) that indicate residents at the emerging tourism destination show favorable attitudes toward tourism while residents of the mature destination cite negative impacts more frequently. Butler (1980) argues that the decline of locals' support partly associates with the emergence of external businesses at the later stages of tourism development. In addition, the destinations at the initial stages attract tourists willing to experience the genuine local cultures, while at the later stages, tourists who prefers familiarity become targeted (Butler, 1980). Indeed, both changes in the ownership of business and nature of tourists have been observed in the Korean town. The changes may be brought about by the maturity of the destination that also parallels with the shift of the "Korean Wave." More precisely, the Korean Wave in Japan began with the unprecedented popularity of television drama *Winter Sonata* and other TV dramas in 2003 (Iwabuchi, 2008). Viewers of the dramas were predominantly middle aged women who perceived a sense of nostalgia and found similarity between Japanese and Korean values (Hanaki, Singhal, Han, Kim, & Chitnis, 2007; Iwabuchi, 2008). Accordingly, the visitors typically dined in local Korean restaurants, joined some cultural activities (e.g., wearing the traditional dresses or making Kimchi), and bought souvenir that represent traditional Korean culture (e.g., cloth, crafts, and food). Seemingly, these tourism activities not only brought economic benefits to the local society but also became an opportunity for locals, especially

Korean residents, to voice their cultural truths that has been hidden because of the historical discrimination (Han, 2007). However, as the boom of Korean dramas became saturated, beginning around 2010 the popularity has begun to shift to contemporary K-pop culture (music, movies, online games, hairstyles and cosmetics) whose audiences consisted of younger males and females looking for feminine or masculine images in those Korean idols. Such fans' major goal of visiting the Korean town is buying merchandise related to the idols (e.g., CD, DVD, pictures, and cosmetics) generally sold by non-local, chain stores newly launched after 2010 (Sakamaki, 2012). Therefore, the locals in Ikuno may feel that the town's economy and identity are threatened by these new stores specifically targeting for the K-pop fans (Henderson, 2000). In addition, locals may feel that these younger fans are not interested in Korean culture itself and/or unaware of historical baggage between Japanese and Korean residents, but only interested in "celebrity culture" (Han, 2007).

On the contrary, in Oizumi, because the tourism development is still at an emerging stage, the tourists' expectation for tourism as a new economic booster may be still high (Sirakaya et al., 2002). In addition, tourism in Oizumi still largely depends on the existing facilities that serve for locals (e.g., restaurants and supermarkets), which may not only bring the benefits to the local community but also attracts those tourists genuinely interested in Brazilian culture (Butler, 1980).

The stages of development also seem to influence the levels of residents' empowerment. The analysis indicated that residents in Oizumi are politically, psychologically, and socially more empowered than the residents in Ikuno. In Oizumi, the tourism development has been led by the local government. Although some Japanese residents felt that it is managed in a top-down manner (Maruyama, Woosnam, & Boley, 2017), overall, the locals may feel relatively easy to convey their opinions to the local authorities. On the contrary, in Ikuno, the nature of tourism has been strongly influenced by the Korean Wave instigated by the South Korean government, and the political climate between Japan and South or North Korea (Kim, 2007; Kumpis, 2015). In other words, the residents in Ikuno may feel that they rarely have control on the success or failure of tourism in their own town. In addition, in Oizumi, the existing facilities are presented to tourists as a "resource" to lure tourists, which may increase psychological empowerment that relates to residents' pride and self-esteem (Di Casti, 2004). Whereas in Ikuno, current popularity of external business targeting K-pop fans may not help increase a sense of confidence among the residents.

Similarly, residents in Ikuno scored significantly lower on the social empowerment compared to residents in Oizumi. Arguably, having experienced the unprecedented rise of tourism and

facing the current anti-Korean nationalistic sentiments, residents may perceive discrepancy within a community between those who support continuous growth of tourism and those who feel skeptical towards it. Such discrepancy, then, may have lessened a sense of collaboration within a community (Scheyvens, 1999). Overall, as the Korean town has hosted a large number of tourists, the residents have perceived negative impacts of tourism, which far outweigh the positives. On the contrary, in Oizumi, residents still believe in the potential of tourism, which fosters positive attitudes towards it.

In terms of differences of attitudes within a community, in both Oizumi and Ikuno, minority residents' groups (Brazilian and Korean residents) scored significantly higher on all of the factors of RETS, ESS, and TIAS. For example, minority residents feel emotionally close to Japanese residents in both communities. These findings may indicate that the minority residents recognize the ENT as an opportunity to cooperate and mutually understand both with their co-ethnics and with their Japanese counterparts by whom once they felt segregated. This can be a significant shift of inter-group relationships that have long been characterized with intense discrimination in both communities. Past studies (Jamison, 1999; Palmer, 2007) have indicated that tourism can increase a sense of cohesion within a multi-ethnic community by being a common goal or increase a sense of competition among community members over tourism resources. This study indicated the former effect of tourism from a perspective of minority residents. Arguably, Korean and Brazilian residents perceive ENT as an opportunity for their culture and identity to be accepted by the majority residents and become a part of the community. However, from the perspective of Japanese residents, it does not necessarily help increase a sense of solidarity within a community.

In addition, the minority groups scored higher on factors of RETS, indicating that Brazilian and Korean residents perceive themselves to be more empowered than did Japanese residents in their communities. While other studies illustrate that ENT might place ethnic minority groups in a disempowered position (Aytar & Rath, 2012), this study illustrates ENT can be a medium for ethnic minorities to resist the marginalization and represent their culture to the wider public.

The analysis also indicates that minority residents in both destinations support tourism development and acknowledge its contributions to their communities more than Japanese residents. This can be explained by the nature of ENT where tourists are willing to experience authentic "ethnic culture." In other words, benefits of tourism tend to be concentrated on ethnic business while Japanese residents perceive only negative impacts of tourism (e.g., congestion, noise, and littering).

Overall, these findings indicate both the potential and weakness of ENT as a tool of

sustainable development. On one hand, ENT may function for members of ethnic minority groups to overcome the history of discrimination and disempowerment, and become opportunity of being accepted by and reconcile with the Japanese residents. On the contrary, the Japanese residents may feel disempowered and excluded in the process of ENT development, which seem to strengthen antagonistic attitudes towards the minorities.

Implications and future studies

Findings from the current study have implications for both theory and practice. In regards to theory, with over several decades of research examining the stage based model of tourism, the residents' attitudes towards ENT at different development stages have not yet been conducted. In addition, comparison of residents' attitudes between ethnic minority and dominant ethnic groups has minimally taken place (Maruyama et al., 2016, 2017). Arguably, this study indicated that the residents at the emerging stage of ENT development have more positive attitudes and perceive more benefits from tourism than residents in the matured ENT destination, showing support of Butler's (1980) model. In addition, the study also indicated that, in both ENT destinations, members of ethnic minority groups perceive more positive impacts, feel more empowered, and feel emotionally closer to their counter parts than Japanese residents. It indicates that ENT may cause unequal distribution of social and economic benefits putting members of dominant ethnic group in a disadvantaged position. These findings also provides the credence of applying multiple theoretical lens and scales for approaching ENT that involve interwoven issues of segregation, prejudice, power, representation, and tourism.

This study also has practical implications for fostering positive attitudes of residents towards ENT in Oizumi, Ikuno, and other communities where this type of ENT takes place. First, this study indicated that residents in the matured destination (Ikuno) has lower levels of the support of tourism. Arguably, the tourism officials need to focus on promoting locally owned stores so that locals can perceive direct economic benefits from tourists' spending as well as gain a sense of control and confidence over the development. In addition, providing visitors with the opportunities to learn about the history of the town is required to widen their interest from "K-Pop" to the Korea town itself. It may be particularly important to stress not only the historical facts but also the current situations of ethnic neighborhoods and people, which may help remove the stereotypical, "dark" image of ethnic neighborhood and foster a sense of connection to it among young visitors. Tourism officials also need to listen to the concerns of Japanese residents to seek ways in which Japanese residents can also perceive social and economic benefits from ENT. Giving the voice to Japanese residents may also allow them to feel being a part of the

process and lesson a sense of exclusion. While ENT helps elevate ethnic minorities' social and economic positions in the society, it may be leaving Japanese residents behind. Therefore, improving the Japanese residents' view of ENT is the next critical step for ENT to be more successful and sustainable.

Future studies need to explore locals' attitudes towards ENT at various stages of development to learn more about how stages of development influence residents' attitudes. In addition, low levels of support of tourism among Ikuno residents may be related to the way of place branding and marketing. More precisely, while in case of Oizumi, the town itself is promoted as Brazilian town (i.e., "Oizumi Brazilian town"), the Korea town in Ikuno is promoted as "Tsuruhashi Korea town," given the name of specific neighborhood where the shopping street locates. Therefore, residents in Ikuno, especially those who live outside Tsuruhashi area, may feel less associated with Korean culture and tourism. Therefore, future studies may need to explore how the different ways of place branding influence the locals' perception of tourism. Exploring these aspects may help researchers deepen understanding of ENT, and make it more sustainable and beneficial to residents of different ethnicities.

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