

Residents' Perceptions Towards Tourism: A Social Representations' Perspective and The Hong Kong Experience

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ABSTRACT

Almost 80% of tourists in Hong Kong are from Mainland China, and they have brought substantial negative impacts on the local community. Residents have staged several protests where they urged tourists to return to China. However, for the long-term sustainability of tourism, tourists must be welcomed, and tourism must be supported by residents. Investigating the community's perceptions and concerns towards the impacts brought about by tourism and its development in Hong Kong is appropriate.

The research objectives are to examine residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and the manner in which these perceptions influence their support or opposition for tourism development in Hong Kong. Various factors such as sub-ethnic identity, community attachment, proximity to tourism areas, overall life satisfaction, demographic variables, knowledge of tourism and trust in government are investigated to identify their role and importance in shaping residents' perceptions towards tourism. This research also seeks to identify the perceptions of different interviewee groups based on their composition and characteristics. Furthermore, social representations theory is used to examine why and how residents develop such perceptions and how three sources of information (i.e. direct experience with tourists or tourism impacts, social interaction and media influence) affect the formation of residents' representations about tourism.

Adopting a qualitative approach, ten in-depth and two focus groups interviews were conducted. Participants who identified their sub-ethnic identity as Hongkongers perceived tourism more negatively than Chinese in HK. Economic dependency on tourism also resulted in higher overall life satisfaction which was associated with a higher degree of trust in government and further lead to more positive perceptions of tourism impacts and support for tourism. Age and educational level were negatively associated with positive perceptions of tourism impacts. This research has provided both theoretical and practical implications for academia and the hospitality and travel industry as well as for government to formulate appropriate destination marketing strategies, develop a tourism master plan and implement measures to address and mitigate the negative impacts associated from tourism development so as to achieve a mutually beneficial 'win-win' situation for host residents and tourists. This is pivotal to the success and sustainable development of tourism in HK.

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GLOSSARY OF DEFINITIONS/ABBREVIATIONS

HK

Abbreviation for Hong Kong

Hongkongers

Hong Kong people or the Hong Kongese are those who originate from or live in Hong Kong. This term refers to people who adopt an exclusive group identity that only includes Hong Kong permanent residents (Lam, Chiu, & Lau, 2007).

Mainlanders

People from Mainland China (basically the communist party—the party and population are two different entities). They are being criticised by Hong Kong people to be annoying, vile and disgusting (Male, 2010).

Parallel Traders

People who take advantage of multiple entry visa policy to import goods from Hong Kong to Mainland China for re-selling to make a profit.

Interviewees

The two types of interviewees in this study are ‘interviewees’ and ‘student interviewees’. The former refer to in-depth interviewees, and the latter refer to focus group interviewees as all focus group interviewees are students.

SET (Social Exchange Theory)

Social exchange theory (SET) states that individuals who benefit from tourism are more likely to engage positively with tourists (Ap, 1992). Ap (1992) claimed that power/influence and personal benefits are significant predictors of residents’ perceived positive impacts of tourism but weak determinants of their perceived negative impacts.

SRT (Social Representations Theory)

Social representations theory (SRT) is defined as a model highlighting the processes of social interaction in determining the content and forming the value and belief system of an individual which are called ‘social representations’ (Brenkwell, 1993).

Sub-Ethnic Identity

Hong Kong residents have different senses of self-concept and identification, such as Hongkongers, Hongkongers in China, Chinese or Chinese in Hong Kong. Sub-ethnic identity is used to describe and characterise them to different sub-ethnic groups in the community.

HKSAR (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region)

On 1 July 1997, China resumed sovereignty under the ‘one country, two systems’ principle (The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government [HKSAR Government], 2014). Since then, Hong Kong has been named the ‘Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China’.

Tourism Development

This term has two meanings. One is associated with tourism projects, such as an attraction, theme park, resort or hotel. The other is associated with the policies or strategies in developing tourism at a destination. The latter meaning is adopted in this study as it aligns with the intent of this research.

CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research background with its relevance to Hong Kong (HK) residents' perceptions of impacts brought by tourism and their support for tourism development in Hong Kong. The research problem is stated, and the significance of the research is presented along with the practical and theoretical contributions. The research questions are then enumerated, and the aim and objectives of the research are specified.

1.2 Background of the Research

Tourism is globally recognised as one of the fastest growing and important industries, and it brings huge economic benefits to local communities. Most local governments around the world encourage the development of tourism in their regions to ease economic recession (Stylidis, 2012). Tourism is now a major strategy of local governments used to generate economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits and employed for the development of rural areas and the alleviation of poverty (Qin, Xu, & Chung, 2019; Wang, Zhen, Zhang, & Wu, 2014). Tourism brings large amounts of income into the local economy and creates job opportunities in the service sector associated to tourism (Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015). At the same time, tourism creates negative influences on local communities in terms of environmental pollution, destruction of heritage and cultural buildings, crowding and sharing of public resources and infrastructure among others (Sharma & Gursoy, 2015).

In HK, the tourism industry is a major economic pillar which drives growth in many other industries, such as retail, catering and transport. In 2019, tourism makes up 8% of HK's GDP and employs over 257,100 people (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2020a; GovHK, 2019). According to Hong Kong Tourism Board (2020), the number of tourists to HK almost reached 56 million in 2019 despite the social unrest in the region.

According to Statista (2019), China has continued its exceptional pace of growth and maintained its position as the world's leading outbound market since 2012, benefiting many destinations in Asia and the Pacific. In 2018, Chinese travellers' expenditure

increased to US\$277 billion, representing an increase of 7% from 2017. The number of Chinese outbound travellers also increased by 52% since 2013 to 149.7 million in 2018 (China Outbound Tourism Research Institute, 2019). This significant growth of China's outbound tourism is mainly due to the appreciation of Chinese currency (renminbi), rise in household disposable incomes and reduction of travel barriers by easing foreign travel restrictions to overseas countries in Mainland China.

Although tourism industry contributes significantly to the HK economy, the rapid growth of Mainland Chinese tourists has generated serious conflicts and concerns for the local community. Mainland Chinese tourists have significantly increased from 1.9 million in 1994 to 65.1 million in 2018, accounting for 78% of the total tourists in HK (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2019b). The concerns include traffic congestion generated from tour coaches, overcrowding in many tourists and residential districts, air pollution, noises from tour groups and perceived price hikes resulting from tourist shopping and parallel trading (Tse & Qiu, 2015). Chen (2014) pointed out that tour groups with a large number occupying the pavements often create inconveniences and even dangers to passers-by. Border shopping of daily necessities, such as milk powder, fresh and processed food, personal care items, cosmetics and medicine, by same-day tourists has created negative impacts on residents, such as increases in prices and shortages of items. Moreover, some same-day tourists are also parallel traders who travel several times per day to ship the products to make profits. Mainland Chinese tourists not only create crowds and noise but also boost up the price of daily necessities. The huge crowds of Mainland Chinese tourists are generating disturbances to local residents' daily lives. Such disturbances are dominant in commercial districts like Tsim Sha Tsui or Causeway Bay where jewellery shops, fashion outlets and pharmacy shops are everywhere, but the local tiny shops and eateries were phased out. The private sector is doing its best to respond to these challenges by transforming the old industrial, residential and office buildings into hostels, new shopping malls and multi-storey shops and boutiques (Liang, 2014). Now, many traditional local shops have been replaced by international chain tourist type retail shops due to the sky-high rents, and local residential neighbourhoods have been unavoidably changed. Local community resources such as public hospital services, educational services and recreational opportunities have been increasingly shared with Mainland Chinese tourists which has led to the further deterioration of local community benefits and enjoyment.

In 2012, a group of HK Internet users pulled together and published a full-page newspaper advertisement that compared Mainland Chinese tourists to locusts (pests) which are harmful to the HK community (McLaughlin, 2012). On 16 February 2014, a crowd of over 200 activists abused vocally the tourists shopping in a busy area in the Tsim Sha Tsui District, shouting at Mainland tourists and labelling them as ‘locusts’. The protesters used billboards and shouted ‘go back to China’ and ‘reclaim HK’ as they paraded (Ng, 2014a). These anti-Mainlander sentiments flared with growing intensity in HK, and the conflicts between HK people and Mainland Chinese tourists deepened which further led to the drop of Chinese national identity of HK people. That such incidents signify a change of state of mind is commented because many HK people have a weak sense of national and cultural identity (Yang, 2014). The issue of ‘sub-ethnic identity’ of HK people may be one of the critical factors influencing their perceptions and support for tourism development in HK. Although HK is part of China after 1997, the discrepancies in the two cultures (i.e. HK and China) have been identified owing to the 150 years of colonial history of HK. Theoretically, HK people and Mainland Chinese are both ‘Chinese’ and should be regarded as one family (i.e. one nation). In reality, the culture and social norms between Hong Kong and Mainland China are quite different, which can be the main reason for the host–guest conflicts between HK people and Mainland Chinese tourists (i.e. inappropriate behaviour such as spitting, shouting and eating at forbidden public areas) (Zhang, Fan, Tse & King, 2016). Moreover, the tremendous increase of Mainland Chinese tourists resulted in the sharing of residents’ transportation and medical resources with tourists, leading to the shortage and price inflation of daily necessities, crowding in many business and residential districts and the change in the physical appearance of HK. The tensions between these two groups of people are further enhanced. Furthermore, HK’s blogs and social media are full of negative comments about Mainland Chinese tourists. The music video ‘Locust World 蝗蟲天下’ is an anti-Mainlander song which describes Mainlanders as locusts invading HK, produced by HK people in 2011. The music video has recorded more than a million online clicks and accumulated more than 2,100 comments. In 2014, Hong Kong Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies conducted a survey which found out that more than 60% of HK residents agreed that the number of Mainland Chinese tourists has reached to a level that caused inconveniences and disturbances towards their daily lives, 57% suggested that the number of Mainland Chinese tourists should be controlled and 62% urged to impose a limit on the arrivals of Mainland Chinese tourists. If the issues between HK residents and Mainland Chinese tourists cannot be solved in a timely manner, then they may damage

the image of HK as a civilised city as well as its international image. The perceptions of HK residents towards Mainland Chinese tourists have also become an obstacle to tourism growth and sustainability in HK. After the protests against Mainland Chinese tourists, the number of these tourists coming to HK has dropped considerably by over 50% (China National Tourism Association, 2015).

1.2.1 Individual Visit Scheme (IVS)

The significant contributing factor for the large increase of Mainland Chinese tourists in HK was the Individual Visit Scheme (IVS) introduced in 2003. After the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) pandemic in 2003, the Chinese Central government introduced IVS to stimulate the poor economy in HK. The scheme allows citizens in approved cities to visit HK as independent individuals. In 2003, the IVS was first granted to four cities and further expanded to 49 cities in 2007 as a liberalisation measure under the Closer Economic Partnership Arrangement (Tourism Commission, 2014). The scheme was further amended in 2010 to provide 2.4 million Shenzhen residents unrestricted access to HK (Shenzhen Government, 2010). Such barrier-free access led to a big increase of a specific type of travellers, that is, the same-day tourists who can come to HK and return to the Mainland within the same day. This type of travel allows tourists to ship HK products to China for parallel trading. By the end of 2019, the total number of tourists from Mainland China was 43.8 million, contributing 78% of total tourist arrivals in HK (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). Of these, 63% were same-day tourists and the remaining 37% were overnight tourists. Interestingly, the number of same-day tourists (27,548,043) surpassed that of overnight tourists (16,226,642) by 70% (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). The profile and spending pattern of same-day Mainland Chinese tourists are very distinct from those of the overnight Mainland Chinese tourists. For example, overnight tourists tend to spend more on ready-made wear, cosmetics and snacks and confectionaries, whereas same-day tourists spend more on daily necessities, such as snacks and confectionaries, milky powder and cosmetics (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2019b). The majority of same-day tourists takes advantage of this scheme to perform cross-border shopping. They commute between HK and China through the border and resell the goods bought in HK. These traders split and allocate their goods at railway stations adjacent to the border (e.g. Sheung Shui) which causes considerable inconveniences and disturbance to other passengers. Such activities have caused a series of social problems, such as overcrowding and shortage of infant milk powder and

household products for locals in the Sheung Shui District of HK. The information about HK and its tourism development is elaborated later in Section 3.3 (p. 77).

1.2.2 Relationship between Hong Kong and China

Since the reunification of HK with China, a number of HK residents have re-aligned their social identities (Ng & Lai, 2011). Nonetheless, many other residents continue to identify themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ rather than ‘Chinese’ because of their century-long colonial history (Lam, Lau, Chiu, Hong, & Peng, 1999). According to the latest research ‘HK people’s ethnic identity’ conducted by The University of Hong Kong (2020) Public Opinion Programme, 53% of 1,015 interviewees identified themselves as ‘Hongkongers’, whereas only 11% and 12% identified themselves as ‘Chinese’ and ‘Chinese in Hong Kong’, respectively. Those who identified themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ were more negative towards Mainland Chinese than those who identified themselves as Chinese (Lam et al., 2007). On this basis, the sub-ethnic identity of HK residents is a possible factor for determining their perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development in HK.

Although HK and Mainland China share identical Chinese cultural origins, HK was governed by the United Kingdom as a British colony and became more Westernised, which in turn led to greater cultural differences between HK and Mainland China. Guan et al. (2011) suggested that such cultural differences cause negative attitudes of Mainland Chinese towards HK residents (and vice versa). Cultural conflicts between HK people and Mainland Chinese have become more serious and frequently more culturally complicated.

Few studies confirm that some local residents have negative perceptions and attitudes towards Mainland Chinese tourists (Chan, 1996; Leung, 1999; Wassler, Schuckert, Hung & Petrick, 2018) due to the impression of Mainland tourists as rude, under-educated (Chan, 1996), impolite, old-fashioned and ill-mannered (Leung, 1999). These negative perceptions and attitudes may further trigger the host–tourist conflict which hinders the tourism development and sustainability in HK.

1.3 Problem Statement

Tourism development brings a variety of economic and social impacts to a community (Kwon & Vogt, 2010). Many governments, local authorities and planners of the host community support tourism development as a means of improving the local economy and enhancing the quality of life (Usher & Kerstetter, 2014). However, tourism also brings negative impacts to the community in terms of economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects, affecting the lives of the host community. Various methods (e.g. social accounting matrix, input–output analysis, and Tourism Satellite Account) have been developed to objectively assess the impacts of tourism on the community. The problem is that these measures do not reflect the opinions, feelings, perceptions or attitudes of the host population, many of whom live with the constant presence of tourism (Stylidis, 2012). Moreover, residents are the ones who are exposed to the impacts brought about by tourism development (Brida, Osti, & Barquet, 2010). Therefore, research on residents' perceptions of tourism impacts is vital as it provides an indication of the perceived impacts of tourism on the community. Gursoy, Chi and Dyer (2010) reiterated the importance of understanding local perceptions towards tourism development to the success and sustainability of a tourist destination. Active support from residents is a must for successful and sustainable tourism development (Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Sharpley, 2014). The supporters of the community approach suggest that when residents are influenced by tourism, they should have the right to be actively involved in making decisions related to their lives (Lepp, 2007). Residents are the most appropriate and legitimate group of people in terms of defining and judging which (and what level of) tourism impacts are acceptable and which are not from their perspectives. Residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts have received much attention from researchers in the last few decades and have become a well-recognised approach of obtaining information about residents' perceptions towards tourism and tourism planning (e.g. Ap, 1992; Butler, 1974; Gursoy, Jurowski, & Uysal, 2002; Liu, Sheldon, & Var, 1987; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011a; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015). Murphy (1985) pointed out the importance of taking into consideration community attitudes and engaging in consultation when developing tourism at the community level. Residents' perceptions of tourism development not only influence their level of support for tourism development but also critically affect their way of dealing with the tourists (customers) - the host–tourist interaction and the operation of tourism attractions (Ap, 1992). Ap (1992) also highlighted that significance of having residents' support for tourism. The community plays an important role in shaping the experiences of tourists in the

destination because the former's hospitality towards the latter may affect tourist satisfaction. In short, tourists can have a much more pleasing and enjoyable vacation if they feel welcomed by the host community (Mill & Morrison, 2002). Hence, residents play a substantial role in determining tourists' experience at the destination. A beneficial cooperation between residents and tourists is key to a successful tourist destination (Stylidis, 2012), and understanding how residents perceive tourism impacts forms an important foundation in formulating any planning strategies and policies for the government. Research findings on residents' perceptions of tourism impacts help formulate appropriate strategies and policies so as to maximise the positive gains and minimise the costs associated with tourism (Ap, 1992). A number of researchers (Allen, Long, Perdue & Kieselbach, 1988; Andereck and Nyaupane, 2011; Ap, 1992; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Kuvan & Akan, 2012) advocate the need for managers, planners and local authorities to consider locals' views during the planning stage of tourism development as they are critical for the enduring success of the tourism industry. If tourism planners can manage to mitigate the negative impacts, address the community concerns and clarify the benefits to residents before tourism development, then residents will sooner or later change their level of support for tourism development and become more favourably disposed towards it (Gursoy et al., 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004).

In HK, although tourism brings positive economic impacts to the community, negative impacts and critical community issues have been heavily reported in the press. These include the increasing inflation, changes to residents' living environment, hygiene problems, increased shop rentals, community complaints concerning Mainland Chinese tourists' unsocial behaviour, traffic congestion, rising property prices and the sharing of local community resources. Local lives have been dramatically and adversely affected by tourism development. Moreover, tourism conflicts between Mainland Chinese tourists and hosts in HK have created problems for the local community (Tsaur, Yen, & Teng, 2018). If the HKSAR Government, tourism attraction companies, travel agencies and hoteliers fail to consider community opinions towards the impacts of HK tourism development, then it will create further, as well as unnecessary, problems for all industry stakeholders. Residents' support for tourism must be sought to ensure industry sustainability. If not, these problems may lead to a decline in tourist arrivals to HK, a loss of revenue for local tourism operators, an unpredictable decrease of tourists visiting the destination and attractions and dissatisfaction among residents. For the destination to create a win-win situation for both tourists and residents, tourists must be viewed

favourably by the local community. The older generations in HK perceive IVS as beneficial, whereas younger generations perceive it differently (Wassler et al., 2018). Owing to the huge economic benefits brought by Mainland Chinese tourists to Hong Kong, the increasing contradictions and tensions between Hong Kong and Mainland China as well as the negative voices and attitude from residents towards Mainland Chinese tourists, investigating how HK residents perceive tourism development, its impacts and the residents' support for tourism development in Hong Kong is imperative.

1.4 Significance of the Study

To better understand tourism impacts on different communities, research on residents' perceptions towards tourism and its impacts has proliferated and become quite pervasive. However, many of these studies are mostly quantitative in nature to describe what residents perceive and, thus, cannot explain 'why' residents perceive tourism in the way they do. Sharpley (2014) called for the need to further understand and explore why residents' perceptions are formed in such a way. Therefore, the present study is significant in two ways: theoretical and practical. Theoretically, this study adopts social representations theory (SRT), one of the seldom used frameworks in studying how residents develop perceptions towards tourism. To date, a handful of quantitative research studies adopt SRT such as Andriotis and Vaughan (2003); Fredline and Faulkner (2000), Li, Hsu and Lawton (2015); Monterrubio and Andriotis (2014); Wassler et al. (2018); Wassler, Nguyen, Mai and Schuckert (2019); Weaver and Lawton (2013); Zhou and Ap (2009) and Zhou, Lu and Yoo (2014). Most of these studies use cluster analysis to identify differing community groups to explain the existence of various social representations about tourism. To develop the knowledge and enhance the understanding of residents' perceptions of tourism, reliance on theoretical frameworks at the superficial and elementary levels must be surpassed. Examining residents' perceptions from a qualitative perspective helps understand how and why residents develop such perceptions/representations. This study is a pioneering research in that it adopts a qualitative research approach to better understand how residents develop social representations in HK.

This study also contributes to academic discourse in that it borrows a theory from other disciplines that has been rarely been tested in the tourism context. Moreover, it represents the first attempt to apply SRT using the qualitative approach to study residents'

perceptions towards tourism in HK. Social representations (SRs) are formed by collections of individual opinions, attitudes or stereotypes which are then linked to individuals' sociological and psycho-sociological characteristics (Doise, Clemence & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993). Andriotis and Vaughan (2003); Chan (2004); Fredline and Faulkner (2000); Wassler et al. (2018, 2019); Weaver and Lawton (2013); Zhou and Ap (2009); Zhou et al. (2014) and Zhang, Inbakaran, and Jackson (2006) used SRT to identify groups or residents with differing social representations (i.e. perceptions in the present study) towards tourism development through the quantitative approach. The current study goes beyond this by examining how and why such social representations are formed in the community. By adopting a qualitative research approach, a more in-depth investigation and analysis of individual minds enable a better understanding of HK residents' views towards tourism development.

Moreover, the influences of three main sources (direct experience with tourism impacts or tourists, social interaction and mass media) of social representations on residents' perceptions towards tourism development and its impacts are seldom investigated or reported in the previous literature. These three factors work together in shaping people's social representations. The integrated impacts of the mass media, social interaction and direct experiences with a particular phenomenon form social representations (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996). Knowing the influences of the three sources can further enhance the understanding of how and which level of these three sources of information affect the formation of community representations. That is, residents' perceptions towards tourism development can be better understood by knowing the impact of these three information sources. Doing so also helps examine how various factors like sub-ethnic identity, community attachment, proximity to tourism areas, overall life satisfaction, demographic variables, knowledge of tourism and trust in government influence the formation of such representations. The HKSAR Government can then better understand how community representations are formed and circulated among the public so that appropriate actions and strategies can be taken.

For practical significance, this study provides useful insights to various tourism bodies and stakeholders in HK. Tourism brings tremendous positive impacts to the destination economy in terms of employment, GDP, foreign exchange and tourism receipts. However, when tourists' arrivals have reached the point whereby the destination is

unable to accommodate any more negative impacts and become irritating to the locals. According to Butler's Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) in 1980, when a destination reaches the consolidation stage, 'the large numbers of tourists and the facilities provided for them can be expected to arouse some opposition and discontent among residents' (Butler, 1980, p. 8). At the stagnation (mature) stage, where peak numbers of tourists are met, 'the capacity level of many variables will have been reached or exceed the attendant environmental, social and economic problems' (Butler, 1980, p. 8). Thus, significant conflicts between tourists and locals, as well as negative impacts, can become obvious and unacceptable. If a destination cannot manage them well at a critical moment, then the destination will unavoidably fall into decline. This research is significant as it was conducted at a crucial time in HK's tourism development, where the carrying capacity was queried and the number of tourists reached the maximum point.

Consulting local populations is of utmost importance, and their ideas and/or concerns should be incorporated in any future tourism plans. Contented and consulted residents are more willing to support tourism development and be helpful and friendly when interacting with tourists. By contrast, discontented residents may negatively influence tourists who can jeopardise repeat visitation, especially through word-of-mouth criticisms (Ap, 1992). Without active residents' support, developing tourism in a sustainable and socially harmonious way is rather challenging (Nunkoo, Smith & Ramkissoon, 2013). Moreover, given the significant role of residents plays in the development of a successful destination, understanding how residents perceive tourism impacts is vital in determining their support for tourism (Gursoy et al., 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). The present study on residents' perceptions towards the impacts of HK tourism development is essential because failure to give adequate attention to residents' concerns can result in dissatisfaction and grievances within the community. Tourists will find it difficult to be accepted within the community if they are not welcomed by residents. The results of this study can provide a reference point for the HKSAR Government, help formulate a community tourism policy and master plan to capture the opportunities and address perceived community concerns. Tourism bodies like HK Tourism Commission and HK Tourism Board can also develop appropriate destination marketing campaigns and launch community education campaigns to ensure the community will benefit from tourism development. Moreover, the findings can be useful for tourism stakeholders to better understand the community's level of support and concerns so that the former can better manage their products and services as well as

the interactions among the guests. The tourism stakeholders can then effectively formulate appropriate strategies to target the source markets of HK tourism.

China is the largest spender in international tourism since 2012 (Statista, 2019). However, local residents' perceptions towards Mainland Chinese tourism is seldom investigated (Wassler et al., 2018). The present research can further benefit not only HK but also other destination governments in knowing how HK residents perceive the impacts brought by large numbers of Mainland Chinese tourists. Destination governments can better manage locals' perceptions and expectations towards Mainland Chinese tourists. Interestingly, local residents view Mainland Chinese tourists more negatively compared with other tourists from 'long haul' markets such as Africa, Australia, the Americas, Europe, New Zealand, Middle East and South Pacific and Asia (except Mainland China) (Tse & Qiu, 2015). The reasons leading to this finding are worth investigating. Politically, HK is part of China, but many HK people still view themselves as somehow different from Mainland Chinese. On this basis, the sub-ethnic identity of HK residents may be one of the key factors influencing their perceptions towards tourism development in HK and is one of the focal points of this study.

1.5 Research Aim, Objectives and Research Questions

As the local concerns and conflicts on Hong Kong's tourism development have been mostly reported by newspapers and in social media, communication has consequently become vital to tourism growth in Hong Kong, a city where tourism is a major pillar of the economy. The rapid tourism development in Hong Kong has generated tremendous community sentiments and concerns towards the HKSAR Government in the last few years. This moment is definitely appropriate to investigate community perceptions and concerns towards the tourism development in Hong Kong, especially its benefits, costs and the community's level of support. This study aims to examine Hong Kong residents' perceptions towards the impacts of tourism development in Hong Kong.

Accordingly, the research intention is to conduct a qualitative research with the following objectives:

- (1) To examine residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and how these perceptions influence their support/opposition for tourism development in Hong Kong

- (2) To examine the role and importance of the factors influencing the perceptions of residents towards tourism impacts in Hong Kong which are
 - a) sub-ethnic identity
 - b) community attachment (i.e. economic dependency and length of residency)
 - c) proximity to tourism areas
 - d) overall life satisfaction
 - e) demographic variables
 - f) knowledge of tourism
 - g) trust in government

- (3) To identify the different interviewee groups' perceptions based on their composition and characteristics

- (4) To adopt SRT in
 - a) examining why and how residents develop such perceptions
 - b) investigating how the three sources of information (i.e. direct experience with tourists and tourism impacts, social interaction and mass media) affect the formation of residents' representations (i.e. perceptions) towards Hong Kong tourism development and its impacts.

The research questions are as follows:

1. How do residents perceive the tourism impacts in Hong Kong and its influence on their level of support/opposition for tourism development?
2. How do a) sub-ethnic identity, b) community attachment (i.e. economic dependency and length of residency), c) proximity to tourism areas, d) overall life satisfaction, e) demographic variables, f) knowledge of tourism and g) trust in government affect the perceptions of residents towards tourism impacts in Hong Kong?
3. What are the nature and group characteristics of interviewees in their response towards tourism and its impacts?
4. How does SRT help explain a) the formation of residents' perceptions and b) the influences of the three sources of information on the formation of residents' perceptions towards Hong Kong tourism development and its impacts?

1.6 Theoretical Framework

In the tourism literature, the two prevailing frameworks that dominate in explaining the phenomenon are social exchange theory (SET) and social representations theory (SRT). Despite the considerable research based on SET conducted in the past decade, the theory fails to recognise that the nature of perceptions is dynamic and operates at different levels in society. Therefore, SRT is adopted as the theoretical framework in this study for several reasons. Firstly, only limited research successfully applies this concept in examining residents' perceptions. Secondly, SRT assumes social representations as a composite of individual daily experiences and individual–community interactions in forming beliefs (Wassler et al., 2019). It also considers that human ideas, values and beliefs are determined by various sources such as individual experience and media (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). Therefore, SRT can be used to help explain how and why residents' perceptions are formed in such a way. Thirdly, the existing body of research on residents' perceptions of tourism has limited contribution to knowledge for effective planning and management of tourism (Sharpley, 2014). A qualitative research must be conducted to enhance understanding and knowledge about residents' perceptions towards tourism. Lastly, SRT recognises the heterogeneous nature of a community and accepts the existence of differing social representations in the community. This theory thus allows the researcher to identify any homogenous clusters in HK community.

1.7 Thesis Structure

The thesis consists of five chapters. This chapter introduces the background of the research, the problems leading to the research objectives, the significance of the research, the study context and the outline of the thesis. Chapter 2 presents an in-depth review of the related studies about residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and their level of support for tourism development. This chapter covers dominant frameworks developed for investigating residents' perceptions of tourism, identifies research trends in methodological designs and statistical analytical techniques employed and points out the research gaps. Chapter 3 presents the methodological approach chosen for this research, which is phenomenological approach, along with justifications. Chapter 4 discusses the findings according to the four research questions. Chapter 5 provides the conclusion, theoretical and practical contributions and limitations of the study as well as future research directions.

CHAPTER 2 - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews selected literature on residents' or local communities' perceptions about the impacts of tourism and tourism development. Studies published since the 1970s to more recent developments are reviewed to provide a theoretical foundation and empirical framework for this research. To be specific, the chapter begins by examining the research conducted on China's outbound tourism and the use of terminologies 'attitude' and 'perception' in this research field. The chapter continues the review of previous literature on tourism impacts perceived by residents as well as the factors influencing residents' perceptions of tourism impacts. The dominant theories used for understanding residents' perceptions of tourism are then presented with a particular focus on SRT. The two popular frameworks (i.e. SET and SRT) are discussed. Lastly, theoretical approaches adopted in the previous research, methodological trends, research design and prevailing statistical techniques in these areas are presented.

2.2 Mainland Chinese Tourists to Hong Kong

Although the sovereignty of HK returned to China since 1997, HK is still perceived as different from Mainland China because of its colonial history, capitalism economy, East-Meets-West culture, cosmopolitan prosperity, lifestyle and social system. These differences provide a certain degree of tourism appeal to Mainland Chinese tourists.

Over the past two decades, a large number of studies have been conducted about China's outbound tourism. Huang and Hsu (2005) examined the motivations of Chinese tourists visiting HK. The main reasons for visiting HK are shopping, knowledge enhancement, curiosity, family togetherness, kinship enhancement, sightseeing and experiencing different culture and lifestyle in HK (Huang & Hsu, 2005). Yeung and Leung (2007) asked 228 hotel employees who had contact with guests regarding their perceptions towards Mainland Chinese tourists. Hotel employees have a fairly positive perception towards Mainland tourists in bringing economic and financial benefits to the HK community but have negative perceptions and attitudes towards tourists' appearance, personalities and behaviours (Yeung & Leung, 2007). Hsu and Song (2012), Law and Cheung (2010) and Tse and Zhang (2013) studied Mainland Chinese tourists'

perceptions on HK's destination image. Qu and Li (1997) and Song, Li, Veen and Chen (2011) researched Mainland Chinese tourists' satisfaction with HK, and they found that these tourists are generally positive about their travel experience. To the contrary, Huang and Hsu (2005) discovered that Chinese tourists expressed dissatisfaction towards HK residents who displayed a sense of superiority over Mainlanders which may represent a barrier for re-visiting. Local residents may occasionally look down on Mainland Chinese tourists due to their uncivilised and rude behaviour in many public places in HK.

Table 2.1 summarises the key research on residents' perceptions or attitudes towards Mainland Chinese tourists in HK. Ye, Zhang and Yuen (2012a) detected the existence of discrimination towards Mainland Chinese tourists in HK which has led to further dissatisfaction. Mainland Chinese tourists who have a better understanding of the social norms of HK may more easily adapt their behaviours to the local norms and less likely to encounter conflicts with the host. The perceived discrimination of Mainland Chinese tourists in HK is mainly due to the cultural differences in social norms between HK people and Mainlanders (Ye, Zhang, & Yuen, 2012b). Although HK and China share common cultural origin—the Chinese culture, HK is more westernised due to the United Kingdom's colonial administration for more than 100 years. The cultural differences between Mainland Chinese and HK Chinese are rooted from this history (Hong, Chiu, Yeung, & Tong, 1999). HK Chinese view themselves as more westernised in the aspects of democratic beliefs and social conscientiousness (Ye et al., 2012a). Mainland Chinese also views HK Chinese as more westernised in the aspects of self-direction, universalism, stimulation and achievement (Lai, 1998). Guan et al. (2011) confirmed that such value incongruence results in Mainland Chinese's negative attitudes towards HK residents. Siu, Lee and Leung (2013) were the pioneers of a study gauging community perceptions towards the rapid increase of Mainland Chinese tourists with 18 HK residents in three focus group interviews. The study acknowledges the positive economic impacts and the negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts brought by Chinese tourists. The authors suggested that residents with closer interaction with Mainland Chinese tourists are more hesitant to the 'Chinese tourists' wave'. Ye, Zhang, Shen and Goh (2014) also conducted a qualitative study by interviewing 24 HK residents to identify the roles of social identity and perceived cultural distance in shaping the attitude of HK residents towards the lessening of the IVS. Perceived cultural distance influences the social identity and perceived negative impacts of residents which then influence their attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists and tourism development in HK (Ye et al., 2014).

The commonality in social identities between HK residents and Mainland Chinese tourists may facilitate tourist acceptance to the host by establishing positive and favourable attitudes towards each other. Residents who perceived significant differences in terms of social norms and values with Mainland Chinese were reluctant to be identified as ‘Chinese citizens’. Residents who identify less with Chinese citizenship demonstrate a negative attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists and tourism development. Tse and Qiu (2015) also studied HK residents’ attitudes towards Mainland Chinese tourists in a survey of 1,839 interviewees. Local residents’ views on inbound tourism are positive towards the economic benefits, whereas views regarding Mainland Chinese tourists are more negative compared with other tourists from long-haul markets such as Australia, Africa, the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, New Zealand and South Pacific and Asia (Tse & Qiu, 2015). The differing attitudes towards tourists from different origins may suggest the possible existence of discrimination between residents’ attitudes towards tourists in general and tourists from Mainland China in particular. Zhang et al. (2016) researched 2,000 HK residents’ opinions towards Mainland Chinese tourists in 2014. Out of the three social sustainability constructs, ‘host–guest conflict’ has the highest mean score compared with ‘social tolerance’ and ‘social acceptance’ (Zhang et al., 2016). Moreover, residents in low density areas have a relatively stronger feeling of conflicts with tourists and a lower degree of tolerance and acceptance with them than those in high-density areas. This finding may be because the residents living in high-density areas enjoy the economic benefits from tourists, so they demonstrate a higher level of tolerance and acceptance with them.

Recently, Wassler et al. (2018) researched 850 HK residents’ attitudes towards the IVS for Mainland Chinese tourists, and they came up with three distinct community clusters, namely, ‘enthusiasts’, ‘middle-of-the-roaders’ and ‘somewhat irritated’. Lower income and younger generations tend to dislike Mainland Chinese tourists, whereas higher income earning residents are more supportive to tourism development and the IVS owing to closer ties with Mainland China. Chen, Hsu and Li (2018) also concluded that the unfavourable HK residents’ attitudes towards Mainland Chinese Tourists exceed neutral or positive attitudes. HK residents feel both superior and deprived when evaluating Mainland Chinese tourists.

Given China’s current rank as the primary spender in international tourism, its significant contributing power to global tourism receipts and representation of the biggest source

market for HK inbound tourism, research examining Mainland Chinese tourists' impacts on destination community is lagging. The limited research on host community perceptions on Mainland Chinese tourists calls for further investigation on how HK residents perceive the tourism impacts brought by the Mainland Chinese tourists as well as the factors influencing their perceptions which can provide valuable inputs to all tourism stakeholders in HK and worldwide.

Table 2.1 Previous Studies about Mainland Chinese Tourists in Hong Kong

Authors(s)	Aim/Themes	Key Theory	Key Findings	Contribution
Ye et al. (2012a)	To examine perceived discrimination of tourists using an intercultural perspective	Anticipated and Perceived Discrimination	The perceived discrimination toward Mainland Chinese tourists in HK was due to the cultural differences in social norms between Hongkongers and Mainlanders. For Mainland Chinese tourists who have a better understanding of the social norms of HK may be easier to adapt their behaviours to the local norms and less likely to encounter conflicts with the host.	It demonstrates the effects of tourists' intercultural competence on their anticipated and perceived discrimination.
Siu et al. (2013)	To gauge community perceptions toward the rapid increase of Mainland Chinese tourists	Three Dimensions (Economic, socio-cultural and environmental) of Tourism Impacts	Residents acknowledged the positive economic impacts, but also recognised the negative social-cultural and environmental impacts brought by Chinese tourists.	Residents with closer interaction with Mainland Chinese tourists are more hesitant to the 'Chinese tourists' wave' phenomenon.
Ye et al. (2014)	To identify the roles of social identity and perceived cultural distance in shaping the attitude of HK residents toward the relaxation of the	Social Identity Theory (SIT)	Perceived cultural distance was found to influence both the social identity and perceived negative impacts of residents which influenced their attitude toward Mainland Chinese tourists and tourism development in HK.	It provides insight on the roles of perceived cultural distance and social identity in the residents' attitude toward tourism development.

	Individual Visit Scheme		The commonality in social identities between HK residents and Mainland tourists may facilitate tourist acceptance to the host by establishing positive and favourable attitudes toward each other.	
Tse & Qiu (2015)	To gauge Hong Kong residents' view towards visitors in general and mainland Chinese visitors in particular	The Scale of Social Sustainability (SSS)	Local residents' views on inbound tourism were positive toward the economic benefits, while views regarding Mainland Chinese tourists were more negative when compared with other tourists from long-haul markets such as Australia, Africa, the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, New Zealand and South Pacific, and Asia.	The differing attitudes toward tourists from different origins may suggest the possible existence of discrimination between residents' attitudes toward tourists in general and tourists from Mainland China, in particular.
Gerard, Hui, & Yip (2016)	To find out how HK residents perceive the influx of Mainland Chinese visitors and how it affects HK as a whole	An Interpretivist Theory-Building (rather than theory testing) Epistemology	Three themes are generated which are: The economy (industry effects, property effects, effects on HK as a whole); the environment (the shopping malls, the street scene, the districts, HK as a whole); and the attitudes (antipathy to mainlanders, antipathy to brands). Despite the profits to the brands and contributions to the HK economy, HK residents worry about the concomitant overcrowding and a loss of HK culture and way of life. A negative image transfer to certain luxury brands is also found.	It generates a more complete understanding of HK residents' perceptions of Mainland visitors buying luxury goods. While the purchases from these tourists boost HK economy but Hongkongers has negative perceptions of the Mainland consumer's activity.
Zhang et al. (2016)	To develop and validate	The Scale of Social	Out of the three social sustainability constructs, the "Host-Guest Conflict" had the highest mean score when compared to	The SSS in tourism is a pioneering and comprehensive instrument that provides a stringent measurement of

	a Scale of Social Sustainability (SSS) for tourism using HK as a case study	Sustainability (SSS)	<p>“Social Tolerance” and “Social Acceptance”.</p> <p>Residents in low density areas have a relatively stronger feeling of conflicts with tourists and a lower degree of tolerance and acceptance with them than those in high-density areas.</p>	<p>social sustainability.</p> <p>It also confirms the structural stability of the measurement and supports the generalization of the SSS to other contexts with differing resident-attraction densities.</p>
Chen, Hsu, & Li (2018)	To examine the attitudes and mentalities of Hong Kong (HK) residents towards MCTs and revealing their underlying psychological mechanism	Social Identity Theory	<p>Unfavourable attitudes toward Mainland Chinese tourists exceed neutral or positive attitudes.</p> <p>Hong Kong residents feel both superior and being deprived when evaluating Mainland Chinese tourists.</p>	The overall negative attitudes of residents towards MCTs were not only determined by MCTs' misbehaviours, but also derived from the local community mentalities, social identities, and perceptions of the intergroup relationship.
Wassler et al. (2018)	To understand Hong Kong residents' attitudes towards the Individual Visit Scheme policy for mainland Chinese tourists	Social Exchange Theory & Social Representations Theory	<p>Three distinct community clusters, namely “Enthusiasts”, “Middle-of-the-roaders” and “Somewhat irritated” were resulted.</p> <p>Lower income and younger generations tended to dislike Mainland Chinese tourists whereas higher income earning residents were more supportive to tourism development and the IVS due to the closer ties with Mainland China.</p>	Resident attitudes towards tourism policies were influenced by both Social Exchange and Social Representations principles, which can coexist but also be in conflict.

2.3 'Perceptions' and 'Attitudes' in Tourism Research

This section provides an overview of the research on residents' perceptions or attitudes towards tourism impacts and/or its development.

Tourism is defined as 'the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater for their needs' (Mathieson & Wall, 1982, p. 1). During tourists' stay, the interaction between tourists and residents is unavoidable and gradually changes the quality of life, culture, social values and behaviours of the community (Ratz, 2000). Changes can be positive and negative to the community. The nature of change can rely on how tourism destinations are planned and managed. Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, and Vogt (2005) emphasised the significance of having good planning and management of tourism destinations to maximise the benefits and minimise the cost to the community.

A review of tourism impact research reveals that most studies adopt different terms when examining locals' opinion of tourism, such as residents' perceptions of tourism impacts (Sharma & Gursoy, 2015), residents' perceptions towards tourism development (Sinclair-Maragh, Gursoy, & Vieregge, 2015), residents' attitudes towards tourism (Bernini, Matteucci & Mignani, 2015; Lepp, 2007), residents' attitudes towards tourism impacts (Canizares, Tabales, & Garcia, 2014; Garcia, Vazquez & Macias, 2015), residents' attitudes towards tourism development (Ye et al., 2014), residents' support for tourism development (Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015), residents' support for tourism (Nunkoo & So, 2015), residents' perceptions to gaming development (Yoo, Zhou, Lu, & Kim, 2014; Zhou et al., 2014) and pre-casino development (Omar & Dallen, 2014) and residents' perceptions or attitudes towards event (Li et al., 2015; Weaver & Lawton, 2013; Zhou & Ap, 2009). Researchers used the terms 'perception' and 'attitude' interchangeably which creates much confusion in the field of tourism impact.

According to Schiffman and Wisenblit (2015), perception is the process by which individual selects, organises and interprets stimuli into a coherent and meaningful picture of the world. It can be illustrated as how people see and understand the world around them. To the contrary, attitude is a learned pre-disposition to behave in a favourable or unfavourable way consistently to a given object and consists of an evaluative component of either good or bad. In the tourism context, perception represents the meaning one

attributes to incoming stimuli, whereas attitude represents one's enduring beliefs, favourable or unfavourable evaluations, emotional feelings or actual tendencies to an object or idea. Perceptions and attitudes are often used interchangeably (e.g. Andereck et al., 2005; Dyer, Gursoy, Sharma, & Cater, 2007; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Kayat, 2002; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1990; Sharma, Dyer, Carter, & Gursoy, 2008). However, Ap (1992) recommended the use of 'perception' rather than 'attitude' because some in the community may not have solid beliefs or enduring pre-dispositions about tourism, so it may be more feasible and make sense to ask about their perception. However, 'perception is their reality' which is based on the knowledge and/or experience they have with a particular phenomenon. That is, what is perceived may not be real, but it has to be treated to be real. Perceptions actually motivate residents to behave in a certain way. By contrast, attitudes are mainly influenced or shaped by perceptions (Ap, 1992). Perceptions are shaped by direct experience with a similar phenomenon or object, communication or social interaction with others as well as mass media (Pearce et al., 1996). Therefore, 'perception' seems to be a more suitable term to use for the present research, which focuses on residents' opinions regarding tourism impacts and their level of support for tourism.

'Perceptions and attitudes toward the impacts of tourism are likely to be an important planning and policy consideration for the successful development, marketing and operation of existing and future tourism programs and projects. For tourism in a destination area to thrive, its adverse impacts should be minimised, and it must be viewed favourably by the host population' (Ap, 1992, p. 665). Tourism should be viewed as a 'community industry' where residents are the major stakeholders as they are directly affected by the consequences and impacts of tourism development (Nunkoo, Gursoy & Ramkissoon, 2013, p. 6). Contented and consulted residents are more willing to support local tourism developments and be more helpful and friendly to tourists. In comparison, dissatisfied residents are inexplicably impactful as variables that upset tourists can have adverse impact on future intention to visit and word-of-mouth referrals (Ap, 1992). Without active residents' support, developing tourism in socially compatible and acceptable manner is challenging (Nunkoo et al., 2013).

Andereck et al. (2005) and Perdue et al. (1990) also found that behavioural intentions (i.e. attitude) are closely related to residents' perceptions of tourism. Residents who benefit from additional tourism development are more likely to support it can be

concluded. In addition, Gursoy et al. (2010); Jurowski, Uysal and Williams (1997); Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011a, 2012) as well as Yoon, Gursoy and Chen (2001) found that residents with the highest level of support for tourism possess stronger views about the positive aspects of the tourism industry. In general, a number of empirical studies confirm a positive relationship between support for tourism and perceived positive impacts of tourism and a negative relationship between support for tourism and perceived negative impacts of tourism (e.g. Gursoy et al., 2002, 2010; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011b, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015).

2.4 Residents' Perceptions of Tourism Impacts

This section reviews the key impacts brought about by tourism or tourism development to a local community. Residents' perceptions of tourism impacts can help understand the costs and benefits of tourism. Residents' perceived tourism has significantly influenced the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts on destinations and local communities (Stylidis, 2012). Studies about residents' perceptions and attitudes of the impacts of tourism have proliferated over recent decades and vary in terms of theoretical bases and methodological approaches. The majority of research is characterised by area-specific discussion, case studies or one-off research which makes comparison among the studies very difficult (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the majority of studies are atheoretical in nature, meaning the researchers did not use a priori conceptualisation to investigate residents' perceptions and attitudes (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Researchers typically studied residents' reactions to tourism by adopting a theoretical framework (e.g. Gursoy et al., 2010; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Kwon & Vogt, 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). Previous research suggests that residents perceive several positive and negative impacts from tourism development. The dimensions of residents' perceptions on tourism impacts have been studied in different time periods and contexts.

2.4.1 Studies on Residents' Perceptions

Until now, majority of tourism impact studies have been conducted in developed countries such as the Americas, Canada, Australia and some European countries (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Sirakaya, Teye & Sönmez, 2002) rather than developing countries. Over the past years, although numerous studies about tourism development have been conducted in developing countries (Harrison, 1992; Mowforth & Munt, 1998),

none of them have examined residents' perceptions towards tourism, especially at the inception stage, which is critical to the success of tourism development. More studies examining community perceptions, attitudes and level of support for tourism have been conducted in developing countries in recent years (e.g. Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015; Usher & Kerstetter, 2014) so as to inform tourism development decisions in these regions. The scarcity of research in less developed countries (LDCs) and general disregard of the impacts of tourism development in LDCs is problematic (Usher & Kerstetter, 2014). One of the major benefits of tourism is that it should alleviate poverty, improve standards of living and one's quality of life and increase access to education and health care for residents in LDCs. Bricker and Kerstetter (2012) attempted to rectify this situation by surveying residents of the Yasawa Islands, Fiji regarding tourism impacts on their quality of life. From 2009 to 2010, they observed rural residents by using an ethnographic approach and interviewed locals in Las Salinas, Nicaragua, a surf tourism destination, to examine the impacts of tourism on their quality of living. Rural residents tended to be positive towards tourism and expressed minimal concern about it on drugs. The overall tourism development has only minimal negative impact on residents' perceptions of quality of life in Las Salinas (Usher & Kerstetter, 2014). Yang, Ryan and Zhang (2013) conducted an ethnographic study while living among the Tuva and Kazakh people in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China for 12 months to examine the impacts of tourism, a study that necessitated the proposal of a tension-directed tourism development model. Wang et al. (2014) investigated the factors influencing residents' satisfaction with tourism development in poverty-stricken regions of five poor villages in China. Sinclair-Maragh and Gursoy (2015) examined the impacts of imperialism, trust and identity on residents' perceptions of tourism and their support for tourism development in developing countries. To conclude, recent research focus has shifted, with greater emphasis now placed on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts, with a particular interest on the ability of tourism to deal with poverty alleviation (Qin et al., 2019; Wang et al., 2014).

With the proliferation of research on residents' perceptions and level of support for tourism, Nunkoo and So (2015) identified two major problems. Firstly, studies in this area are 'fragmented theoretically' because they are unable to incorporate the various perspectives of social exchange in the community to study residents' support for tourism. Secondly, current studies create confusion for scholars because most rely on inconsistent but theoretically sound research propositions. Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011a)

confirmed the influence of residents' trust in government actors on perceptions of tourism impacts, but the contrary is found in other studies (e.g. Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013). Trying to achieve consistency among the variables affecting residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and support for tourism poses great difficulty. Researchers attempted to associate residents' perceptions to tourism to other novel factors, such as happiness (Rivera, Croes & Lee, 2016), imperialism (Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015), trust in government actors and political support (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013) based on the specific destination contexts.

2.4.2 Overview of Tourism Impacts

According to Deery, Jago and Fredline (2012), research on tourism impacts has gone through several stages. In the late 1970s, research focused on definitions and concept development of tourism impacts (e.g. Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Liu & Var, 1986; Liu et al., 1987; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Murphy, 1985; Pearce, 1980; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987, 1990; Pizam, 1978; Rothman, 1978). Research on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts from this stage provides strong knowledge foundation that is primarily descriptive but exploratory in nature (Allen et al., 1988; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Brougham & Butler, 1981; Bystrzanowski, 1989; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu et al., 1987; Liu & Var, 1986; Pizam, 1978; Ross, 1992; Rothman, 1978; Sethna & Richmond, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Thomason, Crompton & Kamp, 1979; Tosun, 2002; Var, Kendall & Tarakcioglu, 1985). However, the majority of research focuses on a single host community within a small number of neighbouring areas.

The second stage of tourism impact research began to develop the models to explain residents' attitude and perceptions (e.g. Ap, 1992; Doxey, 1975; Butler, 1980; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Perdue et al., 1990). For example, Ap and Crompton (1998) as well as Lankford and Howard (1994) developed tourism impact scales which signify the third stage of instrument design and development. In the current stage, Boley, McGehee, Perdue and Long (2014); Choi and Sirakaya (2005); Fredline and Faulkner (2000); Nunkoo and So (2015); Park, Nunkoo and Yoon (2014); Rasoolimanesh, Jaafar, Kock and Ramayah (2015); Sinclair-Maragh and Gursoy (2015) and Zhang et al. (2006) tested variables which influenced residents' perceptions and support for tourism and modified earlier frameworks. This area of research has developed from a stage of empirical testing to active scholarship in theory and framework development

(Nunkoo & So, 2015; Nunkoo et al., 2013;). Although numerous researchers attempted to verify the influence of variables from time to time, no consistent findings of variables are found so far. The conflicting but theoretically plausible relationships among variables create inconsistencies and barriers for further theoretical developments in the field (Nunkoo & So, 2015). From 1984 to 2020, more than 200 articles on residents' attitudes and support for tourism were published in various tourism journals such as *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management* and *Journal of Travel Research*. The proliferation of residents' attitude research has led to the emergence of a number of review articles in this area (e.g. Andriotis, 2005; Deery et al., 2012; Nunkoo et al., 2013; Sharpley, 2014), all of which examine the current state of research and attempt to uncover areas for future study.

Tourism is believed to impact a community in very different ways. Many studies commonly examine residents' perceptions in three aspects: economic, socio-cultural and environmental (e.g. Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Chan, 2004; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Pizam, 1978; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejia, & Porras-Bueno, 2009; Zhou & Ap, 2009). The main impacts of tourism reported in previous studies are presented in the following subsections.

2.4.2.1 Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Social impacts can change over time in response to structural modifications in the industry as well as the extent and duration of the exposure of the community to tourist development (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). The social impacts of tourism refer to the instantaneous impacts in the community's social structure and alterations to the economy and industry of a destination (Murphy, 1985), whereas cultural impacts refer to the long-term, gradual changes within the community (Brunt & Courtney, 1999). Many theorists tried to distinguish the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in a broad context as there is no absolute differentiation between social and cultural impacts of tourism (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996). Even if there is, the distinction made by scholars is artificial as social and cultural impacts are similar in most circumstances (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Therefore, social and cultural impacts or socio-cultural impacts are popularly used in the tourism impact study. Fox (1977) commented that the socio-cultural impacts of tourism have a broad range which refer to the ways in which tourism is perceived as contributing to changes in individual value systems, behaviours, family

relations, group lifestyles, safety levels, moral conducts, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organisations. The greater proportion of observed impacts brought by tourism development are on the socio-cultural aspect.

Butler (1974) suggested five destination's characteristics that influence the nature of perceived socio-cultural impacts, and these are the state of economic development in the area, the extent of local participation in tourism, the spatial characteristics of tourism development, the strength or sustainability of the local culture and other characteristics (e.g., political attitudes of residents). This wide-ranging nature of the factors suggests that perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism are complicated and diversified.

In many instances, residents have generally perceived economic impacts positively and environmental impacts negatively. However, residents hold differing viewpoints with regard to the socio-cultural impacts, and the picture can be quite confusing. Considerable research has been undertaken to evaluate socio-cultural impacts, and some studies have revealed that tourism brings positive and negative socio-cultural impacts on host communities (e.g. Ap, 1992; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Dyer et al., 2007; Garcia, Vazquez, & Macias, 2015; Getz, 1994; Kuvan & Akan, 2005; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Liu et al., 1987; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Pearce et al., 1996; Pizam, 1978; Sharma et al., 2008). The positive and negative perceived socio-cultural impacts identified are listed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Summary of Residents' Perceived Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism

<i>Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Improve quality of life	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011); Brunt & Courtney (1999); Gursoy et al. (2002); Milman & Pizam (1988); Perdue et al. (1990); Pizam (1978); Usher & Kerstetter (2014)
Improve understanding and image of different communities or cultures	Pizam (1978); Sheldon & Var (1984); Liu & Var (1986); Liu et al. (1987); Milman & Pizam (1988); Korca (1996)
Promote intercultural interaction and exchange	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Dyer et al. (2007); Korca (1996); Kuvan & Akan (2005); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Pizam (1978); Sharma et al. (2008); Sharma & Gursoy (2015); Sheldon & Var (1984)
Increase availability of recreation facilities/opportunities	Andereck, Valentine, Vogt, & Knopf (2007); Belisle & Hoy (1980); Fredline (2002); Gursoy et al. (2002); Perdue et al. (1987); Pizam (1978); Lankford & Howard (1994); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Ross (1992); Sharma et al. (2008); Sheldon & Var (1984); Williams & Lawson (2001); Woosnam, Normal, & Ying (2009)
Increase the variety of entertainment	Andereck et al. (2007); Ap & Crompton (1998); Belisle & Hoy (1980), Fredline (2002); Gursoy et al. (2002); Korca (1996); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Sheldon & Var (1984), Woosnam et al. (2009)
Improve quality of fire protection	Pizam (1978); Milman & Pizam (1988)
Improve quality of police protection	Pizam (1978)
Preserve and revitalise local culture	Ap & Crompton (1998); Besculides, Lee, & McCormick (2002); Liu & Var (1986); Oviedo-Garcia, Castellanos-Verdugo, & Martin-Ruiz (2008)
Increase community pride	Andereck et al. (2007); Ap & Crompton (1998); Besculides et al. (2002); Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009); Gursoy et al. (2002); Huh & Vogt (2008); Tovar & Lockwood (2008); Vargas-Sanchez, Porrás-Bueno & Plaza-Mejia (2014)
Increase demand for historical and cultural exhibits	Ap & Crompton (1998); Liu & Var (1986)
Increase shopping opportunities	Andereck et al. (2005); Ap & Crompton (1998); Dyer et al. (2007); Fredline (2002); Gursoy et al. (2002);

	Lankford & Howard (1994); Latkova & Vogt (2012); Tovar & Lockwood (2008); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Increase education opportunities	Fredline, Deery & Jago (2006a, 2006b); Korca (1996); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Sheldon & Var (1984); Sinclair-Maragh et al. (2015)
Develop more cultural activities	Ap & Crompton (1998); Dyer et al. (2007)
Increase in new shops and restaurants	Fredline (2002); Wang & Pfister (2008); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Enhance relationship between local residents	Sharma et al. (2008)
<i>Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Increase prostitution	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Ko & Stewart (2002); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Sharma et al. (2008)
Increase sexual harassment	Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Milman & Pizam (1988); Sethna & Richmond (1978)
Increase alcoholism and related behavioural problems	Andereck et al. (2005); Fredline (2002); King, Pizam & Milman (1993); Ko & Stewart (2002); Milman & Pizam (1988); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Pizam (1978); Tosun (2002)
Increase drug taking and abuse	Andereck et al. (2005); Fredline (2002); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a)
Increase smuggling	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Milman & Pizam (1988)
Increase crime	Andereck et al. (2005, 2007); Brunt & Courtney (1999); Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Lankford & Howard (1994); King et al. (1993); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011); Pizam (1978)
Increase exploitation of local natives	Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Sheldon & Var (1984)
Avoid going to shopping in tourism areas	Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Sheldon & Var (1984)
Increase material gain	Korca (1996)
Increase gambling	Fredline (2002)
Change of social and moral values	Fredline (2002); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Imbalance number of permanent residents and tourists	Andereck et al. (2005); Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009); Faulkenberry, Coggeshall, Backman, & Backman (2000)

Imbalance number of permanent residents and tourists	Andereck et al. (2005); Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009); Faulkenberry, Coggeshall, Backman, & Backman (2000)
Result in rowdy behaviour	Andereck et al. (2007); Fredline (2002); Sharma et al. (2008); Tovar & Lockwood (2008); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Affect the availability of parking spaces	Andereck et al. (2005); Jurowski & Gursoy (2004)
Negatively affect local culture	Dyer et al. (2007); Gursoy et al. (2010); Ko & Stewart (2002)
Increase demand for public transport	Andereck et al. (2005); Sharma et al. (2008)
Increase demand for public services	Andereck et al. (2005); Fredline (2002)
Deteriorate the standard of maintenance of public facilities such as beaches, parks and roads	Andriotis (2005); Tovar & Lockwood (2008)
Decline in parks and recreational areas for local	Sharma & Gursoy (2015)

Residents generally perceive that tourism enhances quality of life because it brings more revenue to the community and more income to individuals. In addition, tourism is perceived to increase choices for shopping and dining, recreational facilities and entertainment; promote more cultural exchange and understanding and enhance relationships with local residents. The reported negative socio-cultural impacts include increased prostitution and sexual harassment; alcoholism, drug taking and abuse; smuggling and crime. In recent years, tourism has taken up some local areas for further development, resulting in decline in parks and recreational areas for locals (Sharma & Gursoy, 2015). The increased demand for public transport and services are identified as tourists share the use of public facilities with locals. When the government tries to cater the needs of tourists, tourism negatively affects the local culture and lifestyle (Dyer et al., 2007; Gursoy et al. (2010). Several researchers (e.g. Andereck et al., 2005; Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009; Faulkenberry et al., 2000) also reported the imbalanced number of permanent residents and tourists in a region when the destination receives a dramatic number of tourists. These impacts emerge when a tourism destination matures.

Residents' perceptions of the socio-cultural impacts are therefore far from consistent. Findings on some types of socio-cultural impacts are inconsistent. Several studies find that residents tend to perceive some socio-cultural impacts negatively (e.g. Andereck et al., 2005; Andriotis, 2005), whereas others report that residents view tourism as contributing a wide range of benefits (e.g. Besculides et al., 2002, Sirakaya

et al., 2002), especially in developing and rural areas. For example, Jia and Degang (2015) focused on Jiaodong Fishing Village in the City of Rongcheng, Shandong Province in China, and they revealed that residents in the village perceived socio-cultural changes positively in terms of preserving traditional culture, improving the image of the village and enhancing environmental protection awareness leading to a better quality of life. Canizares et al. (2014) conducted research in Cape Verde, an emerging tourist destination in Africa, and they found that most residents view tourism as contributing to the recovery of traditional handicrafts, enhancement of the quality of hospitality and retail sectors, greater protection for monuments and natural spaces and increased sense of pride and belonging. Lepp (2007) conducted a study on a rural village in Uganda and found that residents perceived tourism to create community development and improve agricultural markets. Rural areas and developing countries tend to favour tourism development owing to its potential economic contribution, so residents tend to be more supportive, especially regarding socio-cultural aspects. A possible direct relationship is observed between the positive evaluation of the socio-cultural impacts and support for tourism (e.g. Besculides et al., 2002; Brunt & Courtney, 1999). However, other studies (e.g. Gursoy et al., 2002; Teye, Sonmez & Sirakaya, 2002; Tosun, 2002) suggest that tourism development brings benefits and costs to the community. To date, a consensus has yet to be reached in this area (Garcia et al., 2015).

2.4.2.2 Economic Impacts of Tourism

Of all the benefits cited, the economic benefits are the most cited by way of justifying tourism development. Tourism is regarded as an effective way to improve the poverty problem in many poor countries (Wang et al., 2014). The most obvious impacts of tourism are economic, especially in the early stages of development (Stylidis, 2012). Economic impacts are studied extensively because of its easy assessment (Wall & Mathieson, 2006) leading to positive perception of residents and research (e.g. Liu et al., 1987; Ritchie, 1988) and often the most highly treasured and sought after by the local community. The perceived economic impacts (see Table 2.3) measured through empirical research are extensive. Numerous studies confirm residents' belief that tourism positively affects the income of the host population and thus increases the standard of living, improves the local economy, increases employment opportunities and attracts more foreign investment and local business opportunities. However, Baum and Hai (2020) criticised tourism as offering low wages and low-grade positions in the

community. On the negative side, tourism increases the prices of goods and services, property values and housing prices, living costs and so on. The increased living costs, prices and rents lead to the deterioration of residents' quality of life. In Hong Kong, these negative impacts have induced a series of conflicts between residents and tourists. Kuvan and Akan (2005) and Lawson, Williams, Young and Cossens (1998) also criticised that tourism causes leakages in the local economy. Nevertheless, the overall evaluation of this impact is generally positive because residents recognise that the tourism industry helps boost the local economy. A consistently positive relationship is found between the advantages of economic benefits and perceptions towards tourism (Gursoy et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Sharma et al., 2008). Nowadays, economic contribution of tourism remains the core driver for government to develop and promote destination tourism. Residents who benefit directly from the tourism industry certainly support for tourism development, whereas those who do not benefit may be neutral or negative towards tourism development because of its associated costs.

Table 2.3 Summary of Residents' Perceived Economic Impacts of Tourism

<i>Positive Economic Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Contribute to income and standard of living	Ap & Crompton (1998); Belisle & Hoy (1980); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Lankford & Howard (1994); Liu & Var (1986); Milman & Pizam (1988); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Pizam (1978)
Improve/strengthen the local economy	Choi & Sirakaya (2005); Huh & Vogt (2008); Latkova & Vogt (2012); Lawson et al. (1998); Perdue et al. (1990); Sharma et al. (2008)
Increase employment opportunities	Andriotis & Voughan (2003); Ap & Crompton (1998); Belisle & Hoy (1980); Choi & Sirakaya (2005); Davis, Allen, & Cosenza (1988); Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009); Dyer et al. (2007); Gursoy et al. (2002); Lankford & Howard (1994); Kim, Uysal & Sirgy (2013); Liu & Var (1986); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Rothman (1978); Sharma & Gursoy (2015); Sheldon & Var (1984); Tosun (2002); Tovar & Lockwood (2008); Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2009); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Increase investment, development, and infrastructure spending in the economy	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Liu & Var (1986), McDowall & Choi (2010); Milman & Pizam (1988); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Sharma & Gursoy (2015); Sheldon & Var (1984)
Increase investment opportunities	Andriotis & Voughan (2003); Ap & Crompton (1998); Dyer et al. (2007); Kim et al. (2013); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Nunkoo & Smith (2013)
Increases tax revenues for local government	Allen et al. (1988); Ap & Crompton (1998); Brougham & Butler (1981); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Jurowski et al. (1997); Lankford & Howard (1994); Liu & Var (1986); Milman & Pizam (1988); Rothman (1978); Tovar & Lockwood (2008)
Improves transport infrastructure	Belisle & Hoy (1980)
Increases opportunities for shopping	Liu & Var (1986), Korca (1996)
Increases town's overall revenue earnings	Tosun (2002)
Increases public utilities infrastructure	Fredline (2002); Huh & Vogt (2008); Rothman (1978), Sethna & Richmond (1978)
Increase opportunities for local businesses	Ap & Crompton (1998); McGehee & Andereck (2004); Sharma & Gursoy (2015)
Increase community revenues	Ap & Crompton (1998); Dyer at al. (2007); McDowall & Choi (2010); Ritchie & Inkari (2006)

<i>Negative Economic Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Increased price or shortage of goods and services	Belisle & Hoy (1980), Butler (1974), Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996), Husbands (1989), Liu & Var (1986), Liu et al. (1987), Pizam (1978), Ross (1992)
Increased price of land and housing	Butler (1974); Bystrzanowski (1989); Fredline (2002); Korca (1996); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Paramati & Roca (2019); Perdue et al. (1990); Pizam (1978); Ross (1992); Var et al. (1985)
Increased cost of living/property taxes	Butler (1974); Jurowski & Gursoy (2004); Korca (1996); Liu & Var (1986), Perdue et al. (1990); Ross (1992)
Price inflation	Andriotis & Voughan (2003); Gursoy et al. (2010); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013)
Increase rents	Fredline (2002); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Increase rates	Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Tovar & Lockwood (2008)
Cause leakages in the local economy	Kuvan & Akan (2005); Lawson et al. (1998)
Offer low salary and low-quality job	Baum (2015); Baum & Hai (2020)

2.4.2.3 Environmental Impacts of Tourism

Tourism can be a reason to preserve and protect environmental resources, but it can also damage and destroy them to develop new tourism attractions at a destination (Garcia et al., 2015). Residents' perceptions of the environmental impacts of tourism have become an important issue around the world. The environmental impacts of tourism, which were underestimated in the past, are now receiving much attention from researchers. In the 20th century, residents were more concerned about the place in which they live and the sustainability of the environment. Residents generally perceive the environmental impacts negatively, and considerable literature focuses on the environmental costs of tourism development rather than the benefits (Inskeep, 1991; Pearce, 1980; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Duffield and Long (1981) explored regions with low tourist–resident ratio and found that the residents are more favourable towards the tourism impacts because they are not much affected by the tourists. Moreover, Liu et al. (1987) also suggested that residents living in a region with more developed tourism industry pay more attention to environmental impacts, regardless of its nature. Furthermore, a positive relationship between perceptions of the negative impacts on the physical environment

and the tourist–resident ratio is found. The higher the tourist–resident ratio, the more the negative perceived impacts on the physical environment.

A summary of the environmental impacts of tourism identified are presented in Table 2.4. In general, residents agree that tourism helps improve the appearance and enhance the style of architecture on their areas; accelerates the level of urban development and preserves historic buildings, monuments and the natural environment. However, tourism is also perceived to create negative impacts such as traffic congestion, deterioration of the natural environment, overcrowding in public places and other entertainment areas, increased pollution, disturbance of wildlife and their natural habitat, changes in the character of the region and deforestation. When a destination reaches a mature stage, the negative environmental impacts brought by tourism become obvious. Traffic congestion, crowding in shopping centres and streets and overcrowding in public spaces including public transportation affects quality of life and local livelihoods. Nevertheless, the identification of negative environmental impacts does not affect residents' level of support for tourism (Liu & Var, 1986) because they place economic advantages ahead of environmental costs (Garcia et al., 2015). If residents gain person benefits from tourism, then they can certainly accept the costs. If not, then the environmental negative impacts may become unbearable for certain individuals.

Table 2.4 Summary of Residents' Perceived Environmental Impacts of Tourism

<i>Positive Environmental Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Preservation of the natural and ecological environment	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Korca (1996); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Sinclair et al. (2015); Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2014)
Enhance the image of the city in the eyes of others	Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Preservation of historic buildings and monuments	Andriotis & Voughan (2003); Korca (1996); Liu et al. (1987); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Oviedo-Garcia et al. (2008); Sheldon & Var (1984)
Improvement of the area's appearance	Huh & Vogt (2008); Korca (1996); Perdue et al. (1990); Williams & Lawson (2001)
Enhance the style of architecture on the region	Gursoy et al. (2002); Huh & Vogt (2008)
Accelerate the level of urban development	Andereck et al. (2005, 2007); Choi & Sirakaya (2005)
<i>Negative Environmental Impacts</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Increased traffic congestion	Andereck et al. (2005); Ap & Crompton (1998); Choi & Sirakaya (2005); King et al. (1993); Liu et al. (1987); Liu & Var (1986); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Perdue et al. (1990); Pizam (1978); Rothman (1978); Ryan & Montgomery (1994); Sheldon & Var (1984); Var et al. (1985); Wang & Xu (2015)
Deterioration of natural environment	Choi & Sirakaya (2005); Liu & Var (1986)
Overcrowding	Ap & Crompton (1998); Brougham & Butler (1981); Liu & Var (1986); Loi & Pearce (2015); Pizam (1978); Su, Huang & Huang (2018); Thomason et al. (1979); Var et al. (1985)
Overcrowding in public places	Ap & Crompton (1998); Andereck et al. (2005); Fredline (2002); Loi & Pearce (2015); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2011a); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Overcrowding in shops, restaurants, and nightclubs etc.	Choi & Sirakaya (2005); Loi & Pearce (2015)
Increased noise pollution	Ap (1990); Ap & Crompton (1998); Fredline (2002); Lankford & Howard (1994); Rothman (1978); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Pizam (1978); Wang & Xu (2015); Weaver & Lawton (2001)

Increase litter	Akis, Peristianis, & Warner (1996); Andereck et al. (2005); Jurowski & Gursoy (2004); Lankford & Howard (1994); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Pizam (1978)
Disturbance on wildlife and their habitat	Andereck et al. (2005); Ap & Crompton (1998); Huh & Vogt (2008); Sharma et al. (2008); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Affect the character of the region	Faulkenberry et al. (2000); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Deforestation	Andereck et al. (2005)
Environmental degradation	Su et al. (2018); Wang & Xu (2015)

2.4.2.4 Livelihood Approach

Most previous research focuses on investigating the impacts of tourism in the above-mentioned categories. Recent researchers adopted livelihood approach to discuss how tourism impacts residents' livelihood (e.g. But & Ap, 2017, Musinguzi, 2011). The 'livelihood approach' has been developed since early 1990s. Researchers started to divert their attention to study how tourism alleviated poverty problems in rural areas (Ashley & Carney, 1999). In 1999, Ashley and Carney defined livelihood as a way of focusing on human-oriented, responsive and multi-level approaches to development. In their livelihood framework, desired livelihood outcomes include more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and more sustainable use of natural resources. The livelihood approach allows people and priorities determining their livelihood outcomes to be the core consideration for development (But & Ap, 2017).

Livelihood outcomes are outputs based on the impacts. In Musinguzi's study (2011), the livelihood outcomes resulting from tourism development for Macao community include employment, recreation opportunities, sustainable resource use, community vulnerability, business prospects, involvement and tourism-revenue sharing. But and Ap (2017) investigated the impacts of casino tourism development on Macao residents' livelihood. They identified six livelihood outcomes, namely, employment, income, human resources, transportation, cost of living and poverty consequences. Owing to the changing focus of research on tourism impact to poverty reduction in destination, the livelihood approach becomes more commonly adopted in recent years.

2.4.3 Variables Affecting Residents' Perceptions and Attitudes Towards Tourism

Residents' perceptions of tourism and its impacts do not exist in vacuum context (Lawson et al., 1998). These perceptions can be influenced by many factors ranging from existing economic circumstances, environmental awareness and even cultural prejudices, which change based on various factors at the individual, community and societal levels (Lawson et al., 1998). Residents' perceptions of tourism impacts are subjective, inconsistent and affected by other factors. To achieve favourable support for tourism development, understanding the variables that influence these attitudes is essential (Gursoy et al., 2002). Considerable research focuses on studying these variables to explain and forecast residents' reactions towards tourism (Sharpley, 2014). The variables are consolidated in Table 2.5.

A number of intrinsic and extrinsic variables, such as socio-economic factors, economic dependency and proximity to tourism zones, are extensively used to test their influence on residents' perceptions and support for tourism over recent decades. Some newly discovered constructs (e.g. the state of the local economy; political structures; community attachment and satisfaction; level of contact with tourists; shared use of facilities and attractions between residents and tourists; tourist–resident ratio, social, political and environmental values and residents' trust and identity) are found to influence residents' perceptions and support for tourism. Researchers in this field keep exploring novel factors which may influence residents' perceptions towards tourism.

Table 2.5 Variables Influencing Residents' Perceptions and Support for Tourism

<i>Extrinsic Factors</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Degree or stage of the host destination's development	Allen et al. (1988); Dogan (1989); Doxey (1975); Duffield & Long (1981); Li, Peng & Deng (2019); Lundberg (2015); Ritchie (1998); Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2009); Yoon, Gursoy & Chen (1999)
State of local economy	Gursoy et al. (2002); Gursoy & Rutherford (2004); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010)
Type of tourists	Butler (1974); Dogan (1989); Faulkner & Tideswell (1997); Tse & Qiu (2015)
Seasonality	Belisle & Hoy (1980); Rothman (1978); Sheldon & Var (1984); Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2014)
Imperialism	Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy (2015)
<i>Intrinsic Factors</i>	<i>Previous Research</i>
Socio-demographic characteristics (age, gender, education level, income, occupation, ethnicity)	Allen, Hafer, Long & Perdue (1993); Almeida-Garcia, Pelaez-Fernandez, Balbuena-Vazquez and Cortes-Macias (2016); Andriotis & Vaughan (2003); Brougham & Butler (1981); Cavus & Tanrisevdi (2002); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Liu & Var (1986); Mason & Cheyne (2000); McCool & Martin (1994); McMinn & Cater (1998); Nunkoo & Gursoy (2012); Nunkoo, Gursoy & Juwaheer (2010); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Pham & Kayat (2011); Rasoolimanesh et al. (2015); Sharma & Gursoy (2015); Sinclair-Maragh (2017); Teye, Sonmez, & Sirakaya (2002); Wassler et al. (2018, 2019)
Spatial factors (Proximity to tourism zones, concentrations of tourism facilities and services)	Ayscue, Boley, & Mertzlufft (2016); Beslie & Hoy (1980); Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b); Gursoy & Jurowski (2002); Jurowski & Gursoy (2004); Pearce (1980); Pizam (1978); Sharma et al. (2008); Sheldon & Var (1984); Wassler et al. (2018)
Economic dependence on tourism	Akis et al. (1996); Ap (1992); Andereck et al. (2005, 2007); Andriotis (2005); Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b); Gursoy, Ouyang, Nunkoo, & Wei (2018); Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996); Husbands (1989); Kayat (2002); Lawson et al. (1998); Liu et al. (1987); Madrigal (1995); Milman & Pizam (1988); Pizam (1978); Teng (2019); Thomason et al. (1979); Um & Crompton (1987); Wang & Pfister (2008)
Satisfaction with quality of life	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011); Kim et al. (2013); Woo, Kim, & Uysal (2015)
Community satisfaction	Ko & Stewart (2002); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Park et al. (2014); Vargas-Sanchez et al. (2009)

Involvement in tourism	Ap (1992); Brougham & Butler (1981); King et al. (1993); Lundberg (2017)
Community attachment (operationalized in different way including place of birth, length of residence etc.)	Andereck et al. (2005); Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b); Gursoy et al. (2002); Gursoy & Rutherford, (2004); Jurowski et al. (1997); Mason & Cheyne (2000); McCool & Martin (1994); Rasoolimanesh et al. (2015); Um & Crompton (1987); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Level of contact with tourists	Andereck et al. (2007); Carneiro & Eusebio (2015); Fredline et al. (2006a & 2006b)
Shared use of facilities and attractions between residents and tourists	Gursoy et al. (2002); Loi & Pearce (2015); Woosnam et al. (2009)
Tourist/resident ratio	Diedrich & Garcia-Buades (2009)
Social and political and environmental values	Fredline et al. (2006a, 2006b); Gursoy et al. (2002); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2010); Rasoolimanesh et al. (2015); Wang & Pfister (2008); Woosnam et al. (2009),
Residents' identity	Nunkoo et al. (2010); Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy (2015); Ye et al. (2014)
Sense of place identity	Wang & Chen (2015)
Residents' trust	Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, & Gursoy (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Nunkoo & So (2015); Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy (2015)
Personal benefits	Andereck & Nyaupane (2011); Ko & Setwart (2002); Nunkoo & So (2015)
Power to influence tourism	Andereck et al. (2005); Lankford & Howard (1994); Latkova & Vogt (2012); Nunkoo & Ramkissoon (2012); Nunkoo & Smith (2013); Nunkoo & So (2015)
Perceived cultural distance	Ye et al. (2014)

Some of the variables which are of high relevance to this study are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

2.4.3.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics

Previous research suggests that residents' socio-economic characteristics are likely to influence their perceptions of tourism impacts and therefore determine their level of support for tourism. Age (Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2002; Huh & Vogt, 2008; Pham & Kayat, 2011), educational level (Almeida-Garcia et al., 2016; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Teye et al., 2002), gender (Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012), ethnicity (Palmer, Koenig-Lewis, & Jones, 2013; Sinclair-

Maragh, 2017; Ye et al., 2014), level of income (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; McMinn & Cater, 1998), residents' relationship to the area/place of birth (Deery et al., 2012, Sharma & Gursoy, 2015) can influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts. Young people are generally more positive about tourism economic impacts than others (Andriotis & Voughan, 2003; Huh & Vogt, 2008; Pham & Kayat, 2011). For example, in their study of Kudasasi, Turkey, Cavus and Tanrisevdi (2002) discovered that older residents have much more negative perceptions of tourism than younger residents. In Sinclair-Maragh's study (2017), female residents support tourism development more than males. Residents aged 18 to 25 and are of black ethnicity tend to support tourism development. Almeida-Garcia et al. (2016) found no relationship between gender and tourism impacts, but resident attitudes towards tourism become more positive when educational level increases. People with large incomes tend to be more positive towards and support tourism development than low-income residents (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996). On the contrary, low-income residents support tourism development more than high income group (McMinn & Cater, 1998). This finding may be due to low-income residents attributing more importance to tourism which provides job opportunities for them. However, other researchers (e.g. Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Pham & Kayat, 2011; Teye, et al., 2002) argued that no relationship exists between demographic characteristics and the perceptions of tourism impacts and tourism development. Although the relationship may exist in some contexts, the magnitude and direction of the relationship depends on how much reliance residents draw on the tourism industry and the importance of tourism to them.

2.4.3.2 Spatial Factors

In terms of spatial factors, no consistent relationships are found between proximity and perceptions of tourism impacts. Few studies identify an inverse relationship, that is, perceptions become less positive as proximity increases (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Pizam, 1978). Residents living far away from tourist zones perceive more negative impacts from tourism than those living closer to them (Mansfeld, 1992). Williams and Lawson (2001) discovered that residents who are living closer to tourism attractions view tourism negatively than those living far away because the residents suffer from the impacts resulting from those tourism activities. Overall, residents are positive towards tourism development but tend to avoid living so close to the tourism attractions mainly because of the negative impacts from traffic congestion and litter (Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004). However, Wassler et al. (2018) and Chan (2004) conducted surveys in HK and

found no relationship between residents' proximity to tourism areas and residents' perceptions as well as their level of support. This finding may not be representative because of the small geographical size of HK where difference in 'distance' may not be significant. Furthermore, perceptions of tourism impacts increase when the proximity to tourism attraction decreases (Perdue et al., 1990). Hence, residents living closer to tourism areas tend to have stronger views than those living far away.

Ayscue et al. (2016) pointed out the limitations of previous research regarding how the distance is calculated. The subjective measures of distance and the objective assessments create an issue for measuring distance. The use of categorical distances like 'close-to attractions', 'in-between', and 'far-from attractions' become problematic. Ayscue et al. (2016) used precise interval level data by integrating mobile technology of taking GPS locations to assess the distance effects on resident attitudes towards tourism, and they claimed that their approach is more 'scientific' and 'objective'.

2.4.3.3 Overall Life Satisfaction

Lee and Sirgy (1995), as cited in Woo et al. (2015), indicated that overall life satisfaction is a composite of satisfaction with several life domains. Life satisfaction is regarded as a general sense of well-being about a person's life which may relate to the extent to which a person feels stable and positive during a particular period in their life (Lyubomirsky, 2001). Bottom-up spill-over theory postulates that life satisfaction is a domain comprising various sub-domains, including social life, work life, leisure life, material well-being and so on (Sirgy & Lee, 2006) which are so similar to the understanding of quality of life (QoL). In Woo et al.'s (2015) study, quality of life can be measured by two major domain dimensions: 1) material life and 2) non-material life. To be specific, material life can be understood as an individual's economic situation, living situation, income, standard of living, housing and socio-economic status (Cummins, 1996). The non-material life domain includes community (life, public space, facilities, and services), emotional (spiritual well-being and free time) and healthy/safely life domains where community life domain is closely tied to people in the community, life, public space, facilities and services (Puczko & Smith, 2011). Quality of life (QoL) and overall life satisfaction have been understood as the same construct. On the contrary, few studies (e.g. Ko & Stewart, 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011) examine quality of life of residents as a composite of overall community life satisfaction, satisfaction with service and overall life satisfaction. These studies put forward a new concept of viewing

QoL as a composite of life satisfaction but not exactly the same construct. The understanding of QoL and life satisfaction seem to be divided in two streams which are quite debatable.

Residents' life satisfaction also affects their perceptions of tourism impacts. Residents with a higher level of life satisfaction demonstrate better attitude towards tourism (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Woo et al., 2015). However, Nunkoo and So (2015) found no significant relationship between residents' life satisfaction and their support for tourism.

2.4.3.4 Community Attachment

Community attachment is one of the factors affecting residents' perceptions and attitudes. Community attachment can be operationalised by length of residency, property ownership, extended family and so on, and it is confirmed to have uncertain and contradictory impacts on perceptions of tourism (Woosnam et al., 2009). Besculides et al. (2002) observed that residents with the strongest connection to a region in terms of longer-term residency or higher economic dependency often have differing perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development than those with weaker connection to a region. Brougham and Butler (1981), Liu and Var (1986), Pizam (1978) as well as Sheldon and Var (1984) operationalised this variable by residents' length of residency in a community. However, McCool and Martin (1994) queried the use of length of residency to determine the level of community attachment. The longer length of residency does not necessarily result to higher community attachment. Some long-term residents have weaker attachment to the community, whereas newcomers to a city may have stronger community attachment for specific reasons (McCool & Martin, 1994). Therefore, length of residency does relate to level of attachment, but it is not an actual measure of it. Almeida-Garcia et al. (2016) found that those with less than five years of residence show more positive attitude towards the impact of tourism. By contrast, others (e.g. Allen et al., 1988; Pizam, 1978; Sheldon & Var, 1984) discovered that residents with greater length of residency are more negative towards tourism development.

Economic dependency is another element of community attachment which positively influences how residents assess tourism impacts. It is often associated to a more favourable evaluation of tourism impacts. A positive relationship is observed between employment in tourism or gaining benefits economically from tourism and resident

perceptions towards tourism impacts (Gursoy et al., 2018; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Husbands, 1989; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Perdue et al., 1990; Pizam, 1978). These results can be substantiated by SET which postulates that a person who obtains economic benefits from tourism perceives more favourable tourism impacts and hence demonstrate a higher level of support for tourism. Specifically, working in or owning a tourism enterprise is associated with more positive attitudes towards tourism (Gursoy et al., 2019). Economic dependence can also mitigate residents' negative views about tourism development (Wang & Pfister, 2008). Teng (2019) found that high tourism economic dependence of residents offsets the negative effect of conflicts caused by tourism development and leads to their more favourable attitude towards tourism.

2.4.3.5 Residents' Trust

Residents' trust in government institutions may influence their trust in other domains of life (Lovell, 2001). Residents' trust thus affects residents' attitudes towards political actors and government deliverables (Easton, 1965). Low and persistent levels of trust in public institutions pose difficulty on government's legitimacy (Miller & Listhaug, 1999) and may create barriers for tourism development. Therefore, residents' trust in tourism planning institutions may affect their perceptions and level of support for tourism development (Nunkoo et al., 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011b; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015). Nunkoo and So (2015) further verified the relationship between residents' trust in tourism institutions and their perceptions of the positive and negative impacts of tourism. Grzeskowiak, Sirgy and Widgery (2003) suggested that trust in local institutions is a significant contributor to community satisfaction which then shapes residents' attitude towards their community. Their findings verify the positive relationship between trust and overall community satisfaction, that is, the residents' level of institutional trust contributes to their overall satisfaction within the community. Widgery (1982) also discovered that residents' satisfaction towards the community can be predicted by their trust in government and the political system, that is, residents with high level of trust in government and the political system have higher level of satisfaction towards their community than those with low level of trust. Other studies (e.g. Nunkoo et al., 2012; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013) confirm that the residents' support for tourism is affected by their level of trust in government actors. Interestingly, Nunkoo and Smith (2013) considered residents' trust in government and the political system as an outcome variable affected by their perceived tourism impacts. Residents tend to trust the government when they receive benefits from

tourism industry, either by means of employment or business connection (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012). If the costs for tourism development cannot outweigh the benefits for the community, then distrust will emerge. A two-way relationship between perceptions of tourism impacts and trust is confirmed (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012).

2.4.3.6 Knowledge of Tourism

Knowledge refers to the level of residents' understanding of tourism-related issues and the role of governing bodies (i.e. government in the tourism industry) (Nunkoo & So, 2015). Knowledge of tourism is consistently found to have significant impact on residents' perceptions. Davis et al. (1988) and Lankford and Howard (1994) confirmed that the greater the level of knowledge of tourism and its development, the greater the level of support offered. In addition, if residents are well informed in advance about tourism development initiatives, then they tend to be more favourable to the impacts. On the contrary, if they are not informed in advance, then they tend to be more resistant to the initiatives and negative to the impacts (Keogh, 1990). Brayley, Var and Sheldon (1990) also explained that students studying tourism management have more favourable perceptions on tourism impacts than those studying other majors. Andereck et al. (2005) confirmed that knowledgeable residents are more likely to identify the benefits and drawbacks of tourism development. However, Latkova and Vogt (2012) and Nunkoo and So (2015) found no relationship between residents' knowledge and perceptions of tourism impacts.

2.4.3.7 Other Factors

Apart from the above-mentioned variables to be investigated in this study, other variables identified in the previous literature which can influence residents' perceptions towards tourism are examined.

Personal Benefits from Tourism

According to SET, individuals who benefit from tourism are more likely to engage positively with tourists (Ap, 1992). Ap (1992) claimed that personal benefits are a significant predictor of residents' perceived positive impacts of tourism but a weak determinant of their perceived negative impacts. Latkova and Vogt (2012) and Nunkoo and So (2015) found that personal benefits influence residents' perceived tourism impacts regardless of its nature, either positive or negative. Nonetheless, personal benefits can be rather broad and vague. An individual can gain benefits from

tourism in different ways, such as financial benefits via direct employment in tourism industry, cultural gain or improved city transportation. Therefore, personal benefits are a rather vague construct to be examined in this research.

Power to Influence Tourism

Grzeskowiak et al. (2003) found that residents' influential power is a strong determinant for their community satisfaction. Powerful or more influential residents have higher satisfaction towards their community. Kayat (2002) suggested that powerful residents tend to favour and support future tourism development. Many researchers discovered that residents' attitude towards tourism is affected by their level of involvement in the community activities. The higher the level of involvement, the more favourable attitude towards community change and development. Previous research also confirms what Ap (1992) proposed, that is, residents' perception of tourism impacts can be determined by how powerful they are or how influential they are with the tourism industry (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997). Lankford and Howard (1994), Nunkoo and Smith (2013) and Nunkoo and So (2015) found that residents who have more control over tourism planning process (i.e. higher power in tourism) tend to possess more positive perceptions of tourism. On the contrary, residents who have less control over tourism planning process tend to have more concerns for tourism development (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011b, 2012). However, power has no significant influence on perceptions of negative impacts (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Nunkoo & So, 2015; Latkova & Vogt, 2012).

Residents' Identity

Residents' identity is expressed in terms of their gender, occupation and cultural identities (Nunkoo et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015); biological sexes (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Hao, Long & Klecky, 2011; Mason & Cheyne, 2000) and psychological differences (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013). Residents with more feminine-oriented traits view impacts from tourism more negatively because of negative social impacts, whereas residents with more masculine-oriented traits view impacts from tourism more positively and are generally supportive of tourism development (Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2012). Individuals with feminine identity are more concerned for the community and more likely to participate in environmental responsive action which end up with them perceiving tourism impacts negatively and showing less support for tourism. Residents who are more masculine-

oriented tend not to argue against tourism development (Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015).

Occupational identity explains why residents may be resistant towards tourism as a tool for economic development (Petrzelka, Krannich & Brehm, 2006). People employed in other industries become anxious about losing their jobs due to tourism development. Mason and Cheyne (2000) and Petrzelka et al. (2006) discovered that residents working in resource-based industries with high levels of attachment to their occupation are particularly resistant to tourism development and demonstrate lower levels of support towards tourism compared with residents with low levels of resource-based occupational identity. Sinclair-Maragh and Gursoy (2015) also found that residents working in tourism industry worry more about the uneven sharing of community resources, whereas those working in non-tourism industries worry more about the sustainability of their industry and job security because of the resources and efforts deployed to tourism development. Regarding cultural identity, residents may perceive the impacts from tourism as having cultural costs due to changes in traditional ideas, values, norms, and identities of local people (Glasson, Godfrey, & Goodey, 1995). Conversely, if tourism helps preserve the local culture, impacts may be viewed as beneficial (Andereck et al., 2005) and help stimulate cultural awareness (Besculides et al., 2002). Therefore, cultural identity can affect residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and support for tourism development.

According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), individuals tend to 'classify themselves into in-groups and out-groups' based on certain criteria, such as ethnicity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Social identity similarities between host residents and tourists are likely to affect the attitude and treatment of residents towards tourists as well as the former's attitudes towards tourism development. The sub-ethnic identity of HK residents has always been a controversial issue. HK residents may identify themselves as Chinese or Hongkongers based on their self-perceived sub-ethnic identity. Ye et al. (2014) criticised the limited understanding towards the role of perceived cultural distance between tourists and residents in affecting the social identity of residents and their attitudes towards tourism development. Ye et al. (2014) also revealed that social identity and perceived cultural distance are critical in influencing residents' attitudes towards tourism development in HK because cultural distance is based on the values, social norms and lifestyle between two groups of people, namely, tourists and host. From the above discussion, the influence

of sub-ethnic identity of HK residents on their perceptions towards tourism impacts is identified and examined in this research.

Imperialism

Few researchers investigated the relationship between residents' perceptions towards tourism development and imperialism. Sinclair-Maragh and Gursoy (2015) were the pioneer researchers examining the influence of imperialism on residents' support for tourism. Residents' perceptions of imperialism, which focuses on the central role played by main nations or international business enterprises in tourism industry, are operationalised by its economic, political and cultural manifestations. Sinclair-Maragh and Gursoy (2015) made a significant theoretical contribution to the understanding of imperialism when they examined overseas tourism investments in Jamaica, a developing island country in the Caribbean. They concluded that three dimensions of imperialism tend to indirectly influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and their support for tourism development. Perceptions of political and cultural imperialism positively influence the way residents' view tourism development, whereas perceptions of economic imperialism negatively influence the way they view tourism development.

Community Satisfaction

Community satisfaction is regarded as a composite of residents' satisfaction with neighbourhood conditions (O'Brien, McClendon & Ahmed, 1989) which can be categorised into the physical, social and economic aspects (Grzeskowiak et al., 2003). O'Brien and Ayidiya (1991) suggested that decent neighbourhood conditions may have positive effect on overall quality of life in a community, whereas disgusting neighbourhood conditions may have negative impacts. Residents' satisfaction with community affect their support for tourism in the community (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Park et al., 2014; Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2009). Residents' satisfaction with community may be an appropriate determinant for predicting their perceptions of tourism impacts and attitudes for additional tourism development (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). A direct correlation between residents' community satisfaction and perceived tourism impacts is verified (Vargas-Sanchez et al., 2009) wherein the higher the community satisfaction, the more positive the perceived tourism impacts. Residents who are satisfied with their community are more likely to perceive tourism positively, and vice versa. On the contrary, Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2011) did not find any relationship between community satisfaction and neighbourhood

conditions to the perceived costs of tourism. Therefore, the inconsistent and contradictory findings from the extant research on residents' satisfaction with community and residents' support for tourism development are not able to provide enough understanding about such an association.

Apart from these variables, more variables are investigated with regard to their influence on residents' perceptions towards tourism. To date, extensive research studies how various factors affect community perceptions towards and support for tourism by adopting a quantitative study approach. Each variable seems to influence perceptions and support for tourism, but consistent findings have not been reported so far. Factors highly relevant and important in the HK context, especially for the HKSAR Government, such as ethnic identity, community attachment, proximity to tourism areas and overall life satisfaction are studied in this thesis to find out to what extent they influence residents' perceptions towards tourism and support for tourism.

2.5 Methodological Approaches in Social Representations Theory (SRT) - Cluster Analysis

Thus far, quantitative studies dominate the field, with researchers employing a range of multi-variate statistical techniques, including structural equation modelling (SEM), factor analysis, cluster analysis, regression analysis and ANOVA. Few studies are qualitative in nature, and several of which use a range of qualitative methods, such as case study work, grounded theory/controlled comparison method, or a review of secondary sources and artifacts (Nunkoo et al., 2013). Some studies (e.g. Andereck et al., 2005; Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009; Wassler et al., 2018, 2019) use mixed-method approaches wherein a sequential research design is adopted and qualitative data are collected to formulate the quantitative research instrument (Nunkoo et al., 2013). In recent years, the use of qualitative approaches has increased in popularity due to its recognised benefits by researchers. This study borrows SRT from the fields of sociology and psychology to explore and allow deeper investigation and understanding of how individuals formulate the social representations they have acquired. The dominant paradigm adopted in research on residents' perceptions is positivism, whereas studies based on interpretive approaches are largely underdeveloped (Nunkoo et al., 2013). The present study aims to understand and investigate how and why residents develop the social representations they have. An interpretive approach is considered the most appropriate. The scarcity of interpretive approaches within tourism impact studies represents one of the distinctive elements and contributions of this study.

SRT suggests that representations are adopted by numerous groups in society because of the common beliefs on perceptions held in the community (Stylidis, 2012). Given the existence of differing perceptions within a community, cluster analysis is often used to classify and group people with similar perceptions and attitudes into a cluster. It has gained increasingly popular use as the statistical tool for segmentation purposes since the late 1980s to classify residents into different sub-groups. As shown in Table 2.6, an array of studies employ cluster analysis to study community perception or attitude, and they suggest a continuum of segments based on the degree of positivity or negativity in residents' perceptions and support. Residents are generally divided into a minimum of two to a maximum of five clusters, ranging from 'lovers/enthusiast/advocates' to 'haters/opponent/cynic'. Many are also identified as 'ambivalent' or 'realistic', demonstrating diverse perceptions. These findings confirm the heterogeneous nature of residents' perceptions in that communities may not necessarily possess common beliefs

and thoughts but are composed by groups with various views. Pearce et al. (1996) suggested that these community groups own differing thoughts (social representations) about tourism which are the common beliefs held by groups of individuals who help make sense of the reality and foster communication within the groups.

Tourism researchers (Andriotis & Voughan, 2003; Chan, 2004; Davis et al., 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Ryan & Montgomery, 1994; Ryan, Scotland, & Montgomery, 1998; Madrigal, 1995; Monterrubio & Andriotis, 2014; Sinclair-Maragh, Gursoy, & Vieregge, 2015; Vareiro, Remoaldo, & Ribeiro, 2013; Weaver & Lawton, 2001; Williams & Lawson, 2001; Zhou & Ap, 2009; Zhou et al., 2014) used cluster analysis to segment the residents into groups with commonalities. For example, Davis et al. (1988) cluster analysed the responses of 415 Florida residents to 31 questions which rated various attitudes to the tourism industry in Florida. The analysis reveals five clusters of responses which are labelled 'haters', 'cautious Romantics', 'in-betweeners', 'love em' for a reason' and 'lovers'. The study also identifies dissimilarities between various groups in gender, age, length of time living in Florida, education, occupation and whether any family members work in the tourism industry and so on. No statistically significant results are found except for the native-born status and knowledge of tourism's economic impact on the state.


Pearce et al. (1996) suggested the existence of three groups of residents in Cairns, Australia, namely, 'moderates', 'negative economic impacts' and 'negative environmental impacts'. Demographic variables such as age and length of residence in the community significantly relate to cluster membership where older and longer-term residents are most likely to be in the moderate group. The younger residents are most likely to be found in the negative economic group, with recent arrivals most likely to be in the negative environmental group.


Sometimes, researchers who searched for individual differences indirectly provided evidence for a widespread consensus and commonality of responses towards tourism. For example, in Chan's (2004) research on HK residents' perceptions towards the Disneyland theme park, she identified four community clusters, namely 'lovers', 'cautious romantics', 'supporters' and 'environmental ambivalents', with age significantly related to the cluster membership. Similarly, Wassler et al. (2018) identified three homogeneous groups of residents in HK based on their attitudes towards IVS. The

largest group is the 'middle-of-the-roaders', followed by 'enthusiasts' and the smallest is the 'somewhat irritated'. The 'somewhat irritated' cluster has lower incomes than the 'middle-of-the-roaders' who earn less than the 'enthusiasts'. A significant gap is identified between 'somewhat irritated' being the younger interviewees, followed by the 'middle-of-the-roaders' and the older group as 'enthusiasts'. The formation of clusters can be explained by the younger generations being the less experienced generation, whereas older generations have stronger relationship with Mainland China, as they have migrated from China, have relatives in China, or their companies benefited from Chinese inbound tourism. Wassler et al. (2019) also conducted a similar study in Vietnam to look at residents' attitude towards Chinese inbound tourism and came up with three clusters. Locals are clustered as a positively disposed 'high-support' group, 'neutral' or a negatively disposed 'low-support' group. Younger, lower income and less educated interviewees tend to have more positive attitudes towards Chinese inbound tourism, whereas older, higher income and more educated interviewees demonstrate a more negative attitude (Wassler et al., 2019).

Cluster analysis is used in previous tourism impact studies because grouping residents into various clusters is effective in providing meaningful information for individual groups to respond to tourism impacts and allow researchers to understand the community structure in terms of reactions towards tourism (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000). Segmenting residents by their ideas, emotions and behaviours towards tourism in the community confirms the existence of differing social representations of tourism in a heterogeneous community.

Table 2.6 Segmentation Studies in Tourism Impact Research - 1988 to 2019

Research	Degree of Positivity				
	Low  High				
Davis et al. (1988)	Hater (16%)	In-betweener (18%)	Cautious romantic (21%)	Love' em for a reason (26%)	Lover (20%)
Evans (1993)	Hater (11%)		Controlled (32%)	Selfish (37%)	Lover (20%)
Ryan and Montgomery (1994)		Somewhat irritated (24%)	Middle of the road (54%)		Enthusiast (22%)
Madrigal (1995)	Hater (31%)		Realistic (56%)		Lover (13%)
Ryan et al. (1998)			Cautious supporter (40%)	Moderate enthusiast (42.5%)	Extreme enthusiast (17.5%)
Fredline and Faulkner (2000)	Hater (15%)	Concerned for a reason (9%)	Realistic (24%)	Ambivalent supporter (29%)	Lover (23%)
Weaver and Lawton (2001)	Opponent (22%)		Neutral (51%)		Supporter (27%)
Williams and Lawson (2001)	Cynic (10%)	Innocent (20%)		Taxpayer (25%)	Lover (44%)
Andriotis and Voughan (2003)		Economic skeptics (18%)	Socially & Environmentally concerned (40%)		Advocates (42%)
Chan (2004)		Environmental ambivalents (26%)	Supporters (41%)	Cautious romantic (22%)	Lovers (11%)
Zhou and Ap (2009)				Ambivalents (12%)	Favourers (88%)
Vareiro et al. (2013)		Sceptics (19%)	Moderately optimistic (40%)		Enthusiasts (42%)
Zhou et al. (2014)			Rationalists (66%)	Ambivalents (34%)	
Monterrubio and Andriotis (2014)		Realistics (33%)	Ambivalents (41%)		Supporters (26%)

Research	Degree of Positivity			
	Low  High			
Sinclair-Maragh et al. (2015)	Inconsequential (13%)	Community public service focused (47%)	Community focused (16%)	Public service and environment focused (24%)
Gon, Osti and Pechlaner (2016)		Sceptics (20%)		Cautious (29%) Supporters (51%)
Jani (2017)			Ambivalents (25%)	Cautious-advocates (46%) Advocates (30%)
Eusébio and Carneiro (2018)		The least benefited (16%)	The quite benefited (50%)	The most benefited (34%)
Stylidis (2018)	Critics (18%)			Appreciators (33%) Nature aesthetes (49%)
Wassler et al. (2018)		Somewhat irritated (27%)		Middle-of-the-roaders (43%) Enthusiasts (30%)
Lopes, Remoaldo and Ribeiro (2019)		Indifferent residents (20%)	Optimistic residents (47%)	Moderately optimistic (33%)
Pavlić, Portolan & Puh (2019)	Phlegmatics (31%)			Cultural and safety carers (30%) Cultural illuminators (39%)
Wassler et al. (2019)		Low-support (21%)	Neutral (39%)	High-support (40%)

Modified from Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) and Lundberg (2015)

2.6 Theoretical Approaches of Tourism Impact Research

Few theories are put forward to give details about residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and development such as dependency theory (Preister, 1989; Lepp, 2008), attribution theory (Pearce, 1989); play, compensation and conflict theories (Bystrzanowski, 1989); Tourist Area Life Cycle – TALC (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009; Lundberg, 2015); Irridex model (Tse & Qiu, 2015); Social Exchange Theory - SET (Ap, 1992; Getz, 1994; Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jurowski et al., 1997; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Lindberg & Johnson, 1997; McGehee et al., 2002; Perdue et al., 1990; Sinclair-Maragh & Gursoy, 2015) and Social Representations Theory - SET (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Chan, 2004; Pearce et al., 1996; Wassler et al., 2018, 2019; Weaver & Lawton, 2013; Zhou & Ap, 2009; Zhou et al., 2014; Zhang et al., 2006).

Several theories such as compensation theory, conflict theory and play theory cannot provide a theoretical explanation that helps understand residents' perceptions of tourism impacts (Bystrzanowski, 1989). Attribution theory is valuable in explaining the phenomenon of residents' attitude towards tourism, but its application is not discussed in full (Pearce, 1989). Dependency theory is rather limited to macro-level application in a community which is unable to explain the tourism impacts (Preister, 1989). Nevertheless, a number of hypotheses for testing the applicability of dependency theory are suggested. TALC and Doxey's Irridex models are commonly used than SET, but both models have limitations that have been widely recognised by researchers. They are too simplistic to provide a comprehensive explanation of residents' attitudes towards tourism (Akis et al., 1996).

2.6.1 *Social Exchange Theory (SET)*

In the existing tourism literature, SET and SRT are dominant in resident attitudinal research. Ap (1992), Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) and Perdue et al. (1990) suggested that SET is appropriate in enhancing the understanding of residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism by examining the relationship between personal benefits and perceptions of economic development. In 1992, Ap used SET to explain how residents developed different behavioural intents towards tourism impacts and development. He suggested that if residents perceive the exchange with tourists as beneficial for them and have influence or power on tourism development, then they tend to favour tourism. On the contrary, if residents perceive the exchange as damaging, then they tend to object tourism. Other studies confirm that residents benefiting from tourism are more likely to

support tourism and thus perceive more positive impacts (e.g. Gursoy et al., 2010; Husbands, 1989; Lankford & Howard, 1994; Yoon et al., 2001). Nunkoo and So (2015) also found that personal benefits of residents influence their perceptions of the positive and negative impacts of tourism, but the perceived positive impacts of tourism significantly affect their support for tourism.

SET relies on the responses from individuals as well as groups and cannot rationalise the behaviour of the community thoroughly. The concept of social exchange assumes a model of humans as isolated and computer-like information processors (Jaspars & Fraser, 1984; McGuire, 1986). However, in reality, humans are not isolated and are affected by other information sources, such as their membership groups, media channels and direct experience with the object or events. Sharpley (2014) pointed out that the SET is simplistic as it argues that if residents perceive the benefits of tourism cannot be outweighed by the costs of tourism, then they will develop negative perceptions towards tourism and show minimal support or even no support to tourism development. This argument is intuitive and fails to notice the inherent processes advocated by SET which highlight the reasons contributing to the unsuccessful process of exchange. Furthermore, Pearce et al. (1996) criticised the three limitations of using SET to explain resident perceptions of tourism which are: (a) the assumption of human beings as rational and systematic information processors (b) the belief that the knowledge of an individual is derived by social interaction instead of direct experience emphasised by SET and (c) the belief that perceptions are shaped within a wider socio-cultural and historical framework and not only established by provisional judgment. That is, the linear and sensible process suggested by SET is infrequently followed in reality. Moreover, the fundamental of SET is that residents and tourists take part in the exchange process voluntarily and proactively.

However, for most residents in a community, the form of interactions with tourists may be involuntary and unconscious, and, most times, no tangible interaction or exchange may occur (Sharpley, 2014). Therefore, SET is understood as a process that can work well at the individual level, but it is criticised with its relevancy in relating perception at the individual level (micro level) to that at community/collective level (macro level) (Zhou, 2006). Moreover, the literature criticises SET for its inability to explain residents' perceptions and support, thus calling for an innovative theoretical approach to comprehend a holistic understanding at both individual (micro) and community (macro) levels (Chhabra & Gursoy, 2007). Other than personal benefits, intrinsic constructs, such

as socio-demographic variables, dependency on tourism, community attachment, community satisfaction, quality of life, power, level of trust, the extrinsic constructs of imperialism, the level of tourism development, host–tourist density and many others, influence residents’ perceptions, attitudes towards tourism and their level of support for tourism development. SET is unable to fully justify why and how these variables affect residents’ perceptions. Moreover, SET assumes individuals as insulated bodies (Pearce et al., 1996), whereas, in reality, residents interact with one another in groups and communities. Another problem with SET is that it assumes the residents in the community are homogenous, but, in fact, they often hold differing representations (Chan, 2004). Lastly, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) claimed that residents’ understanding of a tourism development not only shaped by their direct experience but also socially formed and context focused. Hence, SRT is viewed as another useful framework for understanding and explaining tourism impacts (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Pearce et al., 1996) to explain how residents understand and respond to impacts brought about by tourism development and behaviours of specific group of tourists (Monterrubio & Andriotis, 2014).

Although SET is a very popular framework in studying residents’ perceptions and attitude, it is not being adopted in this thesis because of the above-mentioned deficiencies as well as its limited contribution to the theoretical development.

2.6.2 Social Representations Theory (SRT)

SRT was created by Moscovici (1981), and Pearce et al. (1996) further applied it to the tourism context. It has been widely studied and examined in psychology. Pearce et al. (1996) argue that SRT can be very applicable to tourism studies, particularly in terms of understanding what communities think tourism is, how they respond to tourism and what they expect it will bring to them. They also recommended that SRT provides a far better framework to aid understanding in terms of how values, beliefs and attitudes towards tourism and tourism development are shared within a society (Li et al., 2015). Moreover, this theory can discover the social representations of residents about tourism, tourists or even destination image, which are particularly useful in explaining residents’ perceptions and why they respond the way they do. Perhaps residents’ perceived impacts are affected by the overall image or definition of tourism, tourists and associated beliefs and values. This theory directs researchers to look for commonality rather than individual differences.

Therefore, researchers should try to identify the response patterns, which are similar across the full range of items rather than testing differences among length of residence, age and income because a community is not homogeneous. SRT is also a framework that connects individuals and groups, operating at individual (micro) and community (macro) levels (Pearce et al., 1996). It also gives details on how different clusters of residents in a community understand and react to social issues. The theory is useful when the study topic involves several social perspectives or go along with conflicts because of potential revolution and uncertainty (Moscovici, 1984). Identifying the distinct social representations that different groups possess can enable a better understanding of residents' perceptions and their responses towards the tourism industry.

Moscovici (1981) stressed that representations are prescriptive in nature which impose themselves on people with a tempting force. Knowing what the existing beliefs or thoughts are (i.e. representations) of individuals can help explain how and why individuals respond the way they do. Often, social representations serve as the reference point for individuals to understand the world, behave and react in the society. Social representations can direct the actions and thoughts (especially perception) of individuals (Pearce et al., 1996).

SET and SRT are two frameworks that emphasise diverse levels of perception: the individual and community levels (Pearce et al., 1996). Although SET dominates in explaining resident perceptions and attitudes towards tourism for decades, it is questioned for being unable to provide a truthful representation by directing on perceptual differences at community (macro) level (Chhabra & Gursoy, 2007). SRT is suitable to find out various types of social representations in a community where the residents' perceptions and level of support may be heterogeneous (Gaskell, 2001). Therefore, SRT is adopted in this thesis to find out why and how such social representations are developed and understand the social dynamics of the current tourism development in HK. SRT is further elaborated in the following section.

2.7 Social Representations Theory (SRT)

Even with the help of SRT in providing greater understanding of residents' responses, why residents react to the tourism impacts the way they do remains unclear (Ap, 1990; Dogan, 1989; Husbands, 1989). The most commonly used or adopted definition of social

representations is from Moscovici (1973). Social representations are ‘cognitive systems with a logic and language of their own and a pattern of implication, relevant to both values and concepts, and with a characteristic kind of discourse. They do not represent simply “opinions about”, “images of”, or “attitudes towards”, but “theories” or “branches of knowledge” in their own right, for the discovery and organization of reality’ (Moscovici, 1973, p. xiii). Social representations are further described as the ‘concepts, statements and explanations originating in daily life in the course of inter-individual communications’ (Moscovici, 1981, p. 181) and ‘systems of pre-conceptions, images and values which have their own cultural meaning and persist independently of individual experience’ (Moscovici, 1982, p. 122). The main focus of the theory is the meaning of social knowledge as well as how it is generated and shaped in the community comprising various sub-groups (Moscovici, 1981). People also define, organise and understand their social world and everyday knowledge through social representations (Halfacree, 1993). In addition, Brenkwell (1993) defined SRT as a model highlighting the processes of social interaction in determining the content and forming the value and beliefs system of individuals which are called ‘social representations’. According to Moscovici (1981, 1984, 1988), social representations, at collective level, are cognitive structures which facilitate interactions between members owing to their consensual form. However, at the individual level, their role is to attribute meaning to new or alien experiences (whether people, objects or events) by setting them in a contextual frame for them to familiarise.

Social representations refer to a system of values, beliefs, ideas and practices that a social group may adopt and share within them. This social representation also helps the members in the group give meaning to the world and their position in it (Moscovici, 2001). This system is built up socially by way of communications and interactions which let individuals to generate a so-called social identity, which is a sense of membership in a community sub-group (Rateau, Moliner, Guimelli, & Abric, 2011; Wagner et al., 1999). Moscovici (1984) associated social representations with social groups. The consensual adoption of representation creates the group and its identity. Furthermore, social representations are not static. Rather, they are lively and keep evolving from time to time through the interactions with others, which lead to variations within subgroups (Abric, 2001). The communication between different groups enables members to develop social representations for their belonged group (Wagoner, 2015).

Social representations therefore recognise plurality and diversity in society. Pearce et al. (1996) identified three principles which can be useful in identifying social representations: (1) the consensus or the commonality exists among members of a group, (2) the association or connection of links between the impacts and related ideas and (3) the belief that there is a central cluster servicing to interpret the social representations. The concept of SRT is used to identify homogenous groups containing individuals who share similar perceptions which make them stay different than other groups. In addition, SRT looks at commonalities in community responses rather than individual differences (Dann, 1992). The theory suggests that the commonality or consensus within a group or community sub-group reveals reactions to tourism impacts to be far more consistent.

Moscovici's definitions of social representations are criticised as vague, boundary-less and broad, although this seems to reflect a concern over research style rather than a serious attack on the logic of his argument or the consistency of evidence (Pearce et al., 1996). For example, Jahoda (1988) suggested that SRT is vague in the construction of its concept, and Doise (1993) attributed this problem to the fact that the agenda provided by the literature on SRT is very large and is not only concerned about 'the thinking society' but also emphasises the communicated character of thought. Running with this logic, to study SRT, all of human life must be studied. Moscovici's hypotheses concern the ways in which, at the level of the meta-system, social groups generate representations which are shared by other groups. The problems identified by Brenkwell (1993) suggest that SRT cannot explain why a particular social representation exists in the form that it is. Therefore, this theory is conceptualised abstractly. Moreover, Potter and Litton (1985) commented that Moscovici's (1988) concept of a group is overly unproblematic and pointed out its risk of circularity. There is a cycle of identifying representations by groups and then the groups setting their own representations. It is similar to the thought of 'egg first or chicken first'. Moscovici offered no explicit analytic technique for identifying the group regardless of its own representations and characteristics.

Basically, representation is a system of denotation and classification and of designating names and categories (Zhou, 2006). The idea of representations is to familiarise the unfamiliar by anchoring new ideas into a pre-existing system (naming and classification) and objectifying something abstract into something almost concrete (personification and figuration). Anchoring of representations can be done by classifying and naming. Classifications can be generated by associating individuals to a prototype usually adopted

by a specific group (Moscovici, 1984; 1988). The interaction between individuals and their surrounding context is fundamental to SRT. Social representations also support communication and interaction to happen among group members by giving them the code for social exchange, that is, the code for naming and classifying explicitly the different parts of their world and their individual and group history (Jaspars & Fraser, 1984).

2.8 Social Representations in Tourism Research

Only a handful of tourism studies adopt the social representations approach. As shown in Table 2.7, SRT is adopted by some researchers (Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Chan, 2004; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Fredline & Faulkner, 2002; Pearce et al., 1996; Zhou & Ap, 2009; Wassler et al., 2018; 2019) as a framework to examine host community attitudes towards tourism development mainly by clustering the community groups. In many social representations studies involving tourism, segmentation using cluster analysis is adopted to identify groups with similar perceptions and attitudes. One of the objectives of these studies is to identify and profile community clusters within the society so as to formulate customised strategies for different community clusters. Apart from using SRT in segmentation studies on tourism social impacts to provide universal frameworks of attitudes towards tourism (Pearce et al., 1991), social representations can be used to connect individual thought to social understanding (Farsari, 2018). Currently, many SRT applications are quite superficial in providing a descriptive understanding of social representations (Sharpley, 2014). A deeper discussion of social representations is often missing. Nevertheless, Wassler et al. (2019) identified five social representations relating to resident attitudes towards Chinese tourism in Vietnam, and they are ‘a confrontation with the eternal enemy’, ‘Vietnamese mismanagement’, ‘another made in China’, ‘important source of income’ and ‘an opportunity to explore Chinese culture’. Wassler et al. (2019) also called for the need to conduct qualitative study of different clusters to provide further insights into residents’ perceptions towards tourism. Particularly, insights into how the social representations are anchored and objectified are necessary.

Other than the most often usage of social representations in examining host community attitudes towards tourism development, they are used in the context of tourism planning (Moscardo, 2011; Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999), destination image analysis

(Moscardo, 2012), stakeholder analysis (Moscardo, 2011) and events (Fredline & Faulkner, 2000) as well as in finding out the multiple social realities in attitudes towards the UK tourism transport management in rural areas (Dickinson, Robbins & Fletcher, 2009).

In terms of methodology, focus groups, interviews, word associations, content analysis, questionnaires, experiments and ethnography are used to study social representations (Wagner et al., 1999). Most previous studies investigating social representations are quantitative in nature which inadequately explain why the perceptions are formed in such a way. This qualitative study of social representation presents a new attempt in this research area to enhance understanding on how residents' perceptions (i.e. representations) on tourism are formed. What situations or how social representations are formed is worth investigating to expand the application of SRT through this study.

Table 2.7 Major Studies adopting SRT in Residents' Perceptions towards Tourism/Tourism Impacts

Authors(s)	Key Objectives	Key Theory	Key Findings	Contribution
Fredline & Faulkner (2000)	<p>To investigate host community reactions to the Gold Coast Indy event in Australia</p> <p>To explore similarities in the clustering tendencies of residents based on their perceptions of tourism in general and reactions to a major event.</p>	Social Representations Theory (SRT)	Five community cluster groups in Indy were resulted which were Haters, Lovers, Ambivalent Supporters, Realists, Concerned for a Reason.	<p>Cluster analysis approach has utility as a tool for investigating the underlying structure of community reactions to tourism, event and exploring profiles of the various clusters.</p> <p>It is essential to examine the “haters” and the “concerned for a reason” groups to establish whether or not specific management measures might be implemented to alleviate the causes of their concerns.</p>
Andriotis & Vaughan (2003)	To identify and explain the attitudes of urban residents in Crete toward tourism development and their grouping with respect to these attitudes	Social Representations Theory (SRT)	<p>Three clusters, namely Advocates, Socially and Environmentally Concerned (SEC) and the Economic Skeptics were found.</p> <p>The medium-educated residents are more likely to be supportive of tourism development, the less-educated are more likely to be negative to the economic effects of tourism, and the highly educated are more likely to be concerned about the environmental and social costs of tourism.</p>	<p>There are segments expressing different levels of support/concern for the various tourism impacts (economic, environmental, and sociocultural).</p> <p>Education can determine residents' attitudes; specifically, highly educated interviewees were more likely to express concern about the impacts of tourism</p>

Chan (2004)	To identify HK residents' perceptions towards impacts of Hong Kong Disneyland	Social Representations Theory (SRT)	Four Community groups, namely "Environmental Ambivalents", "Supporters", "Cautious Romantic" and "Lovers" were found. Majority of HK residents tend to favour this tourism development.	This was a pioneer study to adopt SRT to examine the differing social representations towards the impacts brought by the Disneyland project in HK.
Zhou & Ap (2009)	To identify and examine the host residents' perceptions towards a mega event, the Beijing 2009 Olympic Games.	Social Representations Theory (SRT)	Two community groups, namely "Embracers" and "Tolerators" were identified. Government performance, residents' preference of more tourism development and tourism-industry work experience were influential to residents' perceptions towards the Beijing 2008 Olympics.	The study identified and developed a 20-item event impacts scale, which comprised four event impact factors.
Wassler et al. (2018)	To understand Hong Kong residents' attitudes towards the Individual Visit Scheme policy for mainland Chinese tourists	Social Exchange Theory & Social Representations Theory	Three distinct community clusters, namely "Enthusiasts", "Middle-of-the-roaders" and "Somewhat irritated" were resulted. Lower income and younger generations tended to dislike Mainland Chinese tourists whereas higher income earning residents were more supportive to tourism development and the IVS due to the closer ties with Mainland China.	Resident attitudes towards tourism policies were influenced by both Social Exchange and Social Representations principles, which can coexist but also be in conflict.

<p>Wassler et al. (2019)</p>	<p>To identify, characterise and understand Social Representations through a proposed multiple-mixed-method approach, taking the case of Vietnamese residents' attitude towards Chinese inbound tourism in Vietnam.</p>	<p>Social Representations Theory</p>	<p>Three clusters, namely “High-support” group, “Low-support” group and “Neutral group” were resulted.</p> <p>Five SRs towards Chinese tourism: “A Confrontation with the Eternal Enemy”, “Vietnamese Mismanagement”, “Another Made in China”, “Important Source of Income”, and “An opportunity to explore Chinese culture” were found.</p>	<p>It tested a three-step multiple-mixed-method of understanding social representations which can complement large-scale quantitative methods in the future studies.</p> <p>It confirms a practical way to identify and characterise SR upon a strong theoretical base.</p> <p>Three community clusters in Vietnam were outlined.</p> <p>Residents' involvement in tourism had no significant effect on their attitude towards Chinese tourism.</p>
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2.9 The Formation of Social Representations

Considering the existence of social representations at different levels, understanding how these representations are formed is critical to deepen knowledge and understanding towards the research topic. Pearce et al. (1996) identified three factors working together to shape social representations. These are direct experiences with actual or similar phenomenon or object, conversation and social interaction at different levels of intensity (all sorts of conversations with workmates, family, friends and strangers) and the combined influences of mass media in numerous forms (e.g. print and electronic media). Thus, the combined influences of mass media, social interaction and direct experiences with particular phenomenon provide the sources of social representations (Pearce et al., 1996). Moreover, Fredline et al. (2006b, p. 139) suggested that ‘residents have representations of tourism which underpin their perceptions of impact, and these representations are informed by direct experiences, social interaction and other information sources such as the media’.

In an extensive search of the tourism literature, very few empirical studies relate direct experience and media to perceptions. Zhou and Ap (2009) stressed that social representations are formed in a dynamic process of communication and interaction. Media coverage and government assertions may represent powerful, authoritative, and extensive impacts on these systems through their hegemonic representations (Moscardo, 2011). However, these are usually questioned by emancipated representations resulting from social encounters with numerous informal parties (e.g. family, friends, workmates and so on) and formal associations (e.g. professional groups, associations, clubs and so on) as well as individual direct experience. Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) also found that positive attitudes towards tourism development among urban residents in Crete are influenced by their experience with the tourism industry such as direct employment in tourism businesses. Zhou and Ap (2009) revealed similar effects as they relate to Beijing residents who perceived the 2008 Olympic Games as negative, although they would be regarded as unpatriotic for saying so. In the Turkish town of Pamukkale, adverse social representations from tourism result from personal exposure and rumour spreading (Yuksel et al., 1999). Therefore, the influence of the three sources in the formation of representations is formulated as one of the research questions in this study.

2.9.1 Direct Experience

Although it is suggested that representations have prescriptive power, direct experience with a phenomenon provide subjects with personal information from which perceptions are formed. People make enquiries about the differences between dominant social representations and actual phenomenon, so it is a catalyst for change (Pearce et al., 1996). Moscovici (1981) stated that the pre-conceptions which exist in human minds are often reinforced and modified when a discrepancy occurs between the prevailing representation and direct experience. Pearce (1982) suggested that in an early study of tourism in Europe, British travellers to Greece and Morocco were substantially more confident in their beliefs about the character of the host nation after they returned home. Similarly, residents who have directly interacted with Mainland Chinese tourists and have a good experience may develop more positive perceptions to the impacts of HK tourism development and be more supportive of it.

2.9.2 Social Interaction

In social networks, individuals exert influence over the views of other group members (Pearce et al., 1996). Conversation and social interaction with others, such as workmates, family, friends or even strangers can be an important means of transmitting social representations. Information of social representations about tourism may come from a conversation with a hairdresser or taxi driver where their thinking on tourism may influence the formation of thoughts. People may be members of a few reference groups, so they may be obliged to resolve opposing and inconsistent representations if differing representations exist in the groups (Dougherty, Eisenhart, & Webley, 1992). For example, people who have a weaker sense of Chinese national and cultural identity may be more negative to the impacts of HK tourism development and less supportive of it. By contrast, people who are studying tourism or working in the tourism industry may have more positive perceptions to this development and its impacts because they may be influenced by their peers and social groups within their environment.

2.9.3 Media

People are neither neutral nor passive recipients of either print or electronic media (i.e. traditional media) (Pearce et al., 1996). Traditional media can influence people's representations in three main ways. Firstly, it can influence through the selection of content of the stories it reports (Neuman, 1990). Secondly, it can provide individuals with content for their social representations, such as analogies, metaphors and visual

images for the formation of the social representations. Thirdly, it can present issues as conflict between different groups, which may influence individuals' attitudes and opinions. Therefore, media plays a vital role in shaping and transmitting social representations. Social media also has a role in shaping individuals' social representations. Nowadays, many people usually connect with their networks through social media. Thus, social media can serve as a platform for socialising and sharing. The impact of social media on individuals' representation is similar to 'social interaction' or digital word of mouth. The credibility of the social media posts also depends on the strength and quality of the relationship. The impacts of traditional media and social media on shaping individuals' representations may vary.

Philogene and Deaux (2001) also mentioned that social representations are created from social interactions within groups as members share their experience. Once social representations are created, they take on a life of their own, presented and repeated in the media and spread through further social interactions. As such, social representations are formed primarily from individuals' direct experience with an object or a phenomenon, which is then shared with members in the same groups through social interaction and presented and repeated in the media. Any contradictory representations found may modify the social representations.

2.10 Relationships between Individual and Social Representations

Knowing that representations exist at different levels, representations are formed individually and influenced via interactions in a group setting. Perceptions are subjective in their nature and highly individualised. SRT is based on a conception of society as organised into groups and sub-groups or as a collection of individual social atoms (de Rosa, 1992). Figure 2.1 demonstrates the association and relationships between individual perceptions and group social representations.

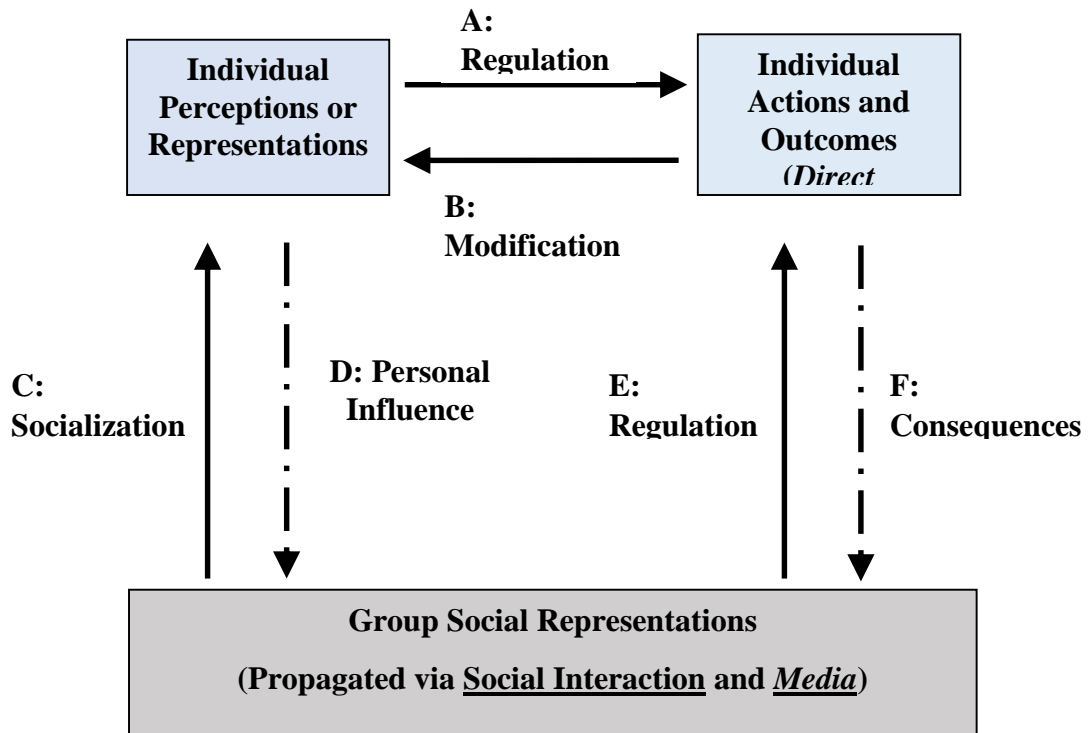
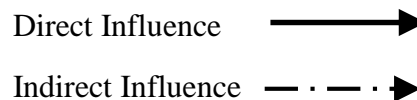


Figure 2.1 Relationship between Individual and Social Representations



Source: Adapted from Dann (1992), Fredline (2000) and Pearce et al. (1996)

With reference to Fredline (2000), individuals have representations about an issue, and these representations regulate (A) their actions and outcomes (i.e. their behaviour or attitude towards an issue) or may be (B) modified when individuals have direct experience with the issue-related phenomenon which runs contradictory with existing representations. Individual representations are highly affected by their belonged group's or community's prevailing social representations through socialisation (C). At the same time, individuals may (D) exert influence on group social representations. Meanwhile, individual's belonged group or community may exert direct control on individual behaviour and actions through the implementation of rules and (E) regulations. The consequences (F) of individual behaviour may affect the group social representations indirectly (Dann, 1992; Fredline, 2000; Pearce et al., 1996; Zhou, 2006).

Individual representations are certainly associated with social representations at the collective or community level. That is, residents' individual perceptions about tourism

can circulate, spread over and influence one another through their social network and daily exposure to media and, thus, help form and shape group or community perceptions of tourism.

2.11 Research Gaps

By reviewing and summarising a wide range of extant literature on residents' perceptions and attitudes as well as research on SRT in tourism, research gaps are identified and linked to the research objectives.

Firstly, China is presently ranked as the primary spender in international tourism, and it has significant contributing power to global tourism receipts since 2012 (Statista, 2019). It also represents the biggest source market for HK's inbound tourism which cannot be neglected or ignored. Research examining the impacts of Mainland Chinese on a destination community is currently lacking (Chen, Hsu, & Li, 2018). This limited research on host community perceptions of Mainland Chinese tourists calls for a need to further investigate how HK residents perceive the tourism impacts brought about by the Mainland Chinese tourists as well as identify the factors influencing their perceptions which can provide valuable input for the marketing, planning and management of tourism by its key stakeholders in HK and elsewhere.

Secondly, extensive research studies how various factors affect the community perceptions and support for tourism by adopting the quantitative approach. Each variable seems to influence perceptions and support for tourism, but no consistent findings are reported so far (Sharpley, 2014). Factors highly relevant and important in the HK context, especially the HKSAR Government, such as sub-ethnic identity, community attachment, proximity to tourism areas, life satisfaction, knowledge of tourism and trust in government are studied here to find out to what extent they influence residents' perceptions towards tourism and support for tourism. As mentioned in Section 2.4.3 (p. 38), findings on the influence of these factors in tourism perceptions are contradictory. Hopefully, a qualitative research can provide more in-depth insights into this topic.

Thirdly, SRT suggests that representations are adopted by numerous groups in society because of the common beliefs on perceptions held in the community (Stylidis, 2012). SRT is suitable in identifying various types of social representations in a community

where residents' perceptions and level of support may be heterogeneous (Gaskell, 2001). Considering the existence of differing perceptions within a heterogeneous community, appropriate government policies and strategies can be formulated to address the concerns of these groups. However, many studies on residents' perceptions or attitudes adopting SRT are quantitative. The use and application of SRT in this research area adopting a qualitative approach is lacking.

Fourthly, although SET dominates in explaining resident perceptions and attitudes towards tourism for decades, it is questioned for being unable to provide a truthful representation by directing perceptual differences at the macro/community level (Chhabra & Gursoy, 2007). Therefore, SRT is adopted in this study to examine why and how such social representations are developed and understand the social dynamics of current tourism development in HK.

Fifthly, Pearce et al. (1996) identified three factors working together to shape social representations. These are direct experiences with actual or similar phenomenon or object, conversation; social interaction at different levels of intensity (all sorts of conversations with workmates, family, friends and strangers) and the combined influences of mass media in numerous forms (e.g. print and electronic media). Thus, the combined influences of mass media, social interaction, and direct experience with phenomenon provide the sources of social representations. As of now, very few studies relate direct experience and media to perceptions. Therefore, the influence of the three sources on the formation of representations is worth investigating.

2.12 Concluding Remarks

This chapter begins by reviewing the numerous research studies on Mainland Chinese tourists and followed by looking into research on residents' perceptions on tourism. The substantial research on these topics provides a solid foundation for this literature review. Firstly, research trends from 1970s to 2020 are reviewed and discussed with an overview of tourism impacts and the variables affecting residents' perceptions. Secondly, with the proliferation of residents' perceptions research, different research designs and methodological approaches are ubiquitous. Cluster analysis is mainly used to segment the community into homogeneous groups in most SRT studies, so the summary of the relevant studies using cluster analysis is presented. Thirdly, the two prevailing theoretical

frameworks, SET and SRT, are compared and critiqued so as to justify why SRT is chosen for this study. The literature review continues to explore SRT through its definition and its application in the tourism context. Finally, the three information sources for forming social representations are discussed, and the gaps this study attempts to address are identified. The research paradigm and methodology are presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 - RESEARCH PARADIGM AND METHODOLOGY

This research intends to identify residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts, tourism development and level of support for tourism development with Hong Kong as a case study. The research process is presented in Figure 3.1.

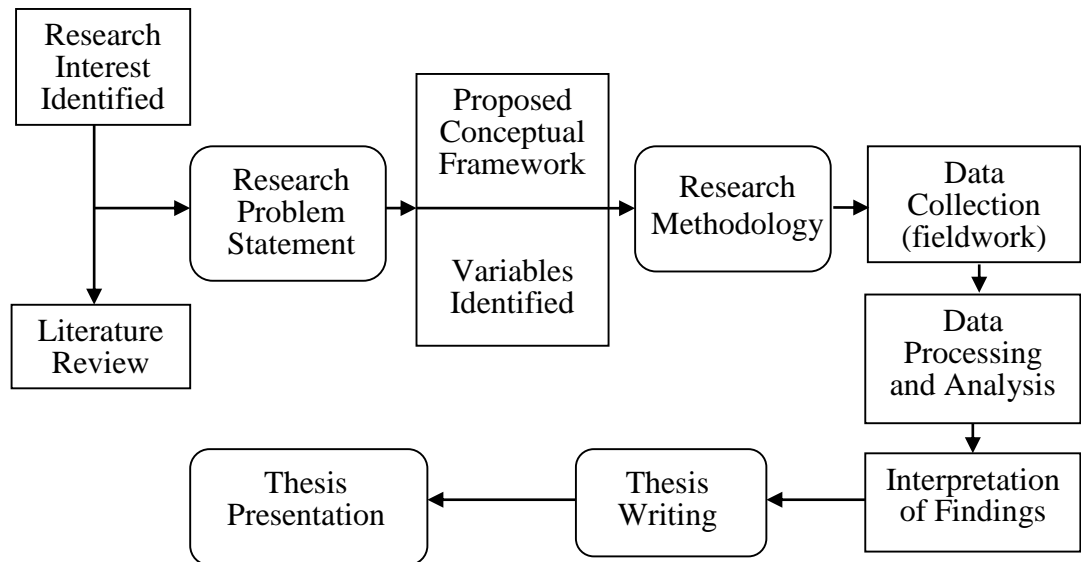


Figure 3.1 The Research Process

Based on Zikmund (2010)

Once the research purpose was identified, the researcher conducted a comprehensive literature review to define the research problem, propose the conceptual framework and identify variables influencing residents' perceptions towards tourism. The chosen research paradigm and methodology were presented with justifications. The researcher then commenced the fieldwork and analysed the data by coding, categorising and generating themes. The researcher interpreted the data findings to come up with meaningful findings and insights to answer the research questions.

3.1 Research Paradigm – Phenomenology

A paradigm is a set of beliefs, limits and frameworks which shapes the approach to research. The two dominant research philosophies are positivism and phenomenology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). According to Smith (2003), positivism relates to a set of epistemological perspectives and philosophies of science which embraces that the scientific approach is the most appropriate approach to find out the processes through

which each physical and human event occurs. To the contrary, phenomenology is grounded on the experience of building materials and their sensory properties. Positivism focuses on the facts by formulating and testing hypothesis that can allow the researcher to generate findings from the empirical research data to uncover the process by which physical and human events occur. The phenomenological approach strives to develop a detailed understanding of what is happening and hypotheses about inductive reasoning from the data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The positivist approach is closely related with quantitative data collection methods such as using experiments, surveys or structured interviews, whereas the phenomenological approach employs qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group interviews, observation and documentation.

The two giants of phenomenological philosophy during the 20th century are Edmund Husserl (1859–1938) and Martin Heidegger (1889–1976). For Heidegger, phenomenology is initially a method, and he employed it almost exclusively to articulate and clarify the phenomenon of being. He explained:

The a priori character of being and of all the structures of being accordingly calls for a specific kind of approach and way of apprehending being - a priori cognition. The basic components of a priori cognition constitute what we call phenomenology. Phenomenology is the name for the method of ontology, that is, of scientific philosophy. Rightly conceived, phenomenology is the concept of a method. (Heidegger, 1982, p. 20)

He also considered that phenomenology informs researchers of the ‘how’ through which what is to be treated in this science gets exhibited and handled. With Husserl’s phenomenological method, the following three steps are involved (Husserl, 1983): (1) one assumes the transcendental phenomenological attitude, (2) one brings to consciousness an instance of the phenomenon to be explored, whether actual or fictional, and with the help of free imaginative variation, one intuits the essence of the phenomenon being investigated, (3) one carefully describes the essence that has been discovered. Even if it is a real situation, phenomenology is simply something present to one’s consciousness without affirming that it exists in the way that it presents itself. It is considered as a ‘phenomenon’, not a ‘reality’ (Giorgi, 2007).

In addition, phenomenology is the learning of 'phenomena', appearances of things or things as they emerge in people's experience or the approaches through which people experience things, and for this reason, the meanings things have in our experience (Smith, 2003). Phenomenology is about the study of conscious experience from the first person or subjective perspective. Phenomenology concerns a wider range of research variables and characteristics than that embraced by positivist research. The former provides more in-depth and more affluent analysis on how and why events occur, enabling researchers to benefit from dealing with subjective experience rather than remain restricted to objective, measurable variables. Phenomenological research is often exploratory. It is not about large samples or testing hypotheses but focuses on single samples and the creation of new theories. The advantages are that data are richer, and the researcher is more likely to provide explanations. The complexities are better explained because the researcher is using objective and subjective methods. From the text of 'Introduction to Business Research 1' (Edinburgh Business School), the phenomenological approach does not accept that there is an objective reality but views each situation as unique based on its own complexities. A phenomenological researcher will immerse themselves in the sample and try to understand the complex social processes. The researcher will be of the view that business research is different from the natural sciences as it involves people who will not always act in the same (rational) way. Phenomenologists deny the idea of objective research as they believe it is oriented towards finding of truth by way of perceptions of truth, meaning that different individuals attribute their own meaning of the world in their own ways (Mertens, 2010). Phenomenologists believe that understanding 'reality' must be based on one's experience of reality, that is, an understanding of reality depends heavily on the interpretation of the researcher and subjects, ending up with highly subjective interpretation (Mertens, 2010). The world is believed to be socially built up and subjective. A range of methods is necessary to create different subjective opinions of the truth, and it enables the emergence of new ideas beyond the original research interests (Gray, 2014). The highly subjective nature of interpretation by the researcher, heavy reliance on relatively unstructured approaches with small samples to conduct in-depth or focus group interviews and the difficulty of replication and generalisation of the phenomenological approach (Gray, 2014) can facilitate a more holistic investigation of the different views of reality to explore and identify richer and deeper findings on the topic.

Most previous studies on residents' perceptions or attitudes adopt a quantitative approach based on large-scale surveys. However, a programmed questionnaire may not be conducive in terms of allowing residents to freely share their feelings and pays inadequate attention to any differences among residents (Dai, Wang, Xu, Wan, & Wu, 2017). Moreover, a large-scale survey may be unable to assist in finding out the inner relationships of residents' characteristics, ethnic identity, quality of life, economic dependence, community attachment and tourism proximity with their perceptions towards tourism development. The quantitative approach often falls short in explaining the more in-depth meanings of residents' perceptions and the complex nature of the formation of individual thoughts. Jones (1997, p. 2) argued that quantitative approaches have a tendency to take a 'snapshot' of a situation, meaning to measure variables at a specific point of time. The snapshot gives a picture of 'what is' at that moment in which it is taken. However, it has no reference to the broader context and/or what comes before or even after that exact moment. What it does not provide is contextualisation of what has caused this moment to appear in the first place nor does it provide insights into plausible developments to follow, owing to the fact that potentially meaningful connections are not explored. These studies address 'what are' residents' perceptions or attitudes towards tourism, but they do not provide a deeper understanding as to 'how' and 'why' the phenomena and issues are there.

The review of the literature reveals a knowledge gap regarding understanding as to how and why residents' perceptions are formed the way they are. This study aims to understand what is happening in the HK community, why does this happen and what factors contribute to its happening to gain in-depth understanding about residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and its development in HK instead of testing the hypotheses from existing theory. Hence, an interpretive paradigm is appropriate for this study as it enables the researcher to interpret the views and actual experiences of residents towards tourism development in HK. Moreover, numerous studies on residents' perceptions adopt the quantitative approach which provides limited understanding about the causes and phenomenon of residents' perceptions. In the Hong Kong context, the studies conducted by Ye et al. (2014), Gerard et al. (2016) and Wassler et al. (2018) adopt qualitative and mixed-method approaches. Considering the pros and cons of the two approaches, the objectives of this study and current research gaps identified, the qualitative approach, which is anchored in the phenomenological research philosophy,

would be more suitable for this research topic to explore the richer and deeper thoughts of HK residents towards tourism impacts and development.

In line with the philosophy of phenomenological research, inductive approach was adopted as the appropriate research tool owing to the insufficient in-depth application of SRT in the tourism field.

3.2 Research Design

‘A research design is the logic that links the data to be collected and the conclusions to be drawn to the initial research questions’ (Yin, 1994, p. 18). Research design denotes the general approach which relates different elements of a study in a reasonable way. It can be mainly categorised as descriptive, exploratory and explanatory (Yin, 1994).

Descriptive research design sets out to define the expected phenomenon which arises within the data in question. It describes an existing situation primarily relating to the researcher’s observation (Zainal, 2007). Exploratory research design sets out to discover any extraordinary phenomenon in the data which is a focus of the researcher (Zainal, 2007). Research questions concentrate on ‘what’ questions, and the goal is to develop pertinent hypothesis and propositions for further testing (Yin, 1994). This research design is commonly adopted when a researcher wishes to explore a new subject area or theory.

This study examines residents’ perceptions towards HK tourism development. An explanatory research design using qualitative approach was adopted to address the research problem and achieve the research objectives. The study also seeks to examine the factors influencing the formation of these perceptions. The researcher attempted to capture and explain the views and opinions of the local residents and, at the same time, those of other tourism stakeholders towards tourism impacts and tourism development in HK.

3.3 Hong Kong – the Case Study Context

From 1842 to 1997, HK was a British colony. On 1 July 1997, China resumed sovereignty under the ‘one country, two systems’ principle (The HKSAR Government, 2014). HK was officially named the ‘Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the

People's Republic of China'. It is located at the Pearl River estuary which flows into the South China Sea and is regarded as an autonomous territory on the southern coast of China. It has a population of 7.5 million living in an area of 1,105 square kilometres (0.01% area of the People's Republic of China) which covers HK Island, the Kowloon Peninsula and the New Territories, including 262 outlying islands (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2019).

Over the last 20 years, the HKSAR Government heavily invested in new tourism projects. These tourism development projects are now complete, and they include Hong Kong Disneyland, Hong Kong Wetland Park, Ngong Ping 360, Avenue of Stars, the world's largest light and sound show — 'A Symphony of Lights', Master Re-Development Plan for Ocean Park, Expansion of Hong Kong Disneyland and the Kai Tak Cruise Terminal. Ongoing and upcoming projects such as the Aberdeen Tourism Project and Ocean Park's Tai Shue Wan Development Project are currently in the pipeline.

In terms of tourist arrivals, Table 3.1 summarises the total tourist arrivals and the top five source markets from 2014 to 2019. Hong Kong's top five visitor source markets in 2019 in the order of arrival numbers were Mainland China, Taiwan, the United States, Japan and South Korea. Since the IVS was launched in 2003, Mainland China has continued to be the biggest source market for Hong Kong inbound tourism. Out of the total tourist arrivals of 55.9 million in 2019, only 37% stayed overnight in HK (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). Others were same-day visitors, many of whom just visited HK to shop daily goods and necessities instead of undertaking normal tourist activities. Among these same-day visitors are a group called parallel traders who have created numerous negative tourism impacts, such as crowding and congestion, rising costs of living and declining standard of living. Many residents felt that they have not benefited from tourism directly, thus leading to the negative perceptions of uneven distribution of economic benefits to the community. According to 'Research and Markets' in 2019, the China outbound tourism market is expected to reach US\$365 billion by 2025, with HK having the largest share of the total Chinese outbound tourists in 2018. HK's popularity among Mainland Chinese tourists will remain owing to its close geographic proximity. If HK still wants to benefit from the increasing number of Mainland Chinese tourists, then there is an urgent need to investigate the issue. A full investigation of all the issues, including the negative impacts brought about by tourism development in HK, should be fully addressed so that problems can be identified and hopefully resolved. Otherwise, the

perceived conflicts and concerns in the community will continue to grow and may have an adverse impact on tourist arrivals from Mainland China in upcoming years.

Table 3.1 Hong Kong’s Tourist Arrivals and Top Five Source Markets from 2014 to 2019

Origin of Tourists	2019	2018	2017	2016	2015	2014
Mainland China	43,774,685	51,038,230	44,445,259	42,778,145	45,842,360	47,247,675
Taiwan	1,538,915	1,925,234	2,010,755	2,011,428	2,015,797	2,031,883
South Korea	1,042,540	1,421,411	1,487,670	1,392,367	1,243,293	1,251,047
Japan	1,078,836	1,287,773	1,230,010	1,092,329	1,049,272	1,078,766
United States	1,107,165	1,304,232	1,215,629	1,211,539	1,181,024	1,130,566
Total	55,912,609	65,147,555	58,472,157	56,654,903	59,307,596	60,838,836

Source: Hong Kong Tourism Board (2020)

From September 2012 to August 2018, a number of protests were staged in the residential districts to fight against the crowding issues brought about by tourists. The protesters gathered in the main shopping malls in those districts and shouted slogans asking the Mainland Chinese tourists to return to China and not to shop in HK anymore. In some anti-Mainlanders campaigns, the protesters even named Mainland Chinese tourists as ‘locusts’. Such derogatory term is used by HK people to describe tourists from Mainland China who are widely perceived in HK as arrogant, noisy, rude, ignorant and greedy. Politically, Hong Kong has also undergone several large protests after the return of sovereignty to China since 1997. On 1 July 2003, 500,000 people took to the streets to protest against the Article 23 National Security Bill. For 79 days from 28 September to 15 December 2014, there was a big political movement called the Umbrella Revolution (雨傘運動) or Occupy Central Movement whereby the leaders mobilized around 50,000 demonstrators to carry out a mass sit-in to block the Central District to force Beijing to allow HK what they consider ‘genuine universal suffrage’ to elect the Chief Executive. In 2019, the HKSAR Government’s decision to amend the current Fugitive Offenders Ordinance on the pretext of the ongoing Chan Tong-kai murder case triggered more than one million citizens to protest against the Anti-Extradition Amendment Bill on 9 June 2019. This further escalated to two million citizens who took to the streets to protest against the amendment bill on 16 June 2019 (Duhalde & Huang, 2019). Recently, with the global outbreak of Coronavirus (Covid-19), Mainland China was blamed for being

the cause of the pandemic, and the HKSAR Government was criticised for not closing the border to/from China or from/to HK during the initial period of the pandemic so as to prevent Covid-19 from entering HK. Furthermore, with Beijing's enactment of HK's National Security Law on 30 June 2020, which criminalised acts of secession, subversion, terrorism and collusion with external forces has triggered more resentment towards the Chinese Central Government and even the resignation of a top foreign judge in the city's courts, further criticism from the United Nations and the suspension of a middle school pupil (Lau, 2020).

Obviously, the conflicts between HK people and the Chinese Central Government have deepened, and the tensions between HK residents and Mainlanders have intensified. These conflicts not only created further political disputes but have also generated more grievances from the local community towards the Chinese Central Government as well as the Mainlanders.

3.4 Positionality of the Researcher

In providing background and context as to why the researcher pursued this topic, indicating her positionality is pertinent. As a former immigrant from Mainland China in the 1980s, the researcher arrived in HK at a young age. She has been residing in HK for more than 30 years. Although born in Mainland China, she was raised, educated in local schools, and fully immersed in the HK culture. She experienced the return of sovereignty of HK to Mainland China in 1997. Therefore, she considers herself an 'external insider' in this study. The researcher is very keen to socialise and interact with tourists, so she decided to complete her undergraduate degree studies in Tourism Management. After completing her undergraduate studies, she worked in the tourism and event industry for a few years before pursuing her M.Phil. in Tourism Management. With the significant contribution of the tourism industry in HK's GDP, the researcher decided to take part in tourism education to contribute to the local community. Definitely, she is a supporter of the tourism industry because of her enthusiasm for the travel and tourism industry. In addition, her livelihood is fully dependent on this industry. As the researcher, she does not hate or harbour any strong negative perceptions towards Mainland Chinese tourists because she understands their culture. She tends to tolerate their rude, uncivilised or impolite behaviours in HK. However, the researcher does not support the HKSAR Government's focus primarily on the Mainland Chinese market and agrees that the government has much to do to achieve greater tourism sustainability in HK. Emotionally,

seeing the locals yelling at tourists and urging them to go back to China grieves the researcher. When she was young, tourists were happily greeted by locals, but the situation has changed and reversed nowadays. Numerous complaints and issues have arisen in the tourism industry. Owing to the researcher's personal interests, investigating how residents perceive the tourism impacts and development in HK is worthwhile. More importantly, understanding why residents form such perceptions is valuable. Hopefully, the worst situation in HK can be turned around so that a mutually beneficial situation can be achieved.

3.5 Research Methods

Little is known about how and why social representations are formed in a community, so a qualitative research approach was adopted. The methods used to collect data for this study were in-depth and focus group interviews. Document analysis and secondary data were used to capture any necessary and additional information to better understand the research problems. Boyce and Neale (2006) stated that an in-depth interview is useful when looking for detailed information about a person's thoughts and behaviours or exploring new issues in depth. In addition, personal observation was used to evaluate residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and development in HK. Personal observation was based on conversations with the residents and information from mass media (e.g. newspaper, social media and magazines). Focus group interview is a data collection technique involving in-depth group interviews in which interviewees are selected in a purposive manner. Although not necessarily representative, in sampling of a specific population, this group is 'focused' on a given topic (Rabiee, 2004; Thomas, MacMillan, McColl, Hale, & Bond, 1995). Focus group interview also offers the channel to understand how thoughts and meanings come up in a more true-to-life and interactive situation, thus leading to a more elaborative discussion and generation of ideas and thoughts.

In-depth and focus group interviews provided the findings of a research which were further triangulated by personal observation, document analysis and secondary data to fully understand residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and development in HK. Content analysis was employed to identify and deduce the findings from the interviews to answer the research questions.

3.5.1 Focus Group

Focus group interviews enable researchers to gain insights that ordinarily are not obtainable from individual interviews (Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015) which can then enhance data validity. Another benefit of focus group interviews is that group dynamics are involved, which can generate a deeper, richer form and range of data through the social interaction within the group (Thomas et al., 1995). Ideas and meanings emerge in a more naturalistic setting, thus producing more elaborate accounts. Therefore, two focus group discussions were conducted with students, some of whom were direct part-time employees in the tourism industry or had family members employed in tourism-related industries, whereas other student interviewees had no tourism dependency at all. HK students tend to be passive, and focus group discussions allow for more interactions and stimulation of ideas so as to generate more ideas and opinions towards the research topic. Students may not always be able to fully express themselves, so focus group interviews may be more appropriate to generate more meaningful findings by bombarding the interviewees with questions in a group setting. As some students from the focus groups also undertook tourism-related part-time jobs, this may also help in examining the influence of the 'tourism dependency' variable on their perceptions towards tourism. Moreover, interviewees' knowledge on tourism can be operationalised by having two focus groups, with one group of students studying tourism-related programmes and the other group studying non-tourism-related programmes.

Interviewees with similar social characteristics were arranged in a same group so that they could feel more comfortable chatting with one another (Richardson & Rabiee, 2001). The first focus group comprised six students studying tourism-related programmes, and the second focus group comprised seven students in non-tourism-related programmes. In total, four males and nine females participated in the focus group discussions. The responses of the 13 students were quite consistent which allowed the researcher to draw linkages and associations in the findings. Each focus group discussion lasts for almost 2 hours. No additional insights were gained after the two focus group discussions, so theoretical saturation was deemed to be reached.

3.5.2 In-depth Interviews

When conducting in-depth interviews, researchers usually employ either unstructured or semi-structured interviews. In this study, semi-structured interviews with HK residents were conducted to find out their perceptions towards tourism impacts and development

in HK. Creswell (1998) and Yin (2009) suggested that semi-structured interviews are preferable in qualitative case study research. Semi-structured interviews involve asking each interviewee a series of pre-determined open-ended questions with a few probing and follow-up questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The interview session lasted for 45 minutes to 2 hours. An interview guide with open-ended and probing questions was used during the interviews to ensure that they were efficiently and effectively carried out (Refer to Appendix I – Interview Guide). Semi-structured interviews allow researchers to observe interviewees' verbal cues, facial expressions and body language which can provide more useful information (Schiffman & Wisenblit, 2015). A one-on-one conversation can effectively prevent any distractions and possible influence from others. Semi-structured interviews also allow researchers to adopt a responsive interviewing style that enables flexibility in responding to the emerging thoughts and views of the interviewees. In short, semi-structured interviews allow for extended conversations between researcher and interviewee (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). The disadvantages of in-depth interviews are time consuming and only work well with small sample size (Yin, 1994). Considering the objective of the present research, conducting in-depth interviews was a good approach to obtain the required information from the above-mentioned tourism stakeholders labelled as residents. Such an interview is also regarded as the most appropriate method for in-depth probing of personal feelings, opinions and beliefs, and it can be useful at uncovering hidden issues. All interviewees except students were interviewed using the in-depth interview method to provide more meaningful insights into the research questions.

Two pilot studies were included in the main research, and all the questions in the pilot interview guide were mostly retained for the main research. The changes made included moving the questions about perceptions and attitude towards tourists to Part I – Perceptions towards Tourism and its Impacts in Hong Kong at the beginning of the interviews instead of Part III – Influence of Three Sources of Information (Direct experience, Social interaction and Media). In addition, the questions asking perceptions towards tourism impacts on community and residents were combined into one question. The researcher was aware of the possible contamination of including the pilot interviews into the main research. The changes after the pilot study were minimal though and did not interfere the interviewees' findings. Moreover, the two interviewees cross-checked the transcripts by providing member checking afterwards to confirm their thoughts and views.

3.5.3 *Sampling Design and Strategy*

Purposive or judgment sampling is regarded as the most suitable sampling approach for this study. It is considered one of the most cost- and time-effective sampling methods available. In addition, it is effective in exploring anthropological situations where the discovery of meaning can be achieved (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2012). According to Yin (2011, p. 122), ‘the samples are likely to be chosen in a deliberate manner known as purposive sampling, and the goal or purpose for selecting the specific study units is to have those that will yield the most relevant and plentiful data, given your topic of study’. Interviewees were selected depending on the judgment of the researcher if they can provide rich and meaningful sharing of the research topic (Levine, Berenson, & Stephan, 1999). That is, purposive sampling targets to source the most suitable interviewees with particular knowledge about the research topic (But & Ap, 2017). As a non-probability design is used, study findings are not generalised to the mass population but are utilised to provide the researcher a snapshot of the phenomenon (Tongco, 2007).

With reference to Jones, Torres and Arminio (2006), setting up criteria for sampling is crucial which include associated characteristics, variables, qualities and even demographics that are most relevant to research objectives to create a resourceful sample set. Various stakeholders were included to help identify the perception of similarity or dissimilarity of each research component. These differences can provide crucial information to formulate appropriate strategies for future tourism development in HK. After establishing the sampling criteria, the researcher considered how to access the interviewees who meet the set criteria. The sample of the in-depth interviews included residents with and without economic dependency on tourism, residents from highly affected districts, policy makers and residents with different perceived sub-ethnicities. Specifically, the sample included one tourism scholar; one non-tourism scholar; one locally born Hongkonger; one self-identified ethnically ‘Chinese’; one employee working in a tourism retail company; one elected representative and tourism executive; one district councillor from an affected district; three residents from Tuen Mun, Tung Chung and Mong Kok and one anti-Mainlander campaign protest organiser. For the focus groups, six to seven students with and without economic dependency on tourism were invited. Students from various disciplines were also invited to ensure they had different backgrounds. The rationale of sampling interviewees should align with the research aim

and objectives. To control possible bias and enhance validity, snowball sampling was also used (But & Ap, 2017) to reach the target sample easily.

Considering the time and cost of collecting data for this research, a purposeful snowball sampling strategy was used to recruit interviewees. Interviewees were asked to identify other possible interviewees who can provide meaningful insights to achieve the research objectives. The interviewees possessed different profiles in terms of sub-ethnic identity, community attachment, proximity to tourism areas and overall life satisfaction to identify the influence of these factors in forming social representations towards tourism. According to Saunders et al. (2012), the advantage of this sampling strategy is finding relevant interviewees who can provide rich information for the research in a relatively short period. The subjectivity and non-probability-based nature of unit selection may affect the theoretical and logical generalisation of the data and contribute to high level of bias though.

Interviewees were asked for their willingness to participate in this research and were invited for in-depth individual interviews. Younger interviewees were invited to the focus group sessions which lasted for 1.5 to 2 hours. The interview sites (researcher's office, meeting room at the researcher's institution and interviewees' clubhouses) were mutually agreed upon by the interviewees and researcher with no third-party interference.

3.5.4 Theoretical Saturation

The decision on sampling size was related to the concept of saturation. 'Sampling ceased when categorical and theoretical saturation was achieved' (Marshall, 1998, p. 442). The theory of saturation refers to the point where further increase in the sample size will not generate additional information for the researcher. Marshall (1998) identified a saturation theory which stresses that the researcher can make the decision to terminate the sampling process once the themes or categories have become saturated. Sampling can be stopped when redundancy is reached, that is, no newer information is obtained from the new sampled units (Yin, 2009). In the present research, the saturation of data was reached when the researcher interviewed 10 interviewees and 13 focus group interviewees with no additional new insights discovered.

3.6 Data Collection

Data collection was conducted via in-depth and focus group interviews which allow for structure and flexibility. An in-depth interview guide and focus group discussion guide (see Appendices I and II) were formulated to structure the data collection process. During interview, the interviewees were given the opportunity to express their thoughts on a given matter and share feelings about the issues. The ‘shared feelings’ are not to be taken too literally though as some interviewees may tend to convey too much of their personal stories and shift away from the research topic. From time to time, the researcher had to control and re-direct the focus of the interview and return to the path of relevant data collection. Finally, interviewees were asked to complete a brief biographical sketch containing information such as gender, age group, work position, department and work experience. Interviewees were asked their preferred language of interview at the beginning of the interviews. Both Chinese and English interview guides were prepared in advance. The freely expressed perceptions and opinions of the residents were recorded and transcribed to text transcripts in English. The transcripts were subsequently examined using content analysis and text encoding to provide further explanations as to how and why such perceptions are developed.

3.6.1 Research Instrument: Interview Guide

Interview guides were prepared for this study (see Appendices I and II). The interview guide includes all questions and issues to be discussed during the interview. This interview guide also helps adopt a standardised and systematic process in the semi-structured interview and focus groups. This facilitates the researcher to raise important questions during the interviews. The questions in the interview guide are either open-ended or probing/follow-up questions. Interviewees were first asked with open-ended questions for them to freely express their views. These questions may prompt the interviewees to produce elaborative and informative answers. However, at some point even open-ended questions may only prompt dichotomous answers, leading the interviewees to reply with a simple ‘Yes’ or ‘No’. Therefore, preparing and following up with a probing question is important as doing so may keep the interview moving along and guide the interviewees to provide more meaningful insights.

The interview guides for in-depth and focus group interviews are almost the same. They consist of five parts, namely, Part I – Perceptions towards Tourism and its Impacts in Hong Kong, Part II – Factors Influencing Perceptions to Tourism, Part III – Influence of

Three Sources of Information, Part IV – Overall Comments to Development of Tourism in Hong Kong and Part V – Demographic Information. Part I begins by asking interviewees about the meanings of ‘tourism’ and ‘tourism development’ to evaluate their understanding of tourism. The meaning of ‘tourism development’ in this research context was then provided. The following questions are about the interviewees’ general perceptions towards development of tourism in HK and their perceptions about different tourists in HK and the impacts of tourism in different aspects. The four aspects were the most commonly used categories of impacts which are economic impacts, socio-cultural impacts, environmental impacts and crowding and congestion impacts (Ap, 1992). Interviewees’ level of support for tourism was sought as the ending question in this part. Part II asks interviewees for their opinions if any factors influence how they view tourism in HK. Further probing questions coach them to consider the impacts of ethnic identity, proximity to tourism areas and overall life satisfaction in influencing their formation of social representations. Part III asks if interviewees have any encounter or daily interaction with tourists, any discussions about tourism or tourist-related topics or are exposed to any media about the tourism phenomenon in HK. Part IV solicits interviewees’ comments on the overall performance of HK tourism and their trust in the HKSAR Government, recommendations and concerns for further developing tourism in HK. Finally, interviewees’ demographic information such as age group, gender, educational level, monthly household income, nationality, economic dependency on tourism, length of residency, work and residential district are asked. Research question 2 intends to examine how the various factors of (a) sub-ethnic identity, (b) community attachment (operationalised by economic dependency and length of residency), (c) proximity to tourism areas, (d) overall life satisfaction, (e) demographic variables, (f) knowledge of tourism and (g) trust in government affect the perceptions of residents towards tourism impacts in HK. Relevant questions are embedded in Parts II, IV and V.

3.6.2 Pilot Study

Yin (2009, p. 79) stated that the pilot study is ‘formative’ in helping clarify the conceptual design of the research as well as particular research questions formulated to conduct the semi-structured interviews. In addition, the pilot study assists the researcher to improve the logistical flow of the interview instrument and further clarify the issue of how to categorise data and provides the researcher preliminary analysis, outcomes and additional insights into the research. The pilot study with two colleagues from the researcher’s institution was carried out in late July and early August 2018 lasting 1 to 1.5

hours to ensure it can obtain the required data for the research as well as the practicality of the data collection method and the interview questions. After the pilot study, the interview questions were improved by shifting the sequence of some questions to allow a more logical flow. For example, the attitudes towards tourists were asked at the beginning instead of the middle of the data collection. To build the trust with interviewees, easier and generic questions were asked to start off the in-depth interviews. Some questions were also streamlined to avoid repetition. Impacts on community and those on residents were combined as interviewees basically provided similar responses to these two questions. Seeing that there were only minor amendments in the pilot study, the findings from the two pilot studies were included in the main research because the two interviewees met the sampling criteria of this study, which is one locally born non-tourism-related resident and one migrated Chinese in HK from Mainland China 10 years ago. The contamination of including these two samples is considered minimal.

3.6.3 Documents

Documents including government information, reports, newspapers and websites were also used to provide additional information for this research. These secondary sources provide a means to capture and confirm the insights of reality which also provide a means of cross-checking information received through the semi-structured and focus group interviews. Media clippings from *South China Morning Post*, an internationally renowned and trustworthy English newspaper in HK were used for triangulation purposes and for reducing the possibility that conclusions reflect systematic limitations or biases of a particular method or source. Secondary sources also enable researchers to have more extensive and more secure comprehension of the issues (Maxwell, 2004).

3.7 Data Analysis

Content analysis was used to identify themes and patterns of the collected data through a systematic classification of coding (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). When analysing the data, both manifest and latent content analysis were used. With manifest content analysis, elements physically present or countable were included. This type of content analysis mainly relies on counting and on the frequencies of a specific word or phrase in a written text (Potter & Levine-Donnerstein, 1999). Latent content analysis can find out the hidden information or alternative meanings of the words and the phrases. Silence, sighs, laughter and posture are all observed and noted in latent content analysis (Elo & Kyngas, 2008).

Both manifest and latent content analyses were used to achieve a more holistic and comprehensive analysis of the data to provide meaningful insights into the research.

Moreover, inductive content analysis was employed to generate the initial categories from the data. Alongside the inductive-oriented approach, deductive content analysis was used to re-test existing relationships between various factors and residents' perceptions towards tourism in a new context. The theoretical framework and literature review were used as well to compare and revise the categories from the data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

3.7.1 Process

At the beginning of the data analysis, the researcher listened to the audio recordings several times to become familiar with the data. The audio data were then transcribed word-by-word in Chinese/English in verbatim. Transcribed data were read several times and followed and reconfirmed by interviewees through member checking to clarify the final data. Selected scripts were then back translated from English to Cantonese to identify if there are major discrepancies or differences between the original transcript and back-translated transcript. This was to ensure that the transcripts had a high degree of consistency during the translation process and contained no misinterpretation of interviewees' opinions. Some clarifications of terms and language use were sought from the interviewees, translator and interviewer. This mechanism ensures the validity and trustworthiness of the data collection process. No issues arose or were identified. After this, the researcher coded the transcripts. Codes were then sorted for different categories which rely on previous studies. The texts were coded and then aggregated into categories and further formed into a smaller number of themes.

3.7.2 Coding

Establishing a coding system for the data is essential for analysing the data. According to different research objectives, the researcher created coding categories and attached them to different parts of the interview transcripts so as to classify words or phrases from interviewees which were then grouped into different themes and sub-themes (Ng, 2014b). According to Yin (2011, p. 187), the aim of coding is to 'move methodically to a slightly higher conceptual level'. Open coding is the primary step of analysing the data based on the meaning of the initial codes and maintaining the spirit of the original wordings (i.e. keeping the words in their original form) (Ng, 2014b). According to Burnard (1991), data analysis takes place through an iterative process which includes three steps: (1) reduce

complexity by identifying categories, themes and concepts, (2) display data, i.e. organising the respective data according to specific themes and categories ('ideograph') and (3) draw conclusions from data by persistently comparing collected data against other data and within cases.

Two major strategies for coding to achieve various research objectives were adopted. Firstly, the coding procedure involved reading the data word-for-word, assigning labels for codes that emerged from more than one idea. Codes were then sorted into categories based on the association between codes. Secondly, inductive content analysis started the coding process immediately and deductively with the pre-determined codes. Data not being coded were extracted and then analysed later to derive any new category or subcategory of an existing code (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

3.7.3 Categorising

The next stage of data analysis is to categorise the data into main categories and sub-categories. The rationale of categorising the data is to provide a sensible description of the occurrence and construct understanding of the topic. In accordance with Elo and Kyngas (2008), inductive content analysis was used to organise the qualitative data which includes open coding, creating categories and abstraction. Creating categories is not only arranging similar and related observations together but also grouping the data in comparison between data and other observations that do not belong to the same category. Generating categories can bring up the conceptual capability of the analysis from descriptive level to a more theoretical level (Ng, 2014b). The categories were developed based on the research objectives and literature review. Abstraction is to formulate a general description of the research topic by creating categories, subcategories with similar contents are grouped together as main categories (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Grouping data is to identify similarities and dissimilarities among the categories by reducing the number of categories. In this research, this procedure was combined initially with inductive analysis followed by deductive content analysis. The researcher read precisely through the categories several times and looked for different methods to categorise the data at the same time. The process ended when the finalised categorisations were derived.

A grounded theory approach was adopted to analyse the data by using constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory involves four stages: open coding,

focused coding, categorising and theory building (Lepp, 2008). Grounded theory approach allows a constant comparison between the cases and the context in which they are situated, a procedure that ultimately enables the theory development. Open codes were used and reduced to one single word or phrases from the recorded text. After examining few interviews, a large amount of data were sorted out as focused coding. With constant comparison of different results of the focused coding, the focused coding was generated. Sample taking and analysis ended when no new information was found (i.e. saturated). The final themes and categories of the data were then determined.

3.8 Trustworthiness

To ensure the rigor of qualitative findings, a researcher has to consider the importance of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Shenton, 2004).

Credibility refers to the level of confidence that the research findings are true (Macnee & McCabe, 2008). The credibility strategies for this research include triangulation and member checks. Triangulation was accomplished by asking the same questions to different interviewees, collecting data from different sources and using a combination of methods to answer the research questions (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Jones et al. (2006) suggested the triangulation strategy to ensure the interpretations are trustworthy includes using multiple methods to confirm findings. Therefore, the researcher utilised various ways such as interviews, census data and tourism data as well as documents to validate the findings. A triangulation strategy also reduces the possibility that conclusions reflect the systematic limitations or biases of a particular method or source and enables researchers to obtain more extensive and secure comprehension of the issues (Maxwell, 2004). By adopting different methods in this research, limitations of individual methods can be compensated. Documents, mainly from the *South China Morning Post* were sourced to cross-check and provide additional information for this research. The Chinese media, such as *Apple Daily*, *Oriental Daily News*, *Ta Kung Pao*, *Sing Tao Daily* and *Ming Pao*, were excluded from the triangulation as they are known to have bias in reporting and are commented on as either anti-China or pro-China (Yu, 2014). The trustworthiness of the Chinese media is therefore questionable. Social media such as WeChat or Facebook were not used as well because the posts are mainly private. The researcher cannot access posts published by personal users. By contrast, YouTube videos

can be accessed by public, and so relevant videos about Mainland Chinese tourists were used for triangulation purposes.

In addition, member checks were performed to improve the quality of qualitative data. Interviewees were asked to review the data collected and its interpretation by the researcher. After data analysis, the selected interviewees were given a chance to verify their responses and permitted to fill in any gaps from the completed interviews.

Transferability is about the ability to generalise the study findings to other contexts with other interviewees (Bitsch, 2005). To address this issue, purposive sampling emphasising specific and varied information instead of generalised and summative information was used in this research. Purposive sampling was performed by selecting individuals based on the particular purpose of the research (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). In this study, interviewees with different socio-demographic profiles, such as gender, income, educational level, occupation and economic dependency on tourism, were chosen to participate in the in-depth interviews. Moreover, students with different levels of knowledge of tourism were selected to join the focus group interviews.

Bitsch (2005, p. 86) refers to dependability as 'the stability of findings over time'. Dependability identifies with the appropriateness and the quality of the inquiry procedure (Neuman, 2006). It utilises strategies to show if the exploration can be re-hashed in a similar setting and strategy created by the earlier researcher have the capacity to determine same findings and discussions when conducting a similar research once more (Yin, 2009). To accomplish this, the researcher ought to guarantee a reliable, sensibly steady process during the data collection and analysis (Jones et al., 2006). Therefore, reporting the process of generating results in great detail is crucial to enable future researchers to repeat the work (Shenton, 2004). To uphold the dependability of this study, all information collected was video-recorded. Furthermore, a case study protocol containing the interview guide, procedures and general rules to conduct another data collection can increase the dependability of this study.

Confirmability refers to the extent to which the findings are confirmed or substantiated by other researchers (Baxter & Eyles, 1997) which is achieved through triangulation, careful research design and testing the interview guide with a pilot study. The justifications for choosing the qualitative approach rather than the quantitative approach

were provided, and weaknesses of each technique were acknowledged and recognised. Moreover, the interview guide was tested with a pilot study and further modified for the actual data collection. Findings from interviews were further triangulated with newspaper articles as well as government and tourism statistics. Confirmability also relates to objectivity of the data interpretations (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). Therefore, direct quotations from the interviewees were provided to confirm the conformability of the results.

3.9 Research Ethics

Ethical issues were taken into consideration during the entire research process in accordance with Heriot Watt University's code of practice. In accordance with Jones et al. (2006, p. 155), 'confidentiality refers to the treatment of information that an individual has knowingly disclosed in a research relationship with an expectation that this information will not be disclosed to unauthorized parties without consent'. The confidentiality of the responses and interviewees' information, transparency and their consent need to be considered. Interviewees were well informed of the research purpose and objectives which were included in the introduction of the interview. The interviewees were welcomed for their co-operation and willingness to be interviewed with no incentive during the interview, and they could stop the interview whenever they wanted. To maintain the confidentiality of the interviewees, their identities were concealed with special codes such, as 'R1', 'R2', 'R3' and so on, assigned for each interviewee's audio recording and transcript. When the information is presented in the findings, no interviewee identity is disclosed to readers. To ensure further confidentiality of the data, the researcher is the main individual with access to the collected data which are secured with a password.

Moreover, confidentiality and anonymity were addressed and covered through the informed consent statement signed by all interviewees (see Appendix III). It was distributed to interviewees before the interview to inform them about the research objectives, gain consent to use their data for research purposes and advise how confidentiality of their identity and data would be maintained. Interviewees were able to freely express their feelings, opinions and insights during the data collection process.

3.10 Concluding Remarks

This chapter begins with explanations and justifications for the chosen research paradigm, followed by explaining and rationalising the adoption of the qualitative research approach and chosen research methods of using in-depth and focus groups interviews. The data analysis process in deriving codes, categories and themes as well as ways to maintain the trustworthiness of qualitative data are discussed. Last but not least, the ethical considerations of this research in relation to the confidentiality issue of the interviewees and data are presented.

CHAPTER 4 - FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter is divided into eight parts and presents the findings from the in-depth and focus group interviews of this research. The data were coded and analysed with the assistance of NVivo 12.0, a qualitative data analysis software package. Findings and discussions are presented conjointly in this chapter owing to the natural closeness of the data. The researcher presents the factual information or, if necessary, direct quotes from the interviewees which are then followed by discussion. Apart from these, previous studies, documents such as newspaper articles and secondary data are integrated in the discussion which also enables triangulation. The discussion includes (1) interpretation of the findings which address the research questions, (2) analysis of interview data against previous literature and (3) triangulation of the data with personal observation, documents and secondary data to increase the interpretative element of this chapter.

4.1 Profile of Interviewees

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 present the demographic profile of the research interviewees. The 10 interviewees (R1 to R10) provided insightful comments and opinions from different perspectives so that the researcher can gain a deeper understanding about how and why their social representations emerged and developed. The specific profile of the 10 interviewees is presented in Table 4.1, and the student interviewees in the focus groups are listed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.1 Profile of In-depth Interview Interviewees

Participant number	Gender	Age Group	Educational Level	Income (HK\$)	Economic Dependent on Tourism	Remarks
R1	Female	40–44	Degree course	\$100,000 or above	No	Local-born Hongkonger
R2	Male	40–44	Degree course	\$40,000–59,999	Yes	Ethnic Chinese, who has resided in HK for 10 years
R3	Male	50–54	Degree course	\$80,000–\$99,999	No	Overseas national, who has resided in HK for 20 years
R4	Male	60 or above	Primary and below	\$4,000–\$7,999	No	Retiree, born in China
R5	Male	40–44	Sub-degree course	\$30,000–39,999	No	Protestor and organizer, Anti-Mainlander Campaign
R6	Male	40–44	Diploma/Certificate	\$30,000–39,999	No	District Councillor from one of the heavily affected district
R7	Male	50–54	Upper Secondary	\$80,000–\$99,999	Yes	Inflight service manager, HK based airline
R8	Male	60 or above	Upper Secondary	\$100,000 or above	Yes	An elected representative and tourism executive
R9	Female	40–44	Upper Secondary	\$40,000–\$59,999	Yes	Salesperson, tourism retail company
R10	Female	40–44	Degree course	\$60,000–\$79,999	No	Housewife, living in Tung Chung (heavily affected district)

Table 4.2 Profile of Focus Group Student Interviewees

Participant Code	Gender	Age Group	Educational Level	Economic Dependent on Tourism	Sub-Ethnicity
<i>Tourism-Related Focus Group</i>					
Participant A	M	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger
Participant C	F	20–24	Degree course	Yes	Hongkonger
Participant F	M	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger
Participant J	M	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger
Participant R	M	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger in China
Participant S	F	20–24	Degree course	Yes	Chinese
<i>Non-Tourism-Related Focus Group</i>					
Participant A	F	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger
Participant B	F	20–24	Degree course	Yes	Hongkonger
Participant C	F	20–24	Degree course	Yes	Hongkonger
Participant D	F	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger in China
Participant E	F	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger
Participant F	F	20–24	Degree course	Yes	Hongkonger
Participant G	F	20–24	Degree course	No	Hongkonger

To gather more views from interviewees in different age groups, 13 undergraduate students from the researcher's institution were selected to form two focus-groups. One group named the 'tourism-related focus group' (TFG) comprised six students studying programmes relating to event, hotel or tourism industry. Another group named the 'non-tourism-related focus group' (NTFG) comprised seven students studying various business programmes.

4.2 Data Analysis

This section presents the coding frame resulting from the open coding. Table 4.3 presents the concepts used to classify expressions of the interviews into 'units of meaning'. The first column portrays theme, categories and sub-categories. The categories contribute to groups of codes that can be linked together based up the research questions.

After coding and analysing the interview transcripts using NVivo, six main themes were drawn, which are (A) residents' background knowledge about tourism, (B) opinions about Hong Kong tourism and tourism development, (C) perceived tourism impacts, (D) factors influencing perception, (E) level of support for tourism and (F) influence of three information sources on forming social representations. Table 4.3 lists six main themes including a total of 24 categories and the corresponding sub-categories.

Table 4.3 Coding System Structure

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Categories</i>	<i>Sub-Categories</i>
A. Understanding or Knowledge about Tourism	A1. Good understanding A2. Basic understanding A3. Limited understanding	
B. Opinions about Hong Kong (HK) Tourism and Tourism Development	B1. Perceptions about HK tourism and tourism development	B1.1 Imbalanced source market B1.2 Induced negative impacts from parallel-traders B1.3 Over-abundance of tourists B1.4 Antiquated direction for development B1.5 Inherent problems between Mainland China and HK
C. Perceived Tourism Impacts	C1. Economic Impacts	<i>C1.1 Negative Economic Impacts</i> EN1 Drives up the cost of living EN2 Increased shop rental EN3 Uneven distribution of economic benefits EN4 Poor destination image of HK
		<i>C1.2 Positive Economic Impacts</i> EP1 More jobs EP2 More business revenue EP3 Develop local economy EP4 Impact on tourism industry EP5 Increased income EP6 More tax income
	C2. Socio-cultural Impacts	<i>C2.1 Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts</i> SCN1 Impact on residents' lives SCN2 Local resentment SCN3 Effect on physical cityscape

		<p>SCN4 Community conflicts SCN5 Deteriorating service quality SCN6 Inappropriate or uncivilised tourists' behaviours SCN7 Weaken our local culture</p> <p><i>C2.2 Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts</i> SCP1 Cultural exchange SCP2 More dining and shopping choices SCP3 Enhance cohesiveness among residents SCP4 Energise destination or community SCP5 Relieve poverty problem SCP6 Preserve local heritage and museums SCP7 Enhance language competency</p>
	<p>C3. Environmental Impacts</p>	<p><i>C3.1 Negative Environmental Impacts</i> ENN1 More littering ENN2 Pollution ENN3 Poor hygiene ENN4 Sharing of resources ENN5 Traffic congestion ENN6 Destruction of ecological environment</p> <p><i>C3.2 Positive Environmental Impacts</i> ENP1 Enhanced awareness of conservation ENP2 More infrastructure</p>

	C4. Crowding and Congestion Impacts	C4.1 Crowding in public transportation and everywhere C4.2 Crowding in residential districts C4.3 Feelings and emotions C4.4 Positive responses
D. Factors influencing Perceptions	D1. Sub-ethnic Identity	D1.1 Chinese in HK D1.2 Hongkonger D1.3 Others D1.4 Relationship between Sub-ethnic Identity (SEI) and Perception (P)
	D2. Community Attachment	D2.1 Economic dependency on tourism D2.2 Length of residency in HK
	D3. Proximity to Tourism Area	D3.1 Home proximity D3.2 Work proximity
	D4. Overall Life Satisfaction	
	D5. Demographic Variables	D5.1 Educational level D5.2 Age D5.3 Gender D5.4 Level of income
	D6. Knowledge of Tourism	
	D7. Trust in the HKSAR Government	
	D8. Type and Origin of tourists	
	D9. Attitude to Tourists	D9.1 Attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists D9.2 Attitude towards tourists from other countries
E. Level of Support	D1. Unconditional support D2. Conditional support D3. Neutral D4. Do not support	
F. Influence of 3 Sources of Social Representations	F1. Direct Experience	F1.1 Direct contact with tourists F1.2 No direct contact with tourists
	F2. Social Interaction	F2.1 Discussion about Mainland tourists' misbehaviour

		F2.2 Discussion about the current tourism development
		F2.3 Never talk about tourism
	F3. Media	F3.1 Social media F3.2 Trustworthiness

4.3 Interviewees' Understanding or Knowledge about Tourism

This part presents the interviewees' background information, which seeks to identify their level of knowledge about tourism. The first interview questions asked interviewees about their knowledge and understanding of 'tourism' and 'tourism development'. After the interviewees' initial response, a generic definition and explanation were then given to ensure that all interviewees understood these concepts before starting the interviews. The number of interviewees possessing good, basic and limited understanding about tourism were almost equal.

4.3.1 Good Understanding

Interviewees studying for their bachelor's degree in tourism-related business programmes and those who have power to influence decision making of government had deeper understanding about what 'tourism' and 'tourism development' are. They recognised the positive and negative impacts brought about by tourism. They also realised the differences of inbound and outbound tourism, who were the different tourism stakeholders and what was tourism strategy and policy.

Tourism development not only means the tourism industry itself, but also means the impacts it brings to the community. (... ..) For HK, its economy has been well developed and its core business is service industry. It may develop tourism to bring 'ripple effect' to other sectors of service industry. Tourism development depends on the needs of each city.

(Interviewee 8)

4.3.2 Basic Understanding

Interviewees who gained exposure to the tourism industry by employment or they attained a higher level of education possessed basic understanding about what 'tourism'

and ‘tourism development’ are. Their understanding encompassed the economic contribution and social costs of tourism to the community, tourism, and travel as well as local transportation and attractions.

Tourism is about leaving the country that you think is comfortable for you and go to another place for fun. For example, experience other cultures and visit relatives. This is the purpose of tourism.

(Interviewee G, NTFG)

4.3.3 Poor Understanding

Few interviewees had only limited understanding about tourism which may be due to their limited exposure to tourism (such as not directly employed in tourism sector), limited educational level or non-tourism major. Their understanding about tourism was simply about ‘travel’, ‘money’, ‘shopping’ and ‘sightseeing’. They rarely mentioned deeper implications of tourism, such as impacts, resources, policy and strategies.

Interviewees from the non-tourism focus group viewed tourism as to ‘*go abroad for fun*’, ‘*tourism includes consumption*’ and ‘*it’s about making money*’.

‘Tourism is about tourists visit HK for shopping and sightseeing in HK. (... ..) Tourism development means additional income to the country and impacts on the country’.

(Interviewee 9)

As mentioned in the literature review, interviewees’ level of tourism knowledge has been demonstrated to relate to perceptions about tourism impacts. The discussions may be drawn in Section 4.5.6 (p. 168) about factors influencing perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development in HK.

4.4 Residents' Perceptions towards the Tourism Impacts of Hong Kong and the Level of Support for Tourism Development

This section presents the findings for the perceived impacts brought about by tourism development in HK and their level of support for tourism development. To rationalise their reasons for support or opposition for tourism development, residents' perceptions about the tourism development in HK were also investigated to provide a more holistic review of this research.

4.4.1 Perceived Economic Impacts

The majority of the interviewees perceived this category of impacts positively because of the increased number of job opportunities, more business revenue and development of the local economy. The sub-categories of positive and negative economic impacts are presented in Figure 4.1.

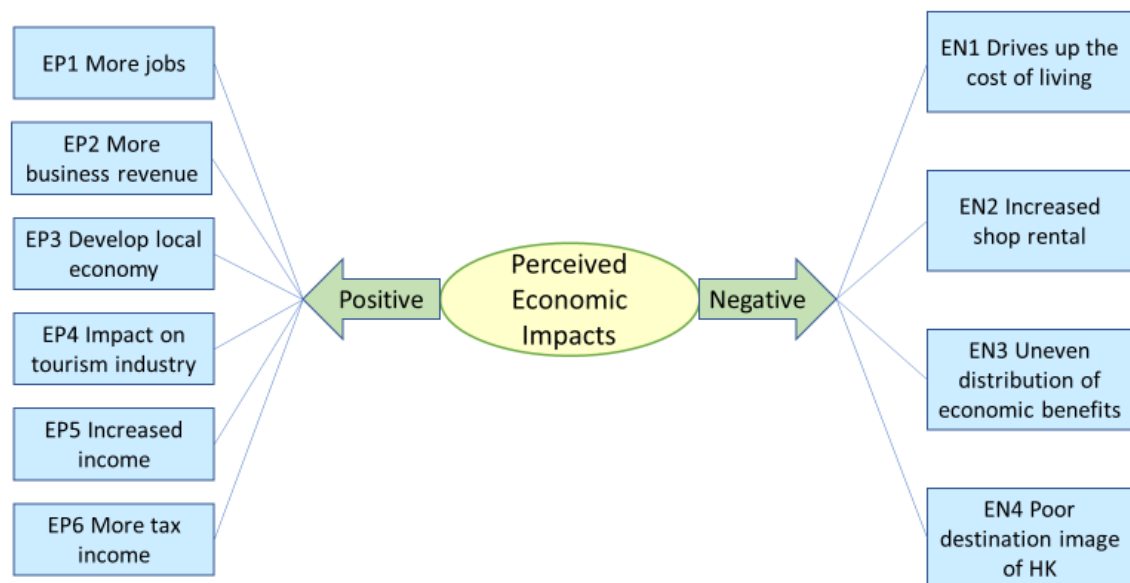


Figure 4.1 Perceived Economic Impacts

Source: Author

Most of the interviewees admitted that tourism brings more positive economic impacts to the community than negative impacts. Six (6) positive and four (4) negative economic impacts were cited. There were 60 text units and 26 text units associated with positive and negative economic impacts, respectively. The breakdown of the frequency of economic impacts is presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Perceived Economic Impacts with Frequency of Text Units

Positive Economic Impacts	Freq. count of text units	Negative Economic Impacts	Freq. count of text units
EP1 More jobs	16	EN1 Drives up the cost of living	16
EP2 More business revenue	14	EN2 Increased shop rental	4
EP3 Develop local economy	14	EN3 Uneven distribution of economic benefits	3
EP4 Impact on tourism industry	11	EN4 Poor destination image of Hong Kong	3
EP5 Increased income	4		
EP6 More tax income	1		
Total	60	Total	26

4.4.1.1 Positive Economic Impacts

In terms of most cited positive economic impacts, EP1 – More jobs, EP2 – More business revenue, EP3 – Develop local economy and EP4 – Impact on tourism industry were mentioned by most interviewees. Interviewee 2 pointed out that some shops in HK are tourism-driven. Tourism brought more revenue to business operators and more income to the local community. Interviewee 9 mentioned the ripple effect of tourism. With tourists, hotel rooms are occupied which leads to increased income for hotel staff. Eventually, the staff can further spend this money back to the community. Hence, the benefits brought about by tourism are not single layered, but multiple layered. However, Interviewee 3 acknowledged the job opportunities, but he criticised that those jobs were mostly low-skilled positions.

I think the effect of tourism has been largely negative. Of course, you can argue that it has created a large number of jobs for people but those tend to be low-skilled jobs, e.g. people working in retail or people working in low skill jobs in hotels. I am not sure that has been a good thing for the HK economy overall.

(Interviewee 3)

He doubted about the contribution of these job positions to the HK economy. Baum (2015) as well as Baum and Hai (2020) also found that residents perceived the tourism industry offers low wages and low-grade positions in the community. Nevertheless, offering low-skilled positions not only solves the poverty problem in a destination but also helps distribute the economic benefits evenly to the community. Many interviewees also admitted the positive economic impacts on tourism industry (EP4) such as increased tourism receipts, increased hotel rates and increased tourist arrivals. Interviewee 8

considered the tourism development would enhance HK's destination image as Pearl of the Orient. These are some commonly mentioned benefits brought about by tourism.

4.4.1.2 Negative Economic Impacts

Four main negative economic impacts were identified, namely, EN1 – Drives up the cost of living, EN2 – Increased shop rental, EN3 – Uneven distribution of economic benefits and EN4 – Poor destination image of HK.

More than half of the in-depth and focus group interviewees criticised the adverse negative impact of tourists on the locals' living by driving up the cost of living in HK. EN1 was the most cited negative impact as it directly affected their daily life and quality of life. Interviewees C and D pointed out the high inflation rate leading to the increased price of goods. The increased price of goods affected residents' lives.

'This (Tourism) has led to the serious inflation problems. The high spending power of the Mainlanders actually raises the price of goods in HK'.

(Interviewee D, NTFG)

A housewife (Interviewee 10) living in the Tung Chung District with a high intensity of tourists in her community also complained about the increased expenses on dining and daily marketing because of the Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewee 7 further raised the issue of expensive property prices mainly due to the influx of Mainland Chinese tourists, and this was echoed by student interviewee E from the NTFG.

'Price levels are rising, it is difficult to purchase homes, and daily necessities are sold out'.

(Interviewee E, NTFG)

The economic costs mentioned by interviewees were context specific. Property prices in HK have always been on the high side when compared with those in other countries. Many people are squeezed into the small geographic area of HK which results in pushing up the value of the land in HK. Recently, property prices in HK have gone outrageous. The youth and young adults have no hope to purchase any property in the future. Moreover, HK people are very property-oriented, and they believe that everyone must

have a ‘shelter’. Rising property prices in HK is not solely due to the tourism but also other relevant factors such as the limited supply and high demand of land as well as the values of HK people. As for supply, many Mainlanders come to HK to purchase property for migration or investment purposes. As the supply of available properties decreases, the price increases. Earlier studies (e.g. Fredline, 2002; Liu, Yang, & Chau, 2020; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011a; Paramati & Roca, 2019) find that tourism leads to a rise in housing prices. Thus, when tourism develops and grows at a destination, it brings more tourist arrivals which leads to an appreciation of housing value and cost of living.

According to ‘Living cost in Hong Kong’ (2020), the average cost of living in HK was ranked third in the world with \$9,253 as monthly expenses per person in 2018. In 2020, HK was ranked first together with Singapore and Osaka as the cities with highest cost of living around the world (‘Hong Kong living cost’, 2020). High inflation rate leads to price hike of goods not only in the tourist districts but also in some residential districts. The increased price of goods affects residents’ lives. The perception on inflation problem was common in many communities, and it is consistent with the findings from earlier research (Andriotis & Voughan, 2003; Gursoy et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013). Previous literature also well recognises that tourism raises the prices of goods and services, raises property values and housing prices and increases cost of living which were reported by the interviewees in this study as well. With all these, numerous interviewees indicated that their standard of living has deteriorated. If interviewees did not benefit from tourism, these negative economic impacts would be noticeable.

Four interviewees complained that increased shop rentals benefited the landlords only but disadvantaged residents. At the same time, the price of goods also increased due to increased shop rental which affects the livelihood and quality of life of residents.

Interviewee 6 also complained about the uneven distribution of economic benefits to majority of the community because tourism only brought benefits to a certain group of HK.

A portion of residents may be benefited. However, do all residents in HK benefit from tourism? Not necessarily! The direct beneficiary would be

those working in businesses related to tourism, such as shops selling products for tourists, but surrounding businesses may not be benefited.

(Interviewee 6)

According to GovHK (2019), only 257,100 persons were employed in the tourism industry in 2019 which only accounted for 7% of total employment in HK. The tourism industry is also one of the major pillars of the economy of HK. In 2019, tourism only contributed to around 8% of HK's GDP with HK\$227.6 billion of the total inbound tourism expenditure (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2020a). These expenditures, however, were not evenly distributed in the community. Overnight tourists usually spend on airfares, accommodation, attractions and theme parks, shopping and transportation. However, out of the total tourist arrivals of 55.9 million in 2019, overnight arrivals were only 16.2 million, accounting for 37% of the total arrivals. Others were same-day arrivals which did not necessarily benefit various sectors in the community (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). Same-day tourists only visit HK for shopping daily goods and necessities instead of undertaking normal tourist activities. Moreover, most of the negative tourism impacts such as crowding and congestion, rising costs of living and lowering of standard of living were mainly caused by these same-day return Mainland Chinese tourists who only came to HK for shopping. Only minority of HK residents benefited from tourism, whereas the standard of living of the majority suffered from tourism in HK. The chain or branded shops could afford the high rents, so only certain property owners and businessmen benefited from tourism. Therefore, many residents felt that they did not benefit from tourism directly, leading to the negative perception of uneven distribution of economic benefits to the community. For the host residents to perceive economic impacts from tourism negatively is quite rare because the government usually develops tourism for the sake of economic contribution and cultural exchange. However, HK people are outcome-oriented in nature. In the context of tourism development in HK, many residents do not enjoy the benefits brought about by tourism but suffer from its development owing to its effects on their daily lives. Therefore, why residents perceived negative economic impacts from tourism development in HK is understandable.

Nonetheless, an interesting insight was found from the interviews about the worsening of HK's destination image because of the tourism development. Interviewee 10 was concerned about the influx of Mainland China tourists deterring tourists from other

countries like Japan and Korea visiting HK. Interviewee F from the TFG also explained that the Mainland Chinese tourists affected the propensity of overseas tourists travelling to HK.

Japanese bloggers have reminded Japanese people not to come to HK because there are too many Mainland tourists in HK. (... ..) In addition, there was a time when HK was so resistant to Mainland tourists, the Japanese were reminded to be cautious and careful when travelling to HK.

(Interviewee F, TFG)

Some foreign tourists don't like HK because there are too many Mainlanders in HK. They do mind that Mainlanders are so rude and speak loudly. This affects their impression to HK and think the HK's culture is so poor. Some Mainlanders think that HK is part of China, perhaps foreign tourists think that too. Therefore, I seldom see them (the foreign tourists) now.

(Interviewee C, NTFG)

From this sharing, it seems that the Japanese people tend to have negative perceptions about Mainland Chinese tourists. From Interviewee C's sharing, some foreign tourists also did not like travelling to HK because there were too many Mainland Chinese tourists. Overseas' travellers' intentions were adversely affected by the tourist mix in a destination. Furthermore, student interviewee F from the NTFG further elaborated that if many Mainland Chinese tourists keep visiting HK, then foreign tourists may presume that HK people are bad too. Eventually, it will affect their intention to visit HK. This may be due to the poor image and reputation of the Mainland Chinese tourists resulting from numerous complaints from different host residents around the world. If the origin of tourists changes, then the same impact may not be reported by HK residents.

According to Fisk, Grove and John (2014), 'customer mix' is a concept defined as an array of people of differing ages, genders, socioeconomic background, knowledge or experience, ethnicity and so on who patronise a service organisation where other customers are a component of most service experiences. One's service experience can be affected by other guests in the same service offering unit. In this context, the overseas

tourists may worry about their travel experience in HK to be affected by the crowding or inappropriate behaviour of Mainland Chinese tourists. Their travel intentions to HK are then adversely affected. This tourism economic impact is newly derived and has not been found in previous studies. If the government ignores this issue, it will then become a vicious cycle. The more Mainland Chinese tourists visit HK, the fewer the tourists from other countries will come to HK. Interviewees perceived that Mainland Chinese tourists in HK will affect the propensity of other international tourists visiting HK.

The interviewees generally agreed that tourism improved and benefited the local economy which is consistent with the findings from Gerard et al. (2016). Residents who do not gain any benefits from tourism perceive both positive and negative economic impacts. The interviewees mentioned economic contributions from tourism but at the same time also cited the negative economic impacts resulting from tourism. Although the positive economic benefits were cited more than negative economic costs, interviewees still paid much more attention to the negative socio-cultural impacts. If someone financially benefits from tourism, then they will definitely ignore the negative costs associated with it. However, if someone is not financially dependent on tourism, then they do not gain any benefits and therefore focus more on negative tourism impacts. This can be explained by the social exchange theory advocated by Ap (1992) where residents with personal benefits from tourism perceive positive tourism impacts and act positively with tourists. This finding further confirms his notion that personal benefits are associated with perceptions towards tourism impacts and attitude to tourists. In this study, residents with no personal gain from tourism perceive both positive and negative impacts and act negatively towards Mainland Chinese tourists.

Hong Kong is a mature tourism destination where substantial economic costs have been reported by residents. Tourism contributes significantly to GDP and generates substantial job opportunities in the local community. However, the costs associated with it include price inflation, high rents and increased living costs. These are quite common for developed countries with substantial tourism development.

4.4.2 Perceived Socio-Cultural Impacts

The other most concerned impact relates to the socio-cultural change brought about by tourism in the community. According to the previous literature, residents express a mixed feeling towards socio-cultural impacts brought about by tourism. In this study, the

majority of the interviewees perceived this category of impacts as negative because their daily lives were seriously affected. The sub-categories of positive and negative socio-cultural impacts are presented in Figure 4.2.

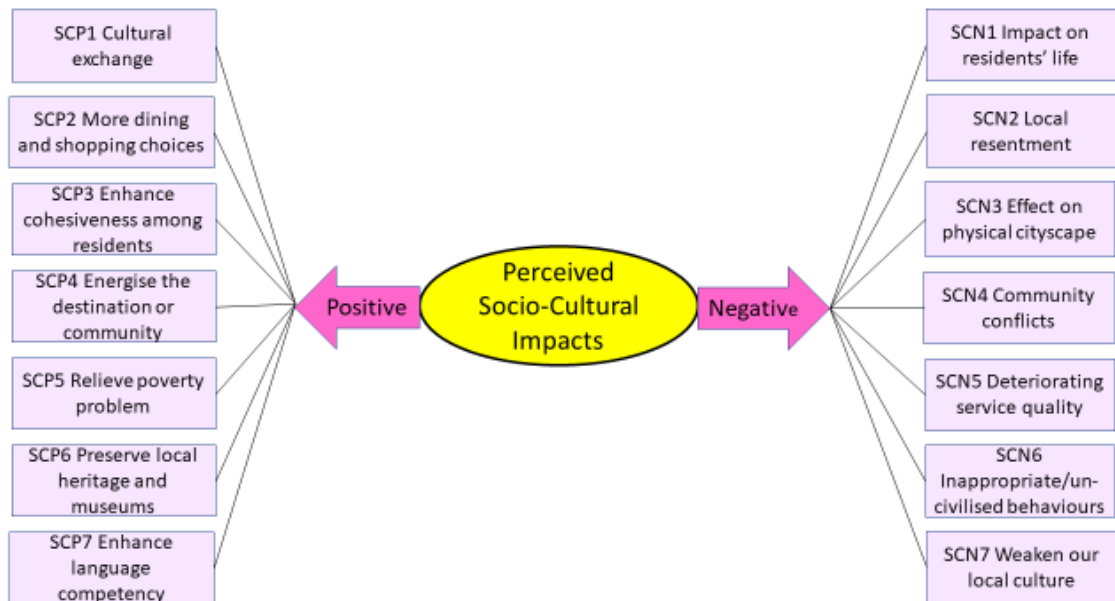


Figure 4.2 Perceived Socio-Cultural Impacts

Source: Author

Out of all the categories of impacts, interviewees were very responsive to the socio-cultural impacts and mentioned seven positive and seven negative impacts. A total of 15 text units and 90 text units were associated with positive and negative socio-cultural impacts, respectively. The breakdown of impacts is presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Socio-Cultural Impacts with Frequency of Text Units

Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts	Freq. count of text units	Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts	Freq. count of text units
SCP1 Cultural exchange	5	SCN1 Impact on residents' life	30
SCP2 More dining and shopping choices	3	SCN2 Local resentment	19
SCP3 Enhance cohesiveness among residents	2	SCN3 Effect on physical cityscape	17
SCP4 Energise the destination or community	2	SCN4 Community conflicts	11
SCP5 Relieve poverty problem	1	SCN5 Deteriorating service quality	10
SCP6 Preserve local heritage and museums	1	SCN6 Inappropriate/ uncivilised behaviors	2
SCP7 Enhance language competency	1	SCN7 Weaken our local culture	1
Total	15	Total	90

4.4.2.1 Positive Socio-Cultural Impacts

Residents viewed socio-cultural impacts of tourism to HK as negative rather than positive, with only 15 text units categorised as positive socio-cultural impacts. The most cited positive impact was ‘cultural exchange’. They recognised the benefits of tourism, that is, having exposure and enhancing understanding to other cultures regardless of the culture.

Three focus group interviewees highlighted the benefits of tourism in terms of cultural exchange owing to their background as students. This finding is consistent with those of Dyer et al. (2007), Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010), Sharma et al. (2008) and Sharma and Gursoy (2015).

In addition to the monetary advantages, they (the tourists) bring us cultural benefits. If HK does not have tourists at all, it is not ideal either. With tourists, we can communicate with them to understand their culture. For example, through our communication with Japanese people, I know that they are politer.

(Interviewee J, TFG)

Tourism will definitely bring opportunity for cultural exchanges, but some cultures they brought here are bad for HK, such as ‘pee’ (urination) or ‘poo’ (defecation) on the street. But, on the other hand, we know more about others’ cultures, such as their spending patterns and behaviour.

(Interviewee S, TFG)

Cultural exchange was the most cited positive socio-cultural impact. However, residents were not eager about this positive influence because they thought the cultural exchange with non-Chinese overseas tourists would be more valuable than that with Mainland Chinese tourists. Mainland Chinese culture was not praised or favoured by local residents. Most interviewees preferred meeting tourists from Japan, Korean or even Taiwan who are polite, respectful, and kind. The difference between HK culture and Mainland Chinese culture is not as big as that between HK and other countries. According to an article from *China Daily*, HK is a city that combines Eastern and Western cultures. Although HK was governed by the British government until 30 June 1997, local residents still have a deep connection with the traditional Chinese culture because of the influence from older generation (‘Hong Kong: A fusion’, 2007). During 1990s to 2000s, the Japanese culture was favoured by the local residents which was reflected by the HK

outbound tourist arrivals in Japan. From 2000s to 2020s, Korean culture popped up and almost replaced Japanese culture to become the top Asian prevailing trend. Taiwan was always ranked as the top outbound tourist destination for HK people because of its close proximity, vibrant night markets and wide variety of food choices. When HK people heard about Mainland China and Mainland Chinese culture, most of them, especially the younger generations, were not eager about it.

Apart from cultural exchange, one interviewee (Interviewee 1) mentioned that tourism brought more dining and shopping choices for local residents. This finding is consistent with those of Fredline (2002), Wang and Pfister (2008) and Williams and Lawson (2001) in terms of increase in new shops and restaurants resulting from tourism development.

Other interviewees mentioned enhancing cohesiveness among residents as one of the benefits of tourism. Sharma et al. (2008) found that tourism enhances relationships among local residents.

'Raise people's conservation awareness. High level of cohesiveness among our community to oppose the tourists'.

(Interviewee A, TFG)

HK residents became more united to oppose various matters including tourism. The cohesiveness among HK residents has been increasing since the return of sovereignty of HK to the Chinese Central Government. The unity among local residents is continuously rising with community cohesiveness as opposition to political issues increases tremendously.

Interviewee 8, a supporter of tourism, viewed tourism as energising the community. He mentioned that with tourism, a number of shops in the Western Central and Sham Shui Po Districts gained attention, and their values were appreciated. Otherwise, these shops would have disappeared because they are located in the old districts of Central and Sham Shui Po. The influx of tourists gives energy and vitality which may also energise the local residents.

The impacts of tourism on our community is positive as it brings energy to the city, add new excitements to the aging districts like Western Central

and Sham Shui Po. With tourist arrivals to these attractions, the values of them are appreciated. So, we have to understand that tourists energized the destination.

(Interviewee 8)

More food and beverage outlets were established to cater the influx of tourists in HK. At the same time, the local community benefited from wider choices for dining. The increased variety of dining choices were mostly Chinese-oriented restaurants and outlets though, and they cater the needs of Mainland Chinese tourists. Tourists are believed to bring excitement and energy to the community. With tourists, the values of museums are appreciated, and heritage resources are preserved. Otherwise, these cultural establishments would have been locked down before.

Of note, positive socio-cultural impacts were not predominately quoted by the residents unless they were probed to think. This implies two things: (1) residents did not put much emphasis on the positive socio-cultural impacts such as cultural exchange, enhance cohesiveness among residents and more dining choices and (2) these positive impacts were not significant to the residents. Although positive socio-cultural impacts were mentioned by interviewees, they emphasised and were concerned more with negative socio-cultural impacts. This trend is consistent with the media news on tourists and tourism which were generally negative. To an extent, the media affects the formation of residents' perceptions about tourism which is discussed in Section 4.8.3 (p. 214).

4.4.2.2 Negative Socio-Cultural Impacts

Negative socio-cultural impacts were discussed intensively in all the in-depth and focus group interviews, with a total of 90 text units extracted. Interviewees commented that tourism brought numerous negative impacts on their life.

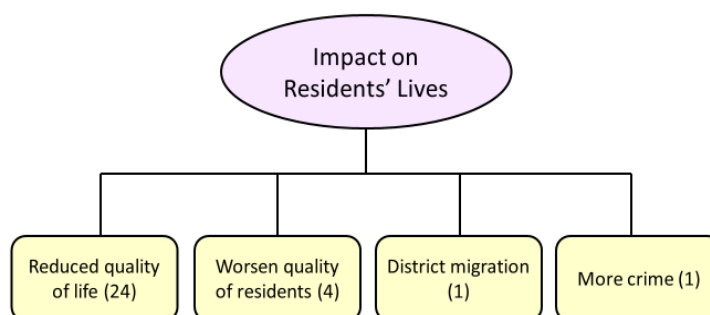


Figure 4.3 Impact on Residents' Lives

Source: Author

(i) SCN1 – Impact on Residents’ Lives

Thirty text units are illustrated in Figure 4.3. Many interviewees emphasised a reduction on their quality of life because of tourism development, with 24 text units cited.

Many interviewees, especially students from the NTFG perceived their quality of life was reduced because their living environment was occupied by crowds of tourists, leading to longer queues and queuing time for shopping goods and dining and higher prices for living commodities and daily life. The crowding situation on the roads and public transportation also affected residents’ way of life as they avoid going to areas frequented by tourists. From the *South China Morning Post* (Siu, 2019), Alan Au, a member of a Hung Hom community group, said it is not unusual to see 300 Mainland Chinese tourists blocking the streets in To Kwa Wan, one of the residential districts, as tourists wait for their tour coaches. The blocking of the narrow streets makes navigating around the neighbourhood difficult for residents. The overall living environment is more uncomfortable now, and residents’ way of life in the past is badly affected. Ap and Crompton (1998), Liu et al. (1987), Liu and Var (1986) and Sheldon and Var (1984) also found that residents avoided going to shopping in tourism areas.

‘The arrival of a large number of tourists make HK’s overall living environment uncomfortable’.

‘I am not willing to go out during weekends, especially to Mong Kok Station. Since HK has been occupied by others, I would prefer to spend in other countries rather than staying in HK’.

‘I think tourism has reduced the quality of life of HK people, such as the residents in Mong Kok and Sheung Shui. They only want to buy daily necessities, but the tourists on the street are obstructing the road, which makes people irritated and disgusted’.

(Various interviewees, NTFG)

Residents in Sheung Shui also complained for a long time already about the nuisance

caused by parallel traders buying goods to take back to Mainland China (Su, 2019). More negative news was publicised on the newspaper or social media about the negative costs induced by the huge number of the Mainland Chinese tourists leading to crowding, longer queueing time, and increased price of goods. In addition, as Mainland China tourists behaved inappropriately with poor civilisation, residents felt disgusted with them. Their squatting, spitting everywhere, shouting loudly in public areas as well as urinating or defecating in public areas further spurred the locals' irritation.

Apart from the sharing from the interviewees in the NTFG, other in-depth interview interviewees also felt that their lives were being negatively affected. Interviewees 3, 5 and 10 considered their quality of life had lowered. Interviewee 7 added that his colleagues living in the Tung Chung District were badly affected by tourism, resulting in a lower quality of life.

'The quality of life decreases. My quality of living slightly decreases as I need to spend more time to search for cheap goods now'.

(Interviewee 5)

My living quality is lowered because of them. I go to Tung Chung for dining twice a week, but with them, I queue up longer and pay more for the bills. The reason I live in Tung Chung because of its relaxing atmosphere and landscape. But now, I avoid going there which affects my life.

(Interviewee 10)

Andereck and Nyaupane (2011), Gursoy et al. (2002) and Usher and Kerstetter (2014) found that tourism improves the quality of life because of the increased income of the residents and the improved city infrastructure and development. However, the opposite finding was found in this research which explained the emergence of conflicts between host and tourists.

Furthermore, other interviewees were concerned about reduced quality of local residents because of the Mainland Chinese tourists in HK and the increased violent behaviour of residents.

Many foreigners do not know how to distinguish HK people and the Mainlanders. At the same time, many HK people use the rude attitude of the Mainlanders to treat Mainlanders. Then, HK people would have the same attitude as the Mainlanders. If they do not apologize for me, why do I have to apologize? Eventually, this has affected the quality of HK people themselves.

(Interviewee A, NTFG)

I think the quality of tourists might affect the quality of HK residents. From some online clips, we can see that some disputes (such as fighting for seats, pee (urination) on the street etc.) between the Mainlanders and HK people, this has made people around the world think that the reputation of HK is poor, and the quality of HK people is bad. This makes HK people want to draw a clear line with the Mainlanders. That's why HK people always distinguish themselves from the Mainlanders.

(Interviewee G, NTFG)

Residents felt that their quality of life deteriorated because of the tourists' behaviour. Chaos, arguments or even fighting have been reported in various news media. Mainland Chinese tourists were perceived to be rude and impolite, so HK residents tended to behave similarly and fight against them. Eventually, tourists from other countries may perceive HK people as rude and impolite too. YouTube features many videos about 'HK residents having quarrels with Mainland Chinese tourists' and those about 'Mainland Chinese tourists fighting with HK residents'. These videos portray a poor image of HK residents which eventually affects overseas tourists' overall perception of HK. HK people showed a low level of tolerance to Mainland Chinese tourists who did not show respect to local residents. The worsening of residents' quality is a newly reported socio-cultural impact brought about by tourism development.

(ii) SCN2 – Local Resentment

Interviewees generally felt disgusted with the rude, impolite and uncivilised behaviours of Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewees also felt that their benefits have been robbed by the Mainland Chinese tourists which they felt was unfair, so they further disgusted with them. They might feel ignored by the HKSAR government if the latter put too much resources on tourism development. Interviewee 5 expressed his helplessness about the

poor quality of tourists leading to the irritation of locals towards Mainland Chinese tourists.

Student interviewees from the NTFG tended to express their unfavourable feelings and resentment over the Mainland Chinese tourists who came to HK to seize resources and take advantages from HK which led to the resource conflicts (Tsaur et al., 2018).

I think this has led to the resentment of HK people. (.....) As an ordinary citizen, I do not want to have so many Mainlanders coming to HK to seize resources. On the other hand, some service industries certainly desire more tourists. These two views have led to contradictions in the HK community.

(Interviewee D, NTFG)

Tourism increases the grievances in HK. When I was serving Mainlanders, which make me feel annoyed, even if the next guest is very polite, but I would treat them without courtesy, or even to other colleagues. This has negatively affected the inter-relationships among HK people.

(Interviewee C, NTFG)

Interviewee 10 and student interviewee D from the NTFG even mentioned the odd situation where locals were being ignored and not welcomed by the shop sales assistants most of the time because of their lower spending or purchasing power than the Mainland Chinese tourists. This somehow creates resentment from locals over the tourists.

'The salesperson who works in a brand shop thinks that local people are not able to purchase any items, therefore not willing to serve the local customers. HK people are discriminated by local salesperson'.

(Interviewee D, NTFG)

Three interviewees from the NTFG also indicated that they disliked HK or preferred to travel and visit other countries rather than stay in HK.

I think this (tourism) makes HK people further dislike HK. For example, price levels are rising, it is difficult to purchase homes, and daily

necessities are sold out. Many people have the idea of immigration. HK people used to think that HK was a blessed land, but nowadays many people think that this is not an ideal place to live.

(Interviewee E, NTFG)

Local resentments mainly came from student interviewees in the NTFG (i.e. teenagers or young adults group) as they hardly recognised the benefits of tourism. Nonetheless, they felt that tourism has adversely affected their life physically and psychologically. They started hating Mainland tourists, they did not feel proud or even feel shame for being a ‘Hongkonger’ or even hate ‘HK’. Andereck et al. (2007), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2009) and Huh and Vogt (2008) found that tourism increases community pride. On the contrary, student interviewees did not like their ‘homes’ anymore. This is not a surprising finding though. During recent social protests (Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement) since June 2019, many protesters or organisers were from the post-90s generation. They suffered from poor future employment prospects, poor environment in HK and hopelessness in being able to purchase property in HK. Interviewees in this movement were mainly students from the secondary schools, tertiary institutions and universities in Hong Kong. By contrast, student interviewees from the TFG recognised that there must be some sacrifices in residents’ lives to gain benefits from tourism. Some interviewees (R5, R6 and R10) living in residential districts badly affected by tourism felt disgusted with tourists as their daily lives were adversely affected.

Loi and Pearce (2012) examined tourists’ and residents’ reactions to the annoying tourist behaviours in Macao, a city close to HK. The behaviours that annoyed residents most include (1) smoking in public, (2) spitting and littering, (3) not flushing toilets and (4) abusing service personnel. The issues shared by Macao residents are slightly different from those shared by the interviewees in this study. Spitting and littering are common in HK and Macao. However, smoking, not flushing toilets and abusing service personnel were not reported in the HK context which are relatively minor compared with the issues mentioned by interviewees such as seising HK resources, overcrowding and negatively impacting the quality of life. Loi and Pearce (2015) further pointed out that local residents may be negative towards or even resent tourists owing to differences in values.

(iii) SCN3 – Effect on Physical Cityscape

Seventeen text units were associated with the physical cityscape of HK which was related to tourism development. The concerns were mainly on the family-run shops and traditional shops being replaced by tourist-oriented shops (e.g. jewellery shops, cosmetic shops or tourist-pharmacy shops; restaurants specially for Mainland Chinese tourists and luxury brand shops). Student interviewee B from the NTFG and Interviewees 3 and 10 also indicated the disappearance of some small or family-run shops because of high rents.

Apart from having pharmacy shops or jewellery shops, there are no more local characteristics in the shopping landscape, such as, small local shops as they can't afford high rents. Now, all the shopping landscape match the needs of tourists, more than local residents. But I have to accept it, no choice.

(Interviewee 10)

Look! Tsim Sha Tsui, Causeway Bay, areas like this, where all of the shops have become luxury shops, there is very little left for the local community anymore. Moreover, the disappearance of 'mom and pop' (i.e. family-run) shops has resulted.

(Interviewee 3)

Interviewees 5 and 6, who resided in Sheung Shui District for some years, indicated that the restaurants and shops in the northern districts were transformed to satisfy the needs of tourists rather than the locals.

To be more specific, in the old days, when we walked on the street, it is much more crowded now. In the old days, we can go out to shop many daily necessities but now, all shops were transformed to be '藥莊', pharmacy shops or cosmetics shops.

(Interviewee 6)

Many small family-run shops or local shops in the tourist areas or even residential neighbourhoods were transformed to become tourist-oriented shops such as currency exchange, pharmacy shops, cosmetic shops, branded shops or even jewellery shops. The shopping landscape for locals was also changed not only in tourist districts but also in some residential districts. The majority of the Mainland Chinese tourists came to HK for

shopping or even parallel trading for day-trippers. The shopping landscape was modified to suit the needs of these tourists. Property owners became increasingly aggressive in asking higher rents that only chain or brand shops could afford (Liu, 2014a; Liu, 2014b). Many local small businesses were forced to close down which ended up in HK losing its unique character.

According to the Hong Kong Tourism Board (2019a), the total spending of overnight tourists from all markets reached almost HK\$43,000 million, but HK\$36,500 million were from the Mainland China market from January to June 2019. As for the day-trippers' statistics, the Mainland China market contributed HK\$38,400 million (95%) out of a total of HK\$40,550 million. In 2018, the main items the overnight tourists bought included ready-made wear (30%), cosmetics (28%), snacks/confectioneries (22%), medicine and Chinese herbs (14%), shoes/other footwear (14%) and handbags/wallets/belts (10%) (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2019b). The shopping landscape was modified from traditional small-scale family shops to chain pharmacy shops, cosmetic shops, confectionery shops and fashion brand shops. Young residents who enjoy hanging out and shopping around found that such a life is not much fun and exciting. This portfolio of tourist-oriented shops is not suitable for local neighbourhoods. Residents just want local daily shops rather than tourist-oriented shops as mentioned above. Residential districts such as Sheung Shui, Tuen Mun and Tung Chung are now fully occupied with these tourist-oriented shops because of their high convenience or close proximity to the Mainland China border.

(iv) SCN4 – Community Conflicts

Almost all interviewees mentioned about community conflicts between locals and tourists, regardless whether cultural or social conflicts. Interviewee D mentioned about the conflicts among residents in terms of their need for tourists. Residents who have no direct benefits from tourism did not favour tourists as they shared the community resources. Those employed in the tourism industry favoured tourists as they brought in attractive revenue for them. Conflicting viewpoints exist among the local residents because of their differing views on tourists and tourism development.

As an ordinary citizen, I do not want to have so many Mainlanders coming to HK to seize resources. On the other hand, some service industries

certainly desire more tourists. These two views have led to contradictions in the HK community.

(Interviewee D, NTFG)

Interviewee 3 further explained that social conflicts would occur if the changes brought about by tourism to HK were sudden. Residents were generally displeased with too rapid change on their life. He also pointed out that the negative impact might be avoidable if the number of tourists did not increase so quickly. Interviewee 6 also elaborated why social conflicts in the form of quarrels were so vigorous in his residential area (Sheung Shui District). He added that the quarrels were due to the bad influence caused by the large influx of Mainland Chinese tourists visiting the district which dramatically affected the local life there. However, no significant improvements were applied to the physical environment or infrastructure development in Sheung Shui. He further supplemented that the residents felt that they did not benefit from tourism, and even worse, that they were badly affected by it. These explain why they would be ‘pissed off’ and quarrels frequently occurred between residents and Mainland China tourists in Sheung Shui District. In addition, he elaborated that the shop rents increased in the district which disadvantaged the residents doing business there. Meals were more expensive than before, affecting the residents living there. He mentioned the cost of living was even cheaper in city area like Sham Shui Po (SSP) than his district because SSP is not a popular district for tourists.

In Northern district, it becomes a hotspot for IVS (Individual Visit Scheme). But the ancillary community facilities were not matched and improved. Tourists are using existing community facilities for residents as well, such as, roads, shops, and parks. In the past, residents in Northern districts were enjoying these facilities but now, they have to share with tourists as well. (... ..) In the old days, the living zones were all around the city centre in Sheung Shui. After 30 years later, it remains the same. No big-scale infrastructure, no extension of new town, nothing at all. However, our population in this district increases and the increase of FITs (Free Independent Travellers), therefore, quarrels occurred.

(Interviewee 6)

From the perspective of local residents, tourism conflict includes cultural, social and resource conflicts (Tsaur et al., 2018). Cultural conflict refers to negative emotions,

discrepancies between local residents and tourists or interference owing to cultural distance. Cultural conflict may also originate from ethnocentrism, communication and interaction processes and lifestyle differences (Wei, Crompton, & Reid, 1989). Reisinger and Turner (2003) indicated that cultural conflict may be unavoidable because tourists or local residents may be unable to understand cultural differences and may lack cross-cultural adaptability. Tourism conflict with Mainland Chinese tourists caused problems in countries such as Taiwan, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan (Shen, Li, Luo, & Chau, 2017; Tsaur, et al., 2018). Conflict and negative emotions arose between local residents and tourists (Chien & Ritchie, 2018; Shen et al., 2017). Teng (2019) further noted that tourism conflict positively influences perceived costs which are negatively associated with support for tourism development in Thailand and Taiwan. Residents in highly affected residential areas have frequent conflicts with tourists which influence their perceived costs of tourism. According to many previous studies, tourism causes positive socio-cultural impacts such as increasing availability of recreation facilities and opportunities (e.g. Fredline, 2002; Gursoy et al., 2002; Perdue et al., 1987; Pizam, 1978; Woosnam et al., 2009). However, Interviewee 6 pointed out the recreation facilities or supporting facilities were not increased or enhanced but even had to be shared with tourists. From the Sheung Shui residents' perspectives, they have not benefited largely from the tourism industry. They were the immediate sufferers for all negative impacts brought by these tourists. This sharing of facilities with tourists is regarded as 'resource conflict' (Tsaur et al., 2018). This is a common perceived negative impact when a destination reaches the mature stage, with large numbers of tourists occupying the physical space at the destination. A more even distribution of economic benefits to the community is essential to gain the support from residents and achieve tourism sustainability in HK.

(v) SCN5 – Deteriorating Service Quality

Interviewee 5, the protestor and organiser of the Anti-Mainlander campaign, and Interviewee 9 brought up the negative socio-cultural impact of deteriorating service quality. Interviewee 5 worked in an upscale shoe shop several years ago and always heard his colleagues saying that they lost their professionalism and standard because of the Mainland China tourists.

Since the Mainland China tourists do not expect too much about our service, it also deteriorates the service quality and professionalism in our

local service industry. We do not insist our service standard anymore. (... ..) I personally think the arrivals of Mainland Chinese tourists become a burden for HK service industry. In the past, I think HK has a certain level of service quality but not now as the customers simply don't need the service.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewee 9 also agreed that service quality in HK dropped.

The Mainland Chinese tourists would perceive HK's service quality was good but when more and more tourists come, the attitude of the staff becomes poorer and thus the service quality drops. I can say the service quality in HK really deteriorates.

(Interviewee 9)

The interviewees commented on the inelegant shopping behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists. Student interviewee F from the NTFG also shared that Mainland Chinese tourists kept on bargaining for discounts in the shop or fit clothes in the shop randomly.

Based on the sharing from interviewees who were salespeople, they were clearly not hospitable to the Mainland Chinese tourists. They did not hold the philosophy that they should put 'Customers be the first priority' in their mind. Mainland Chinese tourists just walked into the shop because of the brand name, and they bought the products without much products knowledge. These Mainland Chinese tourists were not sophisticated but were superficial and conspicuous buyers. Eventually, salespersons lacked motivation to act professional. As a consequence, the quality of services provided in the retail or service industry deteriorated because customers' demands dropped dramatically as well. That tourism development leads to a drop in service quality is an interesting phenomenon. Apart from this, tourists' experiences and satisfaction with HK are largely determined by the treatment they receive from the host community. Poor service quality leads to poor tourists' experience and satisfaction with their journey in HK. Increased service quality is often associated with tourism development as cited from the previous literature, but the opposite impact was found in this study. Kandampully (2000) asserted that competition within the tourism industry is determined by service quality to add value and

enhance tourists' experience in the destination. Therefore, the destination competitiveness of HK can be affected by the service quality provided by host which forms part of tourists' experience in the destination. However, the findings from this study is opposite to the notion suggested by Kandampully (2000). The contradiction may be due to the fact that Mainland Chinese tourists were not experienced in travelling and were less sophisticated compared with travellers from some developed countries like the United Kingdom and the United States. Therefore, HK people look down on the Mainlanders and lower their service quality to them. However, this lowering of service quality in HK will ultimately lower the destination competitiveness of HK in the world.

In a reported incident in July 2010, a female local tour guide berated her group of tourists from the Mainland China on a designated shopping tour on the tour coach for not buying enough at the tourist shops ('Video about Hong Kong female tour guide', 2010). The incident created a very negative impression of tourists regarding the quality of services provided by the local guide.

To conclude, the quality of services provided by HK retail shops were deteriorating because of the rude or impolite behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists. When passing through some shops, the researcher observed some salespeople in local shops or family shops yelling or even shouting at the tourists from the Mainland China because of their prejudice against these tourists. Salespeople also lose their intention to provide quality services to the Mainland Chinese tourists by showing friendly smile and being hospitable and professional towards the tourists. Host–tourist interaction forms a major part of tourists' satisfaction during their journey (Ap, 1992) which may eventually lower tourists' intention to revisit HK.

(vi) SCN6 – Inappropriate/ Uncivilised Behaviours

Apart from the aforementioned negative impacts, Mainland Chinese tourists exhibited worse or uncivilised behaviours. When residents saw these behaviours, they usually shoot videos and post them to YouTube or their social media page. The videos would be spread to others. Hence, a growing number of residents would disapprove these behaviours and perceive Mainland Chinese tourists negatively. Zuo from Shanghai (2013) reported the inappropriate behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists in an article 'Chinese tourists carving out a bad reputation abroad' in which Chinese adults were portrayed to behave as poor as uneducated children everywhere. The eight listed bad

habits of Mainland Chinese tourists were being noisy, not queuing, spitting, wasting food and hotel supplies, rushing, ignoring local rules, rarely saying thank you and writing graffiti in tourism attractions. These bad habits raised grievances from citizens all over the world. In fact, the dissatisfaction of locals over these uncivilised behaviours of the tourists were not unique in HK but also happened in other countries such as Japan and Thailand. Burke (2015) reported that the Mainlanders were becoming quite infamous in Thailand. A Mainlander kung-fu artist kicked a bell in a Buddhist temple in northern Thailand. An incident was also reported in South Korea that the Mainlanders treated the post office box as a garbage bin and filled the box with all garbage ('Newly built toilets in Thai temple', 2015). Similar negative reports about Mainlanders in Japan were found from the news as well. According to Kato (2016), even though the Mainland Chinese tourists ranked as the biggest spender in Japan inbound tourism with around RMB25 billion worth of expenditure in 2014, there have been a lot of complaints from Japanese residents about the inappropriate behaviours of the Mainlanders such as jumping the queue, shouting and littering. Ryall (2017) also reported that many Japanese residents felt that the Mainland Chinese tourists did not respect the local rules and customs. In one of the booklet published by the tourism authority in Japan, tourists were told to flush used toilet paper and not to open the packaging of items on store shelves before buying to educate the tourists from Mainland Chinese. In addition, Chen (2014) wrote a headline of 'Chinese passenger opens emergency exit 'to get some fresh air' as plane prepares for take-off, criticising the childish behaviours of some Mainlanders. In short, the inappropriate/uncivilised behaviours of the Mainland Chinese tourists were not only found in HK but also in other countries.

Bulter (1974) suggested that the political attitude of residents may influence the nature of perceived socio-cultural impacts. Seeing that majority of HK people are reluctant to accept the Chinese Central Government, they were mostly anti-HKSAR government (i.e. not favourable to the HKSAR Government and Mainland China Government). Most of the negative perceived socio-cultural impacts such as community conflicts, impact on residents' life, effect on physical cityscape, local resentment, deteriorating service quality, inappropriate/uncivilised behaviours and weakening of local culture were all rooted from their political stance. If they are pro-China, these perceived negative impacts on socio-cultural aspects may be minimised or even neglected. If residents can exert a higher level of tolerance to the Mainland Chinese tourists, these social disturbance and problems can be easily accepted or even solved by the locals. On the other hand, if

residents are against-China, these negative impacts will be exaggerated and cannot be accepted. This explains how the protests were mobilised.

4.4.3 Perceived Environmental Impacts

Tourism can be a reason to preserve and protect environmental resources, but it can also damage and destroy them to develop new tourism attractions in a destination (Garcia et al., 2015). The majority of the interviewees perceived this category of impacts negatively, and the cited environmental impacts are presented in Figure 4.4.

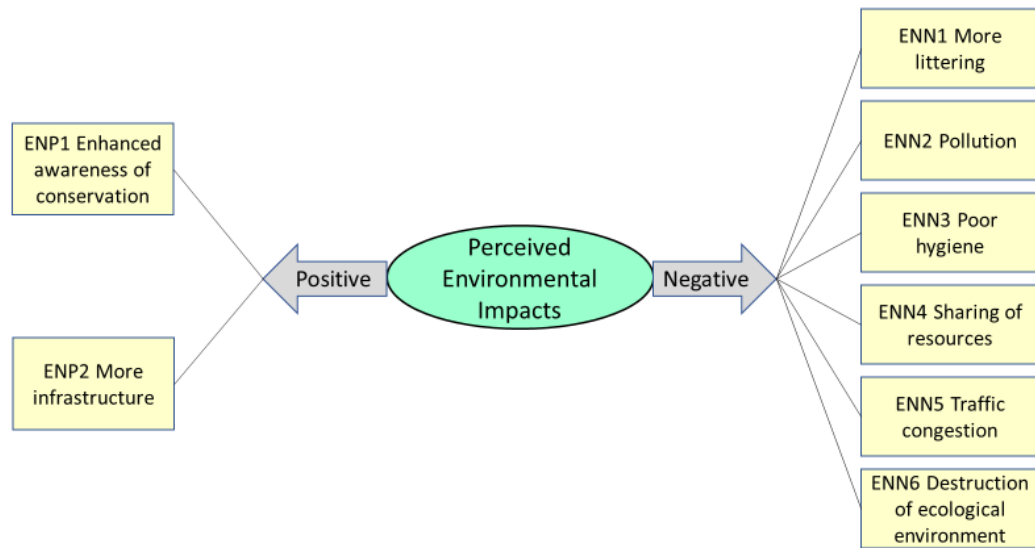


Figure 4.4 Perceived Environmental Impacts

Source: Author

In this category of impacts, only two positive but six negative environmental impacts were reported. Three text units and 38 text units were associated with positive and negative environmental impacts, respectively. The breakdown of impacts is presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Environmental Impacts with Frequency of Text Units

Positive Environmental Impacts	Freq. count of text units	Negative Environmental Impacts	Freq. count of text units
ENP1 Enhanced awareness of conservation	2	ENN1 More littering	9
ENP2 More infrastructure	1	ENN2 Pollution	9
		ENN3 Poor hygiene	7
		ENN4 Sharing of resources	5
		ENN5 Traffic congestion	5
		ENN6 Destruction of ecological environment	3
Total	3	Total	38

4.4.3.1 Positive Environmental Impacts

Only two text units were identified as positive environmental impacts, namely, ENN1 – Enhanced awareness of conservation and ENN2 – More infrastructure.

Interviewee A from the TFG commented that tourism raises people's conservation awareness. To develop eco-tourism in HK, the HKSAR Government promoted the Global Geopark in Sai Kung area to enhance tourists' conservation awareness about the environment. Many museums and heritage resources were preserved to provide a wide range of tourism experiences to the tourists as well as locals. Without enough supply of tourists, these museums and heritage sites might have been closed down already. Tourism helps preserve the heritage, country parks and museums in HK which is consistent with the findings of Akis et al. (1996), Andriotis and Voughan (2003), Liu et al. (1987), Nunkoo and Ramkissoon (2010) and Oviedo-Garcia et al. (2008).

The HKSAR Government also built few new transportation infrastructures (ENN2), including the Express Rail Link (HK section of the Guangzhou–Shenzhen–Hong Kong Express Rail Link) and the Hong Kong–Zhuhai–Macau (HZM) Bridge to boost the regional travel within China and HK and enhance convenience for residents travelling to China cities.

4.4.3.2 Negative Environmental Impacts

In the 21st century, residents are more concerned about the place in which they live and the sustainability of the environment. Some environmental costs result from the tourism development in a destination is inevitable. Six environmental negative impacts with 38 text units were identified by the interviewees to reflect the sub-categories of these impacts.

Out of all negative environmental impacts, ENP1 – Pollution and ENP2 – More littering were the most cited by the interviewees. Air, noise, and visual pollutions resulted from the tourism development in HK which were identified as the costs for tourism development in many previous impact studies (e.g. Ap, 1990; Ap & Crompton, 1998; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012).

It also causes light pollution. For example, tourists come to HK to enjoy the night view, so many lights are set up to attract tourists. In addition, many merchants use billboards to attract tourists' attention and do advertising. The light pollution is even worse.

(Interviewee F, TFG)

More littering emerged due to tourists' inappropriate behaviours given their low level of civil behaviours. Whenever the researcher visited China, seeing garbage all over China was common. Interviewee 6 shared similar comments about the impact of littering from the Mainland Chinese tourists. Previous researchers (e.g. Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Pizam, 1978) found the same impact in general from tourism development.

'After the launch of IVS (Individual Visit Scheme), the Northern district like Yuen Long has been significantly impacted in the environmental aspect. The shop orders more goods for sale and tourists repacking their baggage created litter'.

(Interviewee 6)

With the huge influx of the Mainland Chinese tourists, poor hygiene was mentioned by many interviewees. Interviewees commented that tourists often spat (Interviewee 8 and Interviewee F, NTFG) and that the toilets were dirtier (Interviewee 7 and 10). In Mainland China, the researcher can often see people spitting. The toilets in Mainland China were not hygienic too. Many social media posts showed that tourists urinated in the public area or even mass transit railway (MTR) trains (Interviewee F, NTFG).

Mainland Chinese tourists received numerous complaints from residents in many countries about their poor cleanliness and unhygienic behaviour. A famous temple in Chiang Mai, Thailand purposely built a new washroom for Thai people and non-Chinese as well as prohibited Mainlanders' entry due to the irresponsible behaviour of Mainland Chinese tourists using the temple washrooms ('Newly built toilets in Thai temple', 2015). As many Mainland Chinese tourists were unhygienic and irresponsible when using the washroom, washrooms were in very unhygienic conditions after their use. The staff at the temple pointed out that the Chinese tourists would defecate on the toilet floor and urinate on the toilet wall. The stereotypes of Mainland Chinese tourists with poor hygiene

practices and standards had not only happened in HK but also in other countries such as Japan, Korea and Thailand which receive a substantial number of tourists from Mainland China. Li (2014) also reported in the article ‘Rude awakening: Chinese tourists have the money, but not the manners’ the unacceptable behaviour of a well-dressed middle-aged man who followed his compatriots to urinate in a highway toll station near Frankfurt, Germany because of his reluctance to pay EURO €0.7 to use the toilet. The exceptionally poor hygiene of the Mainland Chinese tourists has created a unique negative environmental impact on HK community which has not been reported in the previous literature. This impact is unique in this study context as there has been no complaints made about other overseas tourists in terms of their hygiene practices, whereas tremendous complaints and comments were received about Mainland Chinese tourists’ hygiene from many places in the world.

Five interviewees mentioned the negative environmental impacts of tourism of ENP4 – Sharing resources with the tourists. Interviewees 5 and 7 also criticised that the local camping sites were primarily for local residents’ use, but some tourists booked camping sites for their accommodation which depleted the benefits of residents. Some interviewees even mentioned that booking a camping site was extremely hard because of the tourists.

‘All the camp sites are occupied by Mainland China backpackers during holidays. They have reserved all the camp sites well in advance which directly affect local fans for backpacking’.

(Interviewee 5)

This finding is contradictory with the previous research where residents perceive that tourism can increase availability of recreation facilities or opportunities. This contradiction was mainly because existing recreation facilities or opportunities in HK did not increase, but were even shared with a big pool of Mainland Chinese tourists. A news article (‘Mainland Free Independent Travellers’, 2018) reported the crowding situation and littering on a Sai Kung beach after a huge group of Mainlanders camped there. Some Mainlanders even stayed in the beach to save the accommodation fees. Litter such as used underwear, sport shoes, water bottles, chopsticks and empty body lotion bottles were thrown in the toilet sinks. This kind of negative news further triggered the emotions of local residents against the Mainland Chinese tourists. Other than at tourism attractions,

meeting a tremendous number of tourists is easy in shopping malls, community centres, movie theatres, country parks, hiking trails, swimming pools or even beaches which are not primarily promoted as tourism attractions. Andriotis (2005) and Tovar and Lockwood (2008) also reported the deterioration of maintenance standard of public facilities such as beaches, parks and roads. Furthermore, the residents viewed these impacts as squandering the locals' benefits and welfare. If residents can benefit from tourism, they can tolerate such sharing of locals' benefits and welfare with tourists. However, if they cannot benefit from tourism, they will perceive this impact negatively.

4.4.4 Crowding and Congestion Impacts

Crowding and congestion impacts were the second most cited costs associated with the tourism development in HK. In this category of impacts, 35 text units were recorded, and most of them were negative.

4.4.4.1 Crowding and Congestion in Residential Districts

Apart from tourist districts and public transportation, some residential districts were affected due to their close proximity and convenience to the gateway to China. The interviewees were found from three seriously affected areas, namely, Sheung Shui, Tung Chung, Sha Tin and Tuen Mun Districts which are located in the New Territories of HK. As mentioned above, residents understood crowding and congestion must happen in tourist districts and public transportation. However, some residential districts which were not purposely designed for tourism purposes were affected due to recent situations or tourism developments.

One of the seriously affected districts was Sheung Shui, located only one stop away from Lo Wu Station (Shenzhen, China). The district accommodates a huge number of Mainland Chinese tourists conducting parallel-trading activities every day. The tourists cross the Chinese border and travel one railway stop. They can find local pharmacies, supermarkets and grocery shops in Sheung Shui District and buy in huge quantities and then travel back to Shenzhen for trading purposes to gain the price differences for their daily living. These parallel-trading activities seriously affected the supply of the daily products for residents in Sheung Shui, and the road conditions in Sheung Shui City Centre also made commuting very difficult for local residents.

With regard to parallel traders in Sheung Shui, student interviewee B living in the district made the following comment:

In terms of crowding, tourists are carrying their luggage on the streets. In addition, the space of the pharmacy shops are not enough, thus they put goods in the street. However, the streets in HK are relatively narrow. Therefore, the streets are very crowded. Tourists pack their luggage without considering the surrounding environment.

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

Another seriously affected residential district is Tung Chung, which also suffered from crowding. Tung Chung is the closest city centre to the HK International Airport, HK Disneyland, Ngong Ping 360 cable car attraction and Tung Chung Fashion Outlets. Upon the opening of HZM bridge in October 2018, huge crowds of Mainland Chinese tourists visited Tung Chung on day trips via the newly built bridge. The shopping centres in Tung Chung were seriously crowded. Interviewee 10 living in Tung Chung and Interviewee 7 working in Tung Chung agreed with the serious crowding issues in Tung Chung. They could not even get a seat in a restaurant for lunch, and goods were out of stock and crowding in the supermarket and everywhere. Interviewee 5 living in Shatin district also echoed the crowding issue in his residential neighbourhood.

I live in Shatin now. When I shop around, I am disgusted with the place being too crowded, almost thousands and tens of thousands people are there. Oh my god, it is a disaster, Shit! People were walking with lots of suitcases.

(Interviewee 5)

To conclude, all residents disliked having crowding and congestion problems in their living districts except for Interviewee 4 who loved the excitement brought by tourists.

HK is a small place with a population of around 7.5 million living in an area of 1,104 square kilometres (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2019). The crowding issue has always been a problem in HK. When the residents get off from work and go home, they still cannot enjoy a short moment of peace and calm. Based on a research conducted by the Taiwan Housing Institute (cited in ‘人均居住’, 2015), the living space

per person in HK's low-end housing can be as low as 47.8 square meters (with a size equivalent to two table tennis tables), whereas that in Japan and the United States can reach to 199 and 150 square meters, respectively. That explains why HK residents had negative perceptions towards the crowding and congestion impacts in the neighbourhood created by tourists. Most residents in HK live in small housing, crowded streets and congested roads which may further worsen their living environment and comfortability.

4.4.4.2 Crowding in Public Transportation and everywhere

One interviewee from the NTFG who always took public transportation to go to school complained that the suitcases in the MTR occupy much space on the train, and some tourists talked loudly especially in the early morning (when some passengers had fallen asleep on the train) and even urinated on the train. These tourists did not realise that they were affecting other people and were not being considerate.

When they (Mainland Chinese tourists) take the train, other than pee on the train, they also overload the seat (6 people sitting on a 5-seater place), so that I am forced to leave. Moreover, they like to be so close to you and push you away while you are waiting for the train. That's their culture'.

(Interviewee F, NTFG)

The interviewees were irritated by the crowding in the public transportation which created a high level of inconvenience for the residents in terms of the quality of transportation due to concerns with poor hygiene, poor and noisy environment, crowding and impolite behaviours. Interviewees mentioned that crowding not only happens in the tourist districts and public transportation but also on the streets, shopping centres and even their residential districts. Crowding is everywhere. One interviewee highlighted that she did not want to feel overcrowded when she wants to hang out and wishes to still feel the same even when she is home. This means she does not want crowding to affect her daily life. If residents perceive the exchange with tourists as beneficial for them, then they tend to accept the costs brought by it and favour tourism. However, if residents perceive the exchange as damaging, they perceive its impacts negatively and object against tourism (Ap, 1992).

4.4.4.3 Feelings and Emotions

In terms of residents' feelings and emotions towards crowding and congestion impacts brought about by tourism, four interviewees expressed strong negative feelings about crowding and congestion.

'It is already very crowded during busy hours; it becomes more crowded when tourists come. Please don't disturb us!'

(Interviewee R, TFG)

'If you stumble on the streets of Tsim Sha Tsui, no one will care for you. They will turn a blind eye, even if I am hurt by their luggage.'

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

These interviewees indicated their disgust over this crowding and congestion phenomenon in HK. They felt that the tourists were ignoring residents, selfish and created disturbances to their daily life. Student interviewee R even shouted, **'Please don't disturb us!'** Interviewee 5 also shared similar feelings during the interview and commented that **'It's a disaster, Shit!'** As reflected in their daily lives, being greatly disturbed led to such extreme negative grievances. Other interviewees also pointed out the behaviour of tourists affected their lives in different extents.

The above situations can explain and rationalise the underlying reasons why an anti-Mainlander campaign was initiated by the HK community. On 16 February 2014, a group of protesters marched through Tsim Sha Tsui (traditional tourist district) in an 'Anti-Locust' campaign urging the government to curb Mainland Chinese tourists. The protesters waved their placards and yelled slogans such as 'Reclaim Hong Kong' and 'Go back to China' when they marched (Ng, 2014). As mentioned by one of the organisers of the 'Anti-Locust' campaign, there have been too many Mainland Chinese tourists in HK who created substantial negative impacts. He initiated the protests to arouse the government and public's attention to the issue.

In HK, crowding and congestion impacts were mainly caused by tourists from the Mainland China as the overseas tourists prefer to visit natural attractions like the Peak, temples or hiking trails, whereas Mainland Chinese tourists enjoy shopping in HK which

creates crowding problems in HK. Tourists were blamed for causing congestion and crowding not only in tourist districts but also in some residential areas (Xinqi & Tsang, 2019). Residents mainly attributed the problem to insufficient traffic infrastructure and lack of community facilities in HK which were unable to accommodate the huge crowds of tourists. Residents in Kowloon also complained that as many as 10,000 Mainland day-trippers disrupted their local lives through illegal parking and unseemly foot traffic. Tours buses were even parked in the middle of roads which make it dangerous for passers-by to navigate, and the crowds worsened because of the traffic jams in the area (Xinqi, Sun, & Ng, 2018). Last but not least, as the roads in HK are narrow, traffic congestion in many busy districts is made worse during busy hours with many parked tour coaches around. Moreover, HK is a fast-paced city with the people talking, walking and acting fast. This mentality worsened their perceptions on tourism development in HK as the congestion impacts were obvious and disrupted their daily life. These serious crowding and congestion impacts further triggered locals' negative feelings and deepened the resentment of locals towards Mainland Chinese tourists owing to the congested living environment in HK.

4.4.5 Residents' Perceptions towards Tourism and Tourism Development in Hong Kong
Apart from asking the interviewees' perceptions towards the tourism impacts in HK, their perceptions about tourism development in HK were also sought to provide a holistic evaluation of residents' perceptions towards tourism in HK.

Too Much Reliance on the Mainland China Market

Many interviewees expressed their views about the monopolistic source market of HK tourism. The vast majority of tourists were mainly from Mainland China, and the current portfolio of tourist mix is imbalanced. Owing to the IVS, 78% of tourists arriving in HK in 2018 and 2019 were from Mainland China (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). Interviewees felt that this phenomenon was unhealthy and imbalanced which induced a number of controversial issues and further increased the tensions between residents and tourists in HK.

Interviewees 1 and 3 pointed out that the current tourist mix in HK is mainly from Mainland China because of its proximity to HK which was different compared with that 10 years ago.

I feel that it has been very lopsided. I think it is kind of unnatural because of where HK is. It is physically connected to Mainland China. Because of the sheer number of people in China it's inevitable that the development of tourism in HK would be closely associated with an increasing number of people coming from the Mainland.

(Interviewee 3)

Interviewee 5 commented that HK, as an international city with world-class services, should attract tourists internationally but not rely too much on one single market. He emphasised many negative impacts resulted from the over-reliance on the Mainland Chinese market.

Personally, I think tourists should come from different countries, but shouldn't rely on only one single market. (.....) To me, HK is an international city. We serve tourists from different regions but now, if we only serve one single market, the service attitude and the style of F&B or retail industry will be affected. It seems that Mainland Chinese tourists' market has been given special privileges and priority. When tourists from other market come, they may feel different than before or they would disappoint as they may assume HK is an international city with world-class service.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewee J from the TFG pointed out a causal relationship between the planning of tourism products and its outcome. Too much reliance on the Mainland Chinese market would eventually affect the marketability of HK to the overseas market. One of the negative economic impacts pointed out by interviewees was also related to this impact. Student interviewees (Interviewees C and F) from the focus groups pointed out that some foreign tourists did not travel to HK because there were too many Mainland Chinese tourists in HK. The intention of overseas travellers was adversely affected by the travellers' mix at the destination.

Andereck et al. (2005), Diedrich and Garcia-Buades (2009) and Faulkenberry et al. (2000) also reported the imbalanced number between permanent residents and tourists as one of negative socio-cultural impacts found in a mature destination. However, what

threshold of ‘imbalance’ in terms of the proportion between tourists and residents is appropriate is rather difficult to define. This tends to be subjective and personal. One who is heavily reliant on tourism may set a higher threshold of accepting a higher ‘tourist–resident’ ratio, whereas one who has little or no reliance on tourism may not accept the costs brought by a larger proportion of tourists. When the destination moves along the ‘Destination Life Cycle’, the ‘tourist–resident’ will increase from low to high, and the magnitude of negative impacts will increase too. Residents have to show a higher level of tolerance to the tourism costs. If residents gain personal benefits from tourism, they will be more willing to tolerate the costs than those who do not gain any personal benefits from tourism.

The rising tensions between HK residents and Mainlanders and weaker RMB presented an unfavourable position for HK to rely solely on Mainland Chinese market for tourism. At the same time, HK residents did not agree to focus on a single feeder market to HK tourism. From the marketing perspective, it is also not advisable to concentrate on one single market only which presents a high risk to the marketer. ‘The more we can have a diverse mix of tourists, the better it will suit HK’s case because HK is such a tiny place. We don’t want every tourist to come to the same spot doing exactly the same thing’, claimed Edward Yau, Secretary for Commerce and Economic Development (Siu, 2017). He suggested HK should target high-yield and young tourists who want ‘distinctive’ experiences. The HK Tourism Board has spent 76% of its marketing budget for attracting more international customers amidst the expected lag in the Mainland Chinese tourists in 2016 (Li, 2017). More efforts in improving the destination appeal of HK to overseas market are needed. The increased conflicts between Mainland China and Hong Kong are the root of the rising tension problem which cannot be easily solved.

Induced Negative Impacts from Parallel Traders

Residents’ perceived the impacts brought by tourism negatively, which means tourism brings more costs than benefits to the HK community. To gain the support from residents for tourism, tourism must be viewed by residents favourably, with benefits outweighing the costs. Interviewee 5, the organiser of the Anti-Mainlanders campaign, mentioned that the negative impacts were actually brought by the day-trippers instead of ‘real’ tourists in HK. The negative impacts were far more than positive gains from tourism.

In fact, 95% of the tourists in Northern district were not 'Real' tourists, they are just 'day-trippers' for parallel shopping. I saw the terrible phenomenon there and felt that the whole district was totally ruined by them. My interactions with them are negative. We argued as they did not obey our rules. They hit us too. (.....) The professionalism in retail industry was damaged, the standard of the restaurants also drops.

(Interviewee 5)

Parallel traders in residential districts, such as Sheung Shui, Shatin and Tuen Mun, created many problems for residents which triggered numerous protests against Mainland Chinese tourists. These protests heightened local resentment over the tourists as well as towards the HKSAR Government. As a matter of fact, HK has tightened the visa regulations for tourists under the IVS. Before the new policy, Shenzhen residents had long enjoyed the privilege of having multiple entry visas that allowed them to visit HK as many times as they liked which facilitated the parallel-trading activities. In April 2015, the scheme was then modified from allowing multiple entries a year to HK to one entry per week, following serious clashes between the Mainland Chinese tourists and local residents (Li, 2017). The parallel-trading activities by the day-trippers from Mainland China were then reduced. Furthermore, the contribution of parallel trading for the local community is rather limited. The traders only come to HK to buy goods for parallel-trading purposes, and they are not 'real' tourists contributing to the local tourism industry. Residents have been raising concerns over the substantial negative consequences brought about by these parallel traders as they do not benefit the local economy.

Over-Abundance of Tourists

Another perception about local tourism development was about the huge number of tourist arrivals in HK. 'The sheer amount of tourists in HK has been few times of the population of HK is considered as ridiculous and unrealistic', said Interviewee 3.

With more areas being developed over these years in HK, the population density has tremendously increased. Everyone has a limited space for living and breathing. It is like 'a glass which can only hold so much water; if we keep pouring water, it will spill over' (Lee, 2014). The huge crowds of tourists created terrific congestion in most of the local residential areas, further worsening the living condition and neighbourhood of HK

residents. To lessen the problem, a number of student interviewees and interviewees suggested to lower the intake quota from Mainland China every day to release the tension between the host and tourists. This issue relates to the carrying capacity of HK in receiving tourists from Mainland China. It has been reported that the huge crowds of tourists created many social and environmental problems (see Section 4.4, p. 104). These social and environmental problems tightened the tensions and created more conflicts between HK and Mainland China.

Antiquated Direction of Tourism Development

In terms of the future tourism development, Interviewee 6 commented that the HKSAR Government has put too much effort on the Mainland Chinese market. Instead, the government should consider how to develop sustainable tourism for HK.

Did the government develop this kind (eco-tourism) of tourism opportunity for them? They are still using the family walking trails developed 30 or 40 years ago. (.....) They should not only focus on developing theme parks, but also develop something more sustainable to attract tourist visits.

(Interviewee 6)

Interviewee R from the TFG and interviewee A from the NTFG both pointed out that the HKSAR government just promoted HK 'shopping tourism' which is not sustainable and attractive.

The government just promotes 'shopping tourism' in HK. From foreign tourists' eyes, HK is about shopping, pharmacy shops and restaurants. Brazil has just hosted the Olympics and Mount Jesus is a representative iconic attraction there, but there is no similar iconic attraction in Hong Kong. The feature of Hong Kong is about shopping tourism. If you visit popular shopping malls in Tsim Sha Tsui, the shopping landscapes are similar, i.e. the shop mix is similar. Every district copies from other districts. It seems the Government has been too focused on promoting Hong Kong as 'shopping paradise.'

(Interviewee R, TFG)

Owing to the heavy reliance on shopping tourism in HK, the local retail industry has been suffering since June 2019 due to the social unrest in HK. Since June 2019, there have been various protests in Hong Kong where fewer residents did not go out and tourists did not come to HK. In January 2020, the monthly retail sales was HK\$37,774 million, with a 21.4% decrease when compared with that in January 2019 (Hong Kong Retail Management Association, 2020). Annie Yau Tse, Chairman of the HK Retail Management Association, claimed that HK cannot rely on the Free Independent Travellers via the IVS to save the retail industry like SARS in 2003 anymore (Tse, 2020). During the outbreak of Covid-19, the retail shops in HK made use of its online selling platform to reach the local teenagers and young adults to save the industry. If the local retail industry is heavily dependent on the tourists, it will become fragile and volatile.

Interviewee 9, who worked in a luxury brand shop, commented that HK was actually losing its competitive advantage in shopping tourism. The tourists may go somewhere else in Asia or even Europe for shopping luxury goods because of better price. Shopping tourism is not a unique advantage of HK anymore. Apart from marketing Hong Kong as a 'shopping' destination for the Mainland Chinese market, the HKSAR government should consider how to enhance the destination appeal of Hong Kong to Mainland Chinese tourists and overseas tourists. The tremendous number of Mainland Chinese tourists in HK was mainly due to the ease of transportation and proximity of location to various Mainland cities. When these tourists become more experienced, they may travel to Japan, Korea or even Europe for shopping rather than HK. Owing to this, interviewees were concerned about the current direction of tourism development in HK which is not sustainable and competitive.

Inherent Problem between Mainland China and HK

Interviewee 4 made an extraordinary comment that the controversial issues in HK tourism were, in fact, a political phenomenon. He explained that in general, HK residents do not want to see themselves as a Chinese, so they tried to oppose the Mainland Government.

'The recent news on tourism is just a political phenomenon. People don't like the China Government, that's why they criticise the issue of Mainland China tourists'.

(Interviewee 4)

After the return of HK sovereignty to Mainland China in 1997, the majority of interviewees did not identify themselves as Chinese. Figure 4.5 shows the percentage of residents recognising themselves as Chinese kept dropping from 1997 to 2019. Many of them still identified themselves as Hongkongers, especially the young generation. According to Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020), in 2019, more than 90% of teenagers aged from 18 to 29 considered themselves as Hongkongers or Hongkongers in China. They also wanted to be distinguished clearly from the Mainlanders. They own the belief of ‘one country, two systems’. Therefore, they considered the HKSAR as not a part of China. Many of them even refuse to consider themselves as ‘One family’ with Mainlanders who are labelled as ‘locusts’. This is a political phenomenon which cannot be easily solved. Owing to the reluctance of considering Mainlanders as siblings, the tolerance over their uncivilised behaviours was extremely low.

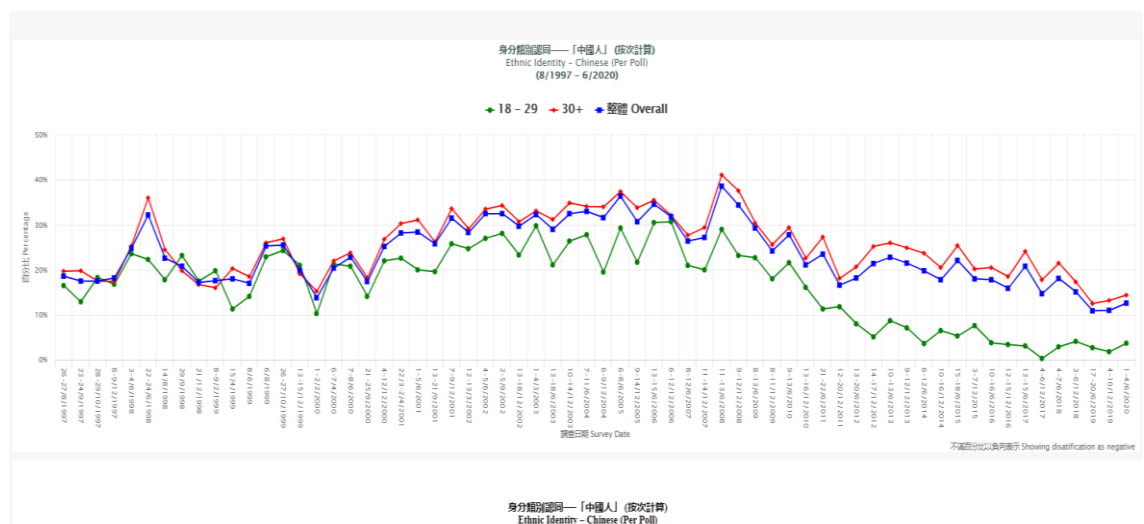


Figure 4.5 Ethnic Identity - ‘Chinese’ from 1997 to 2019

Source: Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020)

A short interview was conducted with a HK postgraduate student originally from Mainland China to provide further insights on this issue. She mentioned that the Mainland Chinese tourists displayed the same behaviours as they were in China when travelling in HK because they considered HK as just a ‘brother’ of their home cities, and both belong to Mainland China. The feeling of travelling in HK is just like going ‘home’, so they tend to behave casually as if they are at home.

In addition, HK was under the British Government until 30 June 1997. Many HK people were proud of being a colony of the United Kingdom. It is extremely difficult for them to identify themselves as ‘Chinese’ after being ‘Overseas British’ for many years. Interviewee 4 quoted that HK people do not like the Chinese Government which portrays a bad reputation and image to HK residents or the world. Moreover, Hongkongers have a totally different cultural background than Mainland Chinese tourists. Rooted from this fundamental political problem, the host–tourist conflicts become more serious. These conflicts worsened after the Anti-Extradition Bill protest in 2019 and the outbreak of Covid-19 in 2020 which originated from Mainland China. If HK people can treat these Mainland Chinese tourists as their siblings, the tourism problems may be resolved easily.

The above sub-sections (4.4.1 – Perceived Economic Impacts, 4.4.2 – Perceived Socio-Cultural Impacts, 4.4.3 – Perceived Environmental Impacts, 4.4.4 – Crowding and Congestion Impacts and 4.4.5 – Residents’ Perceptions towards Tourism and Tourism Development in HK) present local residents’ perceived impacts brought about by the tourism as well as their overall perceptions towards tourism development in HK and their support towards it. These findings and discussion address research question 1 of this study.

4.5 Factors Affecting the Perceptions of Residents on Tourism Impacts in Hong Kong

Research question 2 aims to investigate how the various factors affect the perceptions of residents on tourism impacts in HK. Two new factors, namely, (i) type and origin of tourists and (ii) attitude to tourists, are found to affect residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts in HK. Some factors are studied in this research because they are highly relevant and important to the HK community.

4.5.1 Sub-Ethnic Identity

According to the poll by the University of Hong Kong's Public Opinion Programme (2020), the two major groups of sub-ethnic identities in HK are 'Chinese' or 'Chinese in HK' and 'Hongkonger' or 'Hongkonger in China'. The 'Hongkonger' identity signifies a local identity, and localism versus national identity and nationalism (Veg, 2017). According to Blundy (2016), the term 'Hongkonger' extends well beyond politics and nationality and crosses into definitions of culture, ethnicity, race and morality. There has been debate about the sub-ethnic identity of people living in HK. After the return of sovereignty of HK to the Chinese Central Government in 1997, differing views about this sub-ethnic identity issue have emerged.

HK residents either considered themselves as 'Chinese' who treat Mainlanders as 'one family' or 'Hongkongers' who differentiate themselves clearly from Mainlanders. For interviewees who like or are supportive of China, they do not mind or accept themselves as being 'Chinese in HK' or 'Chinese'. On the contrary, interviewees who still regard HK as a premier city previously governed by the British government, tend to consider themselves as a 'Hongkonger' rather than 'Chinese'.

4.5.1.1 Chinese in HK

Several interviewees (Interviewees 2, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 & Interviewee A, NTFG) admitted their nationality as Chinese simply because HK is part of China after 1997. They admit they were 'Chinese in HK'. Most of these interviewees were aged 35 or above.

'Chinese in HK. I think China is a big nation. It is undeniable that HK is part of Chinese territory. We are living in a Special Administrative Region, but we are China in terms of the geographical location'.

(Interviewee A, NTFG)

I am Chinese, and I grew up and living in HK. HK is part of China. Perhaps some people do not agree or recognise with China, that is why they consider themselves as Hongkongers. But these are two different issues.

(Interviewee 6)

This group of interviewees tended to perceive more positive views about tourism impacts and tourism development in HK. With their sub-ethnic identity being 'Chinese', they viewed being 'One Family' with the Mainland Chinese tourists, so they bore a higher level of tolerance to the inappropriate or impolite behaviour of the Mainlanders. Some interviewees (Interviewees 7, 8 and 9) who identified themselves as 'Chinese' tended to possess an even higher level of tolerance towards the tourists' behaviour and negative impacts brought by tourism to HK community. Interviewee 7 reiterated his sub-ethnic identity of being 'Chinese' no matter where he was. He even educated his two daughters, who regarded themselves as 'Hongkongers' and discriminated the Mainlanders.

The identification of sub-ethnicity was related to the age group of the interviewees as well. The younger age groups tended to label themselves as 'Hongkonger', whereas the older or senior group who migrated from China many years ago labelled themselves as 'Chinese'. The older interviewees who were born in China many years ago and migrated to HK tended to view tourism as a good business activity for the destination. They viewed Mainland Chinese tourists as 'Tong Bao (同胞)', that is, compatriot or sibling. Wassler et al. (2018) explained this phenomenon as older generations in HK have a stronger relationship with Mainland either by strong business relationships with China, having migrated from China in the 1980s or having siblings or relatives there. Therefore, they were willing to tolerate their behaviour and accept the negative impacts associated with tourism development. On the contrary, the young generation tend to differentiate themselves from 'Mainlanders' and dislike Mainland China. The younger generations have less emotional attachment to Mainland China as most were born and grew up in HK, similar to Taiwan's younger generations (Jacobs & Liu, 2007).

4.5.1.2 Hongkonger

The majority of student interviewees in the two focus groups (Interviewees A, C, F, J, R, S, TFG and all interviewees, NTFG) as well as Interviewees 1, 4 and 5 considered their ethnic identity as a ‘Hongkonger’ even though HK officially returned to China on 1 July 1997. Some Hongkongers refused to admit their official identity as ‘Chinese’.

I am a HK native; I think they are Chinese. They came to my house and of course impacted our lives. Because they are not HK people, I feel that they have changed my home and affected our lives. I feel that we don't belong in the same family.

(Interviewee A, NTFG)

These interviewees believed that HK has its own culture and habits which should be considered as ‘another country’ with a distinctive sub-ethnic identity other than Chinese. Many interviewees tried to differentiate themselves from the Mainland Chinese tourists. They felt that Mainland Chinese tourists are totally different than HK people who are more civilised, elegant, sensible and educated. Interviewees who labelled themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ were younger in age. Clearly, the older interviewees love their hometown—China—so they were willing to acknowledge themselves as ‘Chinese’. By contrast, the younger generation disliked Mainland China, so they insisted that they are a ‘Hongkonger’. They would like to be distinguished from the Mainland Chinese rather than admitting they belong to ‘One family’.

Figure 4.6 shows that 94% of people aged 18–29 and 74% of people aged 30 or above identified themselves as ‘Hongkonger’. Figure 4.7 indicates that only 5% of people aged 18–29 and 25% of people aged 30 or above recognised themselves as ‘Chinese’. Noticeably, the percentage of people identifying themselves as ‘Hongkonger’ has kept increasing since 2009. At the same time, the percentage of people recognising themselves as ‘Chinese’ kept dropping.

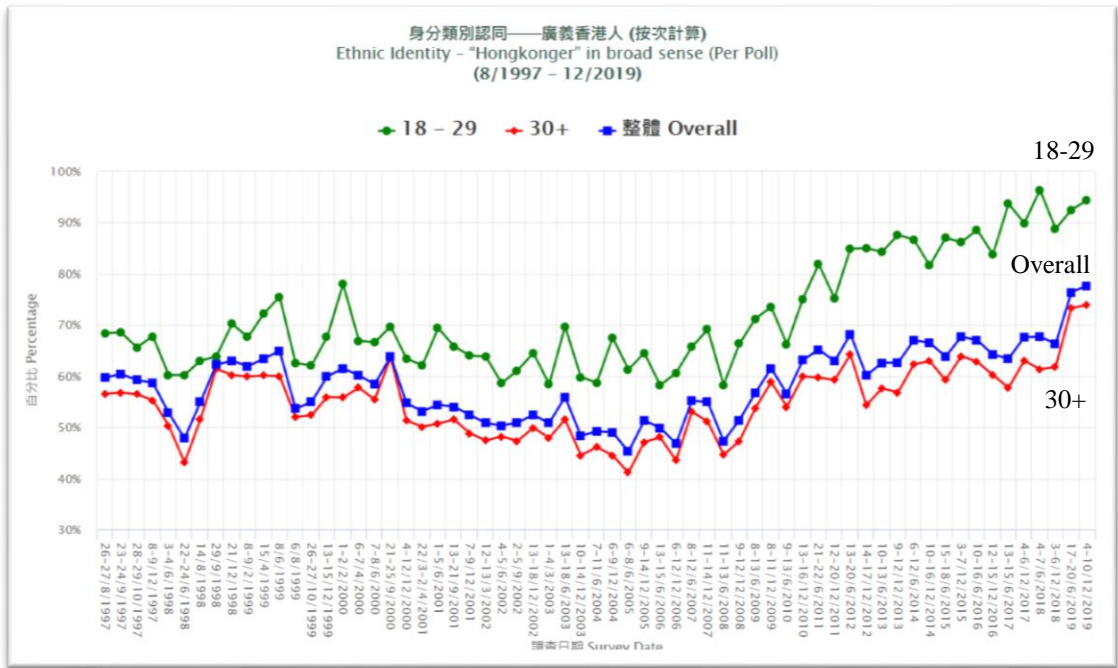


Figure 4.6 Ethnic Identity – ‘Hongkonger’ in broad sense (including Hongkonger and Hongkonger in China) (1997 to 2019)
Source: Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020)

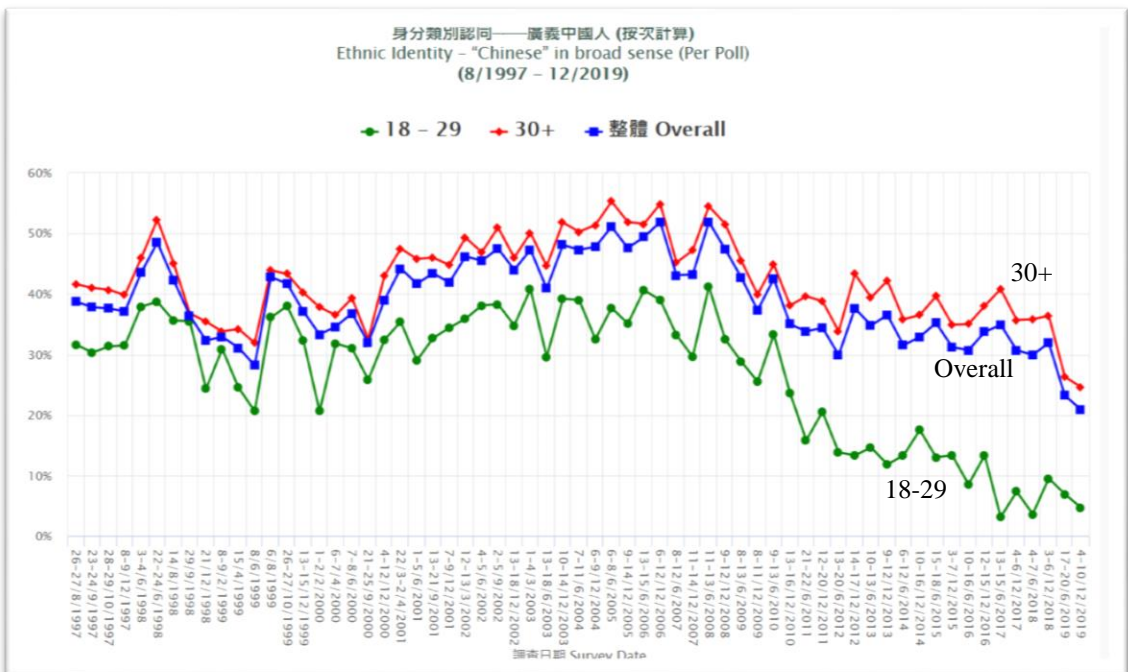


Figure 4.7 Ethnic Identity – ‘Chinese’ in broad sense (including Chinese and Chinese in Hong Kong) (1997 to 2019)
Source: Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020)

Obviously, a vast majority of younger people (aged 18–29) identified themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ rather than as ‘Chinese’.

By looking at a broader perspective, Figure 4.6 shows the percentage of locals recognising themselves as ‘Hongkongers’, including Hongkongers and Hongkongers in China which is more than 75%, far exceeds the percentage of locals (less than 25%) identifying themselves as ‘Chinese’ which include Chinese and Chinese in HK. It implies that locals identified themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ rather than ‘Chinese’. Again, the gap between these two identities has grown wider.

Regardless of the age of people, Figure 4.8 shows the identity indices of HK people where the number of people recognising themselves as ‘Hongkongers’ far exceeded those recognising themselves as ‘Chinese’. The number of people recognising as ‘Hongkongers’ or ‘Chinese’ was the same in 2008. The gap between number of people recognising these two nationalities has become wider, with the biggest gap in 2019, undoubtedly due to the protest movement.

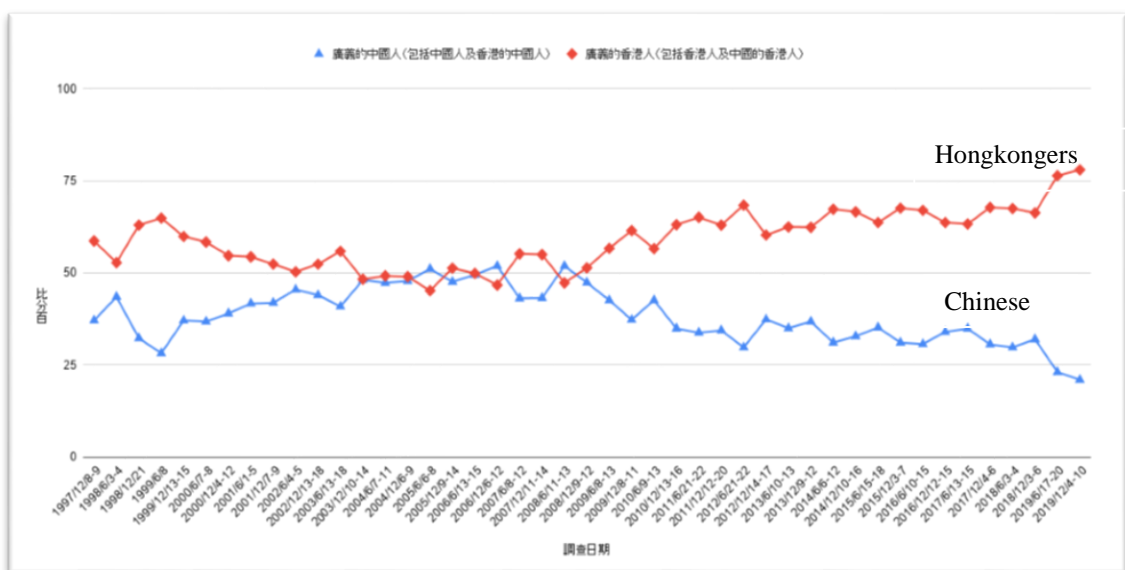


Figure 4.8 Ethnic Identity – Chinese Versus Hongkongers

Source: Public Opinion Programme, The University of Hong Kong (2019) & Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020)

Professor Gordon Mathews from the Department of Anthropology at Chinese University in HK claimed a significant shift of students’ identity of their ethnicity since the handover in 1997. He mentioned:

‘Twenty years ago, if you’d asked students in my class about their identity, they would have said HK Chinese or Chinese. But today, you can’t hear many people saying they are ‘Chinese’. (Blundy, 2016)

Obviously, the younger generation has shifted their recognition of identity from Chinese to Hongkongers. The percentage of people recognising themselves as ‘Hongkonger’ far exceeds those recognising themselves as ‘Chinese’. Yew and Kwong (2014) explained that the efforts of Chinese Central Government to impose a national identity on Hong Kong people disregarding their need for cultural distinctiveness has backfired. Another reason is the influx of Mainland Chinese tourists and immigrants as a result of pro-integration policies creating problems like wealth distribution inequality, strong dissatisfaction and antagonism towards the Chinese national identity among HK people (Zheng & Xu, 2016).

These findings imply that Hongkongers tend to perceive that the negative tourism impacts exceed the positive impacts, and they are less favourable towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. It may also imply that more people in HK perceive tourism impacts negatively (i.e. where the negative impacts outweigh positive ones) and are less favourable to Mainland Chinese tourists. Even though the interviewees indicated support for tourism development in HK, they urged the HKSAR Government to broaden the source markets to cover other overseas market rather than focusing on the Mainland Chinese market alone.

4.5.1.3 Other Nationality

Only Interviewee 3 originated from the United Kingdom, so his national identity was English, neither Hongkonger nor Chinese. He admitted that the sub-ethnic identity had an impact on how he viewed tourism in HK because he is not a Hongkonger even though he has resided in the area for 20 years. Owing to his sub-ethnic identity and being an ‘outsider’, his opinions tended to be neutral and impartial towards tourism in HK. Moreover, he has been residing in an outlying island in HK—Lamma Island—wherein the tourism impacts to this community have been minimal.

4.5.1.4 Relationship between Sub-Ethnic Identity (SEI) and Perception (P)

Most interviewees frankly admitted that their sub-ethnic identity influences and shapes their opinions or perceptions towards tourism. Only two thought otherwise.

Some people who think they are Chinese believe that we should welcome Mainland compatriots. But I will not, because I am not their compatriot (同胞). But I will not admit I am part of them. Yes, there is an influence of my ethnicity in shaping my opinions about tourism.

(Interviewee C, NTFG)

Yes, there is relationship between my ethnicity and perceptions about tourism. I do not agree that China is part of my HK. That's why I don't like strangers visiting my home.

(Interviewee F, TFG)

Moreover, interviewees who identified themselves as Hongkongers, insisted strongly to differentiate themselves from the Mainland Chinese tourists. They strongly believed these two cultural groups possess different cultures and habits. Student interviewees F, A and B from the TFG thought that outsiders (the Mainland Chinese) came to their home and they felt disgusted.

I am a HK native and they (The tourists) are Chinese. They came to my house and, of course, impact our lives. Because they are not HK people, I feel that they have changed my home and affected my life. I feel that we don't belong in the same family.

(Interviewee A, TFG)

It also has an impact. When we admit that we are Hongkongers, the Mainland compatriots like to say: 'If it were not China, HK would have already finished. '要不是中國, 你們早就完蛋了' I do not even want them to come to HK when I hear this sentence. I do not want tourists, even if they come to benefit us. They said this and they are so arrogant, and they are self-righteous lying (自己為是). I don't like them.

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

Some interviewees in the in-depth interviews also had a strong desire to be distinguished from the Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewee 1 rationalised this behaviour because of the poor image of the Mainland Chinese tourists around the world. Interviewee 1 even said HK people displayed better behaviour in terms of talking and behaving than the

Mainland Chinese. Interviewee 7 considered himself as 'Chinese', but he pointed out that his daughters identified themselves as 'Hongkongers' and felt disgusted with the Mainland Chinese tourists because of their unhygienic behaviour. Interviewee 10 indicated that she was a HK Chinese instead of Mainland Chinese. From her mindset, Hongkongers are considered to be 'better' Chinese, whereas the Mainland Chinese displayed more uncivilised behaviour.

The HK people desires to differentiate from the Mainland Chinese tourists because of the poor image of these tourists around the world. (.....) At least, I will find a bit different in terms of the way I talk the way I act, I am significantly different than them.

(Interviewee 1)

'My two daughters don't like the tourists a bit as they think they don't keep the order, no public morality, 'P' (Urinate) everywhere. They think the tourists are disgusting. They feel they are Hongkongers'.

(Interviewee 7)

Other interviewees have firmly considered themselves as 'Hongkongers' as they were totally different and better qualified than being 'Chinese'. A few student interviewees from the NTFG shared similar thoughts of wanting to clearly differentiate themselves from the Mainlanders.

From some online clips, we can see that some disputes (such as fighting for seats, pee on the street etc.) between the Mainlanders and HK people, this has made people around the world think that the reputation of HK is poor, and the quality of HK people is bad. This makes HK people want to draw a clear line with the Mainlanders. That's why HK people always distinguish themselves from the Mainlanders.

(Interviewee G, NTFG)

I don't want to be a Chinese, but it is impossible to deny I am Chinese. Since I do not like China, when more and more Mainlanders come to HK, which makes me hate this by double, i.e. the Mainlanders coming to HK. Because I don't like to be a Chinese.

(Interviewee E, NTFG)

Many online videos or news clippings report the bad behaviour of the Mainlanders all over the world. It makes the Hongkongers do not want to belong to the same group as them who have gained a poor reputation in the world. Pile (2017) pointed out that Chinese travellers often make headlines in newspapers who were ranked as the number 1 nationality who horrified locals the most and left fellow citizens from the same nation cowering with embarrassment. Zuo (2013) pointed out that Chinese tourists have gained a bad reputation all over the world. Therefore, HK residents are reluctant to admit being 'Chinese' which has gained poor image everywhere.

Nevertheless, three interviewees (R4, R8 and R9) strongly thought that they were Chinese and held the beliefs that they were 'One Family'. They also commented that their sub-ethnicity has no influence on shaping their thoughts on tourism. Interviewee 4 was a retired person who originated from Mainland China and migrated to HK in the 1960s.

No, I don't think my ethnic identity has any influence on my opinions towards tourism. I have a home return permit to go China and I can visit China and they (the Mainland Chinese tourists) can come too. It is fair. I migrated from China to HK during the 1960s, Mainlanders and I belong to the same nation. I welcome and like them to visit my hometown in HK.

(Interviewee 4)

Interviewee 8, a travel executive in HK, shared his views about the development of HK and China. Even though he was born in HK, he has gone through the evolution of old HK to become a new HK with deep understanding about the tourism development in HK. His own experience working in the travel industry for more than 40 years shaped his social representations about tourism impacts in HK. Therefore, the influence of his sub-ethnic identity on his representation is minimal. Interviewee 9 further analysed his perception on tourism as mainly based on her economic dependency on tourism rather than sub-ethnic identity. The influence from economic dependency overwrites the influence from sub-ethnic identity. Only Interviewee 5 who was the protester and organiser for the Anti-Mainlanders campaign recognised himself as a 'Hongkonger', but he thought the lack of relationship between his sub-ethnicity and his opinions towards

tourism. He commented that his opinions towards tourism was based on the actual fact that the tourists disturb locals' life, not because of his sub-ethnic identity as a Hongkonger. He perceived himself as Hongkonger which does not belong to the same group as the Mainlanders, so he had a lower level of tolerance towards the negative impacts brought about by the tourists on the community.

Based on the previous study conducted by Sinclair-Maragh (2017), residents aged 18 to 25 and are of black ethnicity tend to support tourism development because most of them enjoy the benefits brought about by tourism in Jamaica. To the contrary, Hongkonger tends to perceive tourism impacts and tourism development less positively than Chinese in HK. Hongkongers want to differentiate themselves clearly from the Mainlanders, whereas Chinese in HK believe they are part of 'One family'. Similar results were also found in a study by Ye et al. (2014), that is, social identity of residents have impacts on the perceptions towards the relaxation of IVS, through which around 4 million Shenzhen residents were granted multiple entry visits to HK for 1 year. Hong Kong-Chinese citizens who were primarily Chinese citizens were less negative towards the relaxation of the IVS, whereas HK citizens were negative towards it. Social identity of residents was also related to the perceived cultural distance (i.e. value, social norms and ways of life) between HK and Mainland Chinese. Palmer et al. (2013) attempted to investigate the relationship between residents' identity and their propensity to become advocates for inbound tourism. The strength of residents' identification with their community is associated to their possibility of sharing their knowledge with friends, work colleagues or tourists. Weak identity with a destination may have opposite impacts such as portraying disruptive and obstructive to tourists. Cognitive elements of social identity (i.e. residents should identify or consider themselves to be members of their home country) are associated with higher advocacy to inbound tourism, whereas emotional elements of social identity (i.e. an emotional connection to the place and feelings of belonging) have not much impacts on it.

Figure 4.9 shows that individual sub-ethnic identity of being a Hongkonger or Chinese affects residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts. Hongkongers perceived that the negative impacts outweigh positive impacts brought by tourism, whereas Chinese in HK considered tourism impacts more positively.

Based on the relationship proposed in Section 4.5.9 (p. 176) where residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts may affect how residents react to Mainland Chinese tourists, if they have a negative evaluation of tourism impacts, they will display an unfavourable attitude towards the tourists from Mainland China and lower level of support to tourism. The attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists was also affected by the perceptions of tourism impacts. Therefore, Figure 4.9 shows an extended relationship between sub-ethnic identity, perceptions of tourism impacts and attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists as well as level of support for tourism development. Residents considering themselves as 'Chinese' perceived tourism impacts favourably and hence portrayed a favourable attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists. Residents identifying themselves as 'Hongkongers' perceived tourism impacts unfavourably and hence demonstrated an unfavourable attitude towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. Perceptions on tourism impacts were also positively associated to the level of support for tourism development.

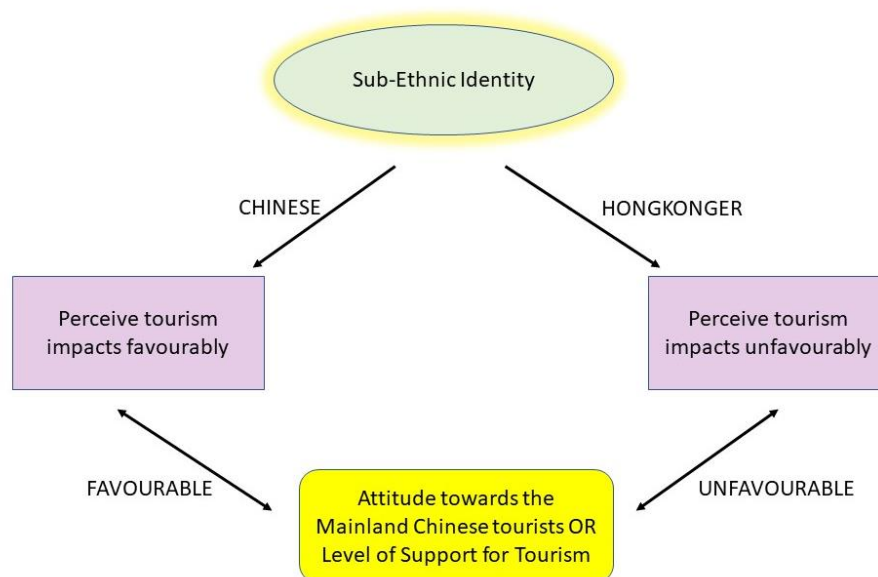


Figure 4.9 Sub-ethnic Identity, Perceptions of Tourism Impacts and Attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists/Level of Support for Tourism

Source: Author

Knowing that sub-ethnic identity, perceptions of tourism impacts and attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists/level of support for tourism are associated, what contribute and how to change the individual identification of their own sub-ethnic identity must be known.

4.5.2 Community Attachment

Based on the literature review, the variable community attachment in this study was operationalised by residents' economic dependency on tourism and their length of residency in HK.

4.5.2.1 Economic Dependency on Tourism

Economic dependency is an element of community attachment which positively influences how residents assess tourism impacts. Interviewees' economic dependency on tourism was determined whether a spouse or major family member has full-time employment in tourism-related companies and provides a major source of income for the household. Some interviewees in the two focus-group interviews had part-time jobs in the tourism industry. Their part-time jobs were temporary, and the income derived from such jobs was a minimal source of income for their household. Therefore, the students who had part-time tourism-related jobs were not considered to be 'economically dependent on tourism'.

In the in-depth interviews, four interviewees (R2, 7, 8 and 9) had direct employment related to tourism industry. R2 is a lecturer teaching tourism management subjects, R7 is an inflight service manager, R8 is an elected representative and tourism executive and R9 is a senior salesperson in a tourism-retail shop. These interviewees demonstrated positive evaluations of the tourism impacts and had neutral opinions on the negative impacts brought by tourism, such as crowding and congestion, high inflation, and deteriorating quality of life. Moreover, they were willing to tolerate the misbehaviour and accept the wrong doings of the Mainland Chinese tourists. They consistently showed a higher level of support to tourism development in HK despite its negative impacts. Even Interviewees 7 and 8 who lived quite close to tourism areas demonstrated a high level of understanding towards the tourists' rude, impolite and uncivilised behaviours.

(i) Interviewee 2: Lecturer teaching Tourism Management Subjects

Interviewee 2 is a lecturer teaching tourism management subjects at the researcher's institution. He has been residing in HK for 10 years, and he is an ethnic Chinese. Regarding his national identity and economic dependency on tourism, he was very positive about the tourism impacts in HK and was neutral and conservative towards the negative impacts brought by the huge crowd of Mainland Chinese tourists. He

commented that people benefiting from tourism would like seeing more tourists who bring them revenue, whereas people who were not benefiting from tourism would dislike the tourists due to their behaviours. In relation to the residents' resentment towards the Mainland Chinese tourists, he demonstrated his understanding towards their actions. He was also able to accept their misbehaviour. He was quite defensive against his compatriots. He would welcome the tourists from the Mainland China, his homeland, but, at the same time, he felt ashamed when he encountered some misbehaviour of his compatriots.

In terms of the level of support towards tourism development, he truly recognised the important contribution of tourism to the HK economy. He suggested that residents should better understand the needs of tourists that reach a win-win situation. By understanding the needs of the tourists, residents can provide a hospitable service to the tourists which is a key to sustainable development of tourism in HK. When tourists feel welcomed by the residents, their satisfaction from travel experience increases, leading to a higher intention to revisit. Poor treatment received from residents may result to a poor tourist experience and satisfaction at the destination. Ap (1992) pointed out that residents' hospitality towards tourists may affect the latter's visit satisfaction.

We are the residents, also a kind of the people providing the hospitality to our tourists. Therefore, we need to understand them and show that we really welcome them. So, on one hand, we need to really learn something what is the tourist need, and then how to treat the tourist even we are not really working for the tourism industry.

(Interviewee 2)

Even though Interviewee 2 is economically dependent on tourism, he was also an ethnic Chinese. His perceptions towards tourism may somehow be shaped by his economic dependency on tourism and sub-ethnic identity as Chinese.

(ii) Interviewee 7: Inflight Service Manager

Interviewee 7, an inflight manager, was also a supporter of tourism development in HK. He has worked in an airline for more than 30 years in his current position, and he has been solely relying on the tourism industry to earn his living. He lives in a residential building where the tourist shops are located downstairs with tour coaches parked nearby

most of the time. For him, the tourists outside his home did not create any disturbance to his life, so he welcomed tourists visiting HK.

In terms of the quality of the tourists visiting HK, he agreed that the quality of tourists have deteriorated as they speak louder and smoke in the prohibited areas. However, it was not problematic for him at all, and he would try to avoid going to the congested areas. He demonstrated a high level of support towards tourism because of his economic dependency on tourism. He welcomed Mainland Chinese tourists despite their behaviour which has been negatively painted in various media.

(iii) Interviewee 8: Elected Representative and Tourism Executive

Interviewee 8 who is fully dependent on tourism said,

Since I worked in tourism industry as my first job until now, I have connected to the industry for 45 years. All my personal wealth, my enhancement of living quality, my professional network and my current achievement of my job are all rooted from tourism industry.

(Interviewee 8)

Although he heard numerous complaints from residents about the negative impacts brought by the Mainland Chinese tourists, his responses were quite positive and defensive about the tourists. He also considered the impacts on socio-cultural perspective as positive, which was seldom mentioned. As for the negative impacts mentioned by most of the interviewees on the parallel-trading issues in Sheung Shui, he mentioned and even criticised that HK people are replacing Mainland Chinese tourists as parallel traders. He attributed the root of the problem in parallel trading to the geographical proximity between Sheung Shui (HK) and Shenzhen (Mainland China), but not the tourists themselves.

He also considered the negative impacts brought by tourism have improved in the recent years. Nevertheless, he stressed that tourism also brought positive impacts to the community in terms of preservation of heritage, country parks and museums. Although residents were commenting the crowding and congestion impacts brought by tourism and did not welcome tourists visiting their residential areas, he appreciated the vitality and energy brought by the tourists in his residential district in Western Central.

He held positive views about the Mainland Chinese tourists and considered them as more educated and civilised than before. He further suggested HK to provide learning opportunities for the Mainland Chinese tourists to be ‘better’ tourists.

In the past, our perceptions towards Mainland China tourists are relatively negative as we perceived them littering everywhere, speaking loudly, not queuing up, uncivilised action, rich and overbearing. (... ..) But in these 10 years, I see them being more educated and civilised, more experienced in travelling. Their quality is higher than before. (... ..) When we serve our clients from Guangdong province, they feel that they can learn from HK in various aspects (... ..). In fact, we should not push aside them, but we should understand them. Let them learn from our HK style and culture. As HK residents, we should think in this way.

(Interviewee 8)

He also commented about the negative attitude of HK teenagers towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. He criticised the HK teenagers being too superficial in mindset and lacking international horizons. To convince the teenagers to accept the Mainland Chinese tourists, teenagers should give more consideration and understanding to the developing country, China. HK residents should have an impartial comparison and evaluation of HK and Mainland China and not compare the worst in China with the best in HK. He was helping to change the residents’ perceptions towards tourism and tourists by explaining the misunderstanding residents might have about the tourists. In his case, he embraces tourism as this has been his ‘bread and butter’ for 45 years.

(iv) Interviewee 9: Senior Sales in a Tourism-Retail Shop

Interviewee 9 has worked as senior salesperson in tourism-retail shop for 20 years. She has been interacting with the Mainland Chinese tourists every day. She pointed out her colleagues being unreasonable when they dislike or even look down on the Mainland Chinese tourists. She has shown a high level of understanding and tolerance over the inappropriate behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists.

Even we are earning money from Mainland Chinese tourists, I can see my colleagues do not really like them or even look down on them. But I think

it is not reasonable. (.....) They look down on them or dislike them is simply because of cultural difference.

(Interviewee 9)

Based on the above findings and as shown in Figure 4.10, interviewees with economic dependency on tourism were likely to perceive tourism impacts positively and accept the negative impacts brought by the tourism development in HK. They were likely to accept the misbehaviours of the Mainland Chinese tourists and were more willing to support tourism development in HK. It is logical that for someone dependent on tourism to support tourism as it is their 'bread and butter'. According to SET, individuals who benefit from tourism are more likely to engage positively with tourists (Ap, 1992). Ap (1992) claimed that personal benefits were a significant predictor of residents' perceived positive impacts of tourism but weak determinant of their perceived negative impacts. Latkova and Vogt (2012) and Nunkoo and So (2015) found that personal benefits influence residents' perceived tourism impacts regardless of its nature, whether positive or negative. Teng (2019) further suggested that economic dependency on tourism can weaken the relationships among tourism conflict, perceived benefits and costs and support for tourism. Therefore, residents with personal benefits from tourism perceive tourism impacts positively and demonstrate a higher level of tolerance or acceptance towards the negative changes brought by tourism (i.e. positive impacts outweigh negative costs) and a higher level of support to tourism. To the contrary, residents with no personal benefits from tourism perceive tourism impacts negatively and are less willing to support tourism.

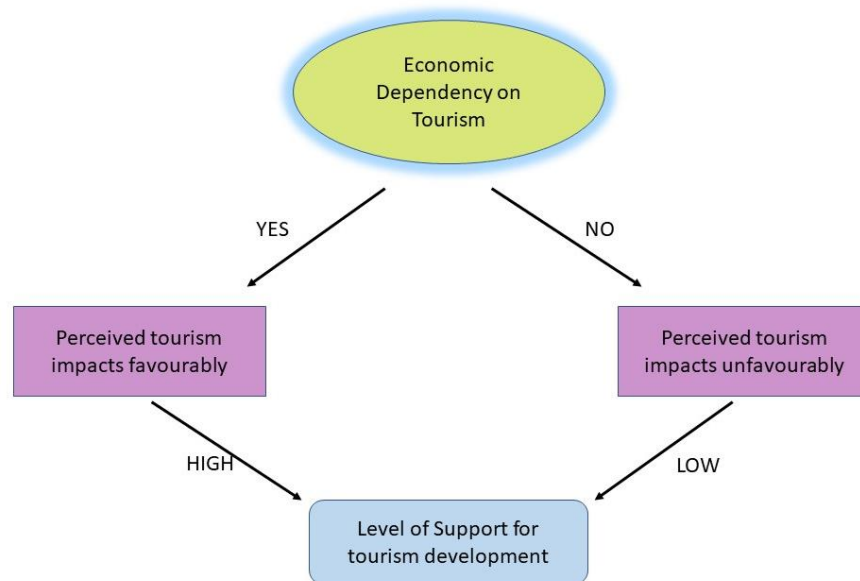


Figure 4.10 Economic Dependency, Perceptions of Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development
Source: Author

4.5.2.2 Length of Residency in HK

All interviewees interviewed were permanent residents in HK who had at least 10 years of residency, and they viewed HK as their home except for Interviewee 3 who originated from the United Kingdom and can return there any time. Interviewee 2, who came from Mainland China, had the shortest length of residency of 10 years, and his views were rather neutral. Interviewee 4 originated from Mainland China and had the longest length of residency of 60 years in HK, and he viewed tourism positively. Although some previous studies find a relationship between the length of residency and perceptions of tourism (e.g. Almeida-Garcia et al, 2016), the current research does not observe an obvious relationship. As a matter of fact, there were two groups of immigrants in HK. Those regarded as the early immigrants represent the older generation who migrated to HK from the 1950s following the succession of the Communist Government. The more recent immigrants have migrated within the past two decades. Both groups of Mainland residents held positive perceptions towards tourism development in HK. Therefore, residents' length of residency in HK had no association with their community attachment, and no apparent linkage was found between their length of residency and perceptions towards tourism. This finding concurs with the study conducted by Sinclair-Maragh (2017). McCool and Martin (1994) also questioned the use of length of residency to

determine the level of community attachment. Community attachment is defined as ‘the extent and pattern of social participation and integration into the community, and sentiment or affect towards the community’ (McCool & Martin, 1994, p. 30). ‘Social participation and integration’ can be operationalised by length of residency and residents’ affection towards the community. As the affective component of residents about HK was not investigated and used to deduce the level of community attachment of interviewees in this study, length of residency was not reliable in determining community attachment. Rather than length of residency, local involvement perhaps would be a more suitable factor to determine the residents’ perceptions and support for tourism (Ko & Stewart, 2002; Lundberg, 2017) where residents involved in tourism and non-tourism-related issues are inclined to form positive attitudes towards tourism.

4.5.3 Proximity to Tourism Area

To examine the influence of residents’ proximity to tourism areas on their perceptions to tourism impacts and tourism development, two questions asked interviewees about their home location and office location.

4.5.3.1 Home Proximity

Some interviewees were selected for interview because they lived in districts with high tourist intensity such as the districts of Tung Chung, Sheung Shui, Tuen Mun and Shatin. Interviewee 4 lives in Tuen Mun Centre and next to the cross-border bus terminal. Interviewee 5 had been living in Sheung Shui but recently moved to Shatin where his residential building is next to a hotel. Interviewee A from the NTFG, who lives in Sheung Shui, passes through the congested areas every day when she goes to school. She complained about the crowding of public transportation in Sheung Shui. Her sentiment of ‘*They better don’t come*’ fully expressed her reluctance of seeing tourists in her neighbourhood. In fact, many residents in Sheung Shui, a rural district in HK, hope for a quiet life despite the relatively long transportation time to city for work.

They (the Mainland Chinese tourists) better don’t come!’ This thought is more obvious during the last Chinese New Year. (.....) In every Chinese New Year, Mainlanders go back to their hometowns, so it can be seen that the entire train is empty. (.....) If I stand on the train every day, I feel tired. Not to mention some people who go to work, they have to stand on

the train for half an hour before they start their work, which is very unfortunate. Therefore, my impression of the tourists is negative.

(Interviewee A, NTFG)

Interviewee 10 lived in Tung Chung where she has to do marketing and shopping for daily goods every day. All interviewees complained the negative impacts brought by the tourists in their residential areas, such as crowding, increased price of goods and products, longer queuing time, noise and littering. Crowding was mentioned the most by these interviewees which has created an uncomfortable living environment for them. Even though Interviewee 10 disliked the negative impacts tourists brought to her living environment, she pointed out that she was fine of having tourists in Tung Chung. She did not want to see too many Mainlanders because of their rude, noisy and uncivilised behaviours. However, if a group of tourists appear in her neighbourhood are polite and nice, she would definitely welcome them. She was well aware of the benefits brought by tourists to HK. If tourists did not behave well, she would refuse seeing them in her neighbourhood. From September 2012 to August 2018 there have been a number of protests in the Sheung Shui, Tuen Mun and Shatin Districts to fight against the crowding issues brought about by the tourists. The protesters gathered in the main shopping malls in those districts and shouted slogans asking the Mainlanders to go back China and not to shop in HK anymore. In some anti-Mainlanders campaigns, the protesters even named Mainland Chinese tourists as ‘locusts’. This term forms a Hongkonger’s perception that Mainland tourists descended on HK like a plague of locusts, devouring or spoiling everything in their path (Hippie Wiki, 2020).

Interviewees who do not live close to the tourism area also expressed negative views towards tourism impacts. Interviewees B and F from the NTFG reflected their dissatisfaction towards the problems they have encountered in the public transportation, such as urinating on the train, suitcases occupying space or hurting others and seat overloading.

HK is a small place with an excellent public transportation system. The majority of residents take public transportation every day for work and school. The negative impact brought to the public transportation by the huge influx of tourists has shaped negative perceptions on tourism impacts regardless of the interviewees’ residential proximity to tourism areas. Therefore, the proximity of home location to tourism area is not the only

determinant shaping interviewees' perceptions of tourism. Home proximity to tourism area appears to have little or no influence on HK residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts.

4.5.3.2 Work Proximity

Interviewees' work proximity to tourism areas has even less influence on their perceptions towards tourism impacts. Individuals only stayed in the workplace or office for 8–11 hours per day or at most, and they would go out during lunchtime, so the inconveniences brought by the tourists to their work may be only minimal. Even if the working environment is affected by the tourists, individuals can choose to take the job offer or not. Working location has been embedded into the whole job package. Interviewees 1 and 10 indicated that tourists nearby their work location did not affect them much.

For some interviewees (such as Interviewees 7 and 9, Interviewees C, S, F, B and C from the two focus groups) working in tourist districts, such as Harbour City in Tsim Sha Tsui or the Peak, expect to meet tourists during their work. Any disturbance from the tourists were anticipated well in advance.

To conclude, proximity of work location to tourism areas has little influence of the formation of perceptions towards tourism impacts.

According to the previous literature, an inverse relationship exists in that with increasing proximity (i.e. distance decay), perceptions become less positive (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Pizam, 1978). People living closer to tourism areas perceived more negative impacts (Keogh, 1990; Korca, 1996; Pearce, 1980). Williams and Lawson (2001) discovered that residents who live closer to tourism attractions view tourism negatively than those living far away because these residents suffer from the impacts of tourism activities. Opposite findings were obtained in this study though. HK is very small in geographical size where difference in 'distance' may not be significant. Moreover, negative tourism impacts on community were found not only in tourist districts but also residential districts. The impacts from tourism have permeated everywhere in HK. Proximity to tourism areas have not played much influence on shaping individual social representations about tourism impacts. This outcome is consistent with Wassler, Schuckert, Hung and Petrick (2018). HK is very small, and the proximity issue is not very obvious. Public

transportation is the major means for residents to commute every day. Therefore, impact on public transportation may be more crucial than distance to tourism areas in shaping interviewees' perceptions on tourism. Interviewee 1 mentioned the crowding issue in public transportation, but it did not affect her much as she drove every day. Residents living closer to tourism areas tend to have stronger views than those living far away because they are affected directly every day.

4.5.4 Overall Life Satisfaction

Most of the interviewees indicated a high level of overall life satisfaction except for Interviewee 5 and some students in the focus groups. Their ratings for overall life satisfaction ranged from 4 to 6 out of 10.

My life satisfaction is personal, not related to tourism. To me, the most impact would be the moment I go out to take public transportation on holidays or when I get off from my work and go back home by public transportation, I would feel 'pissed off'.

(Interviewee 5)

Some student interviewees gave a relatively low rating to their life satisfaction which were affected by tourism. The poor life satisfaction of the students' interviewees from the focus groups were due to the influence of tourism on their life, such as fewer shopping choices, crowding, increased price of living and negative influence on their daily life. Their low level of life satisfaction was also because of the sky-high property prices in HK which has created a barrier for them to purchase a property. The students have a sense of hopelessness towards their future now. They attributed the high property prices, high cost of living, crowding and fewer shopping choices to the tourism development in HK. Therefore, they demonstrated a lower level of support to tourism development in HK.

On the contrary, Interviewees 2, 7, 8 and 9 who were economically dependent on tourism gave 8 to 9 out of 10 for their overall life satisfaction and indicated their level of life satisfaction were related to tourism. The better the tourism industry is, the more income they can make, the higher level of life satisfaction. Interviewee 1 was not economically dependent on tourism but had a life satisfaction of 8.

When I go shopping, I have more choices to shop, I have more choices to eat that could be something brought by tourism because with more tourism, more shops, more restaurants, that would make my life more choices.

(Interviewee 1)

She explained that she gained benefits of more shopping choices and more dining choices which widened her choices in daily life. Interviewees 2, 7, 8 and 9 clearly explained that their life satisfaction heavily relies on tourism.

My satisfaction is totally affected by tourism. If more tourists come, I have higher income, of course, I can spend more and be happier. (...)
When the tourism industry is good, there will be more job vacancies, there will be higher turnover in our tourism retail industry which results more opportunities for us to change to a new job or higher job position.

(Interviewee 9)

Interviewee 6 also gave fair ratings to his life satisfaction which was 7 out of 10. However, he mentioned that his satisfaction towards life was not affected by tourism because his life satisfaction depends on the surrounding community facilities, like shopping malls, bus stops and library. For some residents in Sheung Shui, perhaps the tourists affected them so much, but tourism did not bother him as he stayed in the office for a long time each day. Many news were about the Mainland Chinese tourists using up the resources such as camping sites, library and community facilities which created residents' negative sentiments towards them.

The life satisfaction of interviewees directly affected their perceptions towards tourism and their level of support for tourism. It was found that interviewees with higher levels of satisfaction towards life generally perceived tourism favourably because tourism provided more benefits rather than costs for them. For interviewees with lower levels of satisfaction towards tourism, they perceived that their daily lives were negatively affected by tourism. Figure 4.11 shows that the higher the life satisfaction one has, the more positively the impacts of tourism are perceived, leading to a higher level of support for tourism development. On the contrary, the lower the life satisfaction one has, the more negative impacts of tourism are perceived, resulting to a lower level of support to tourism development. This finding is consistent with what Andereck and Nyaupane (2011) and Woo et al. (2015) found about residents with higher level of life satisfaction demonstrating a better attitude towards tourism. This study found that most of the residents' life satisfaction is also related to the tourism and that tourism is one of the contributing factors to the residents' life satisfaction in HK.

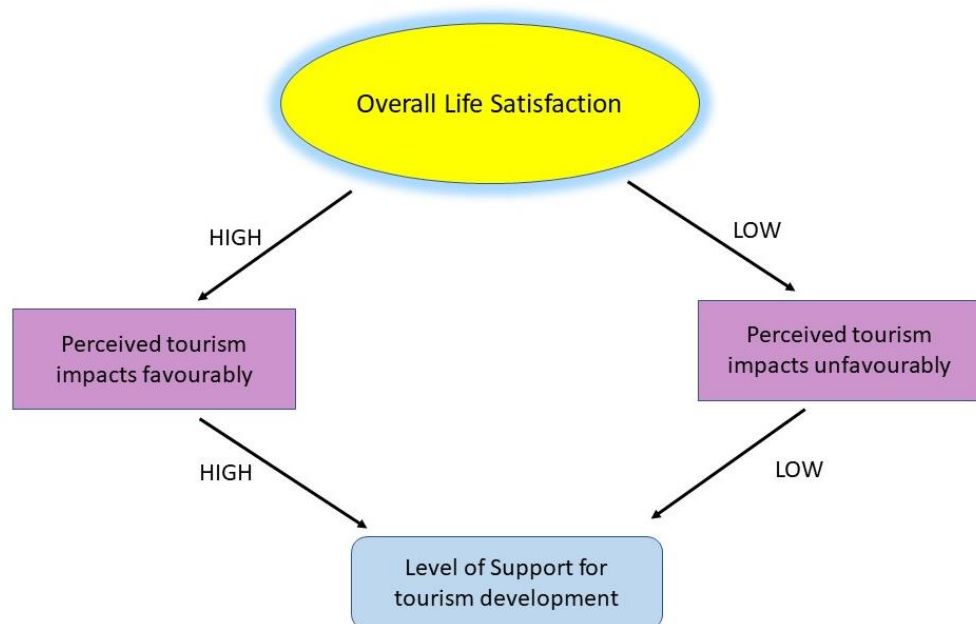


Figure 4.11 Overall Life Satisfaction, Perceptions of Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development

Source: Author

4.5.5 Demographic Variables

Previous research suggests that residents' socio-economic characteristics are likely to influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and therefore determine their level of support for tourism.

4.5.5.1 Educational Level

Excluding interviewees who are economically dependent on tourism, the educational level of the interviewees was found to have an inverse relationship with their perceptions towards tourism impacts. The higher the educational level, the more sceptical and critical they are. They may challenge or argue that the benefits of tourism can outweigh the costs. On the contrary, interviewees with lower educational level were more supportive to tourism development as viewed tourism impacts more superficially. However, Andriotis and Voughan (2003) and Almeida-Garcia et al. (2016) found that resident attitudes towards tourism become more positive when the level of education increases. When residents are more educated, they tend to support tourism development as they realise the positive impacts brought by tourism. In this research, residents with higher educational level have a higher chance and opportunity to be exposed to different social and traditional media where negative news about tourism can be easily found. Thus, higher educated interviewees are exposed to negative impacts from tourism and may form a more realistic evaluation of tourism impacts. They become more critical and less supportive of tourism development in HK.

4.5.5.2 Age

The age of the interviewees ranged from 20 to 80 years. An inverse relationship between age and their perceptions towards tourism impacts was observed. The older Interviewees 4 and 8 perceived tourism impacts positively, and they identified themselves as 'Chinese'. By contrast, the youngest groups of interviewees, who came from the two focus groups in the 20–24 years old age group, perceived the tourism impacts negatively. They were the most negative interviewees towards tourism and tourism development. The perceptions of the middle-age groups rely more on their sub-ethnic identity, economic dependency on tourism as well as their knowledge of tourism. Their perceptions were influenced by their sub-ethnic identity as either Chinese or Hongkongers, their economic dependency on tourism and whether they have good or limited knowledge of tourism. Younger interviewees showed differing views than in previous research which suggests young people are generally more positive about tourism's economic impacts than others (Andriotis & Voughan, 2003; Huh & Vogt, 2008; Pham & Kayat, 2011). If the student interviewees have better knowledge of tourism and benefit economically from tourism, they tend to perceive the economic impacts of tourism positively. Those who have limited knowledge and do not benefit from tourism perceive the economic impacts

negatively. Moreover, older residents have much more negative perceptions of tourism than younger residents (Cavus & Tanrisevdi, 2002). The opposite finding is obtained in this study where older residents perceived tourism impacts more positively and were more supportive to tourism than younger residents. This may be explained by the fact the older generations in HK have a stronger relationship with Mainland China, having either migrated from China or having relatives there (Wassler et al., 2018). The younger generations in HK have less emotional attachment to Mainland China as most were born and grew up in HK, which is consistent with findings of a previous study where Taiwan's young generations felt the same (Jacobs & Liu, 2007).

4.5.5.3 Gender

Seven male and three female participated in the in-depth interviews. Among the 13 focus group interviewees, four were male and nine were female. A total of 11 males and 12 females participated in this study. No obvious relationship was found between gender and perceptions on tourism. This result aligns with the findings of Almeida-Garcia et al. (2016). They found no consistent relationship between demographic variables and residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and tourism development.

4.5.5.4 Level of Income

The household income and perceived tourism impacts of the 10 in-depth interview interviewees are presented in Table 4.7. Interviewee 4 had the lowest household income, whereas Interviewee 8 had the highest household income. Nevertheless, both perceived tourism impacts positively and considered the positive benefits of tourism outweighed the costs. Interviewees 1, 3, 6 and 10 perceived both the positive and negative tourism impacts equally. Only Interviewee 5, the protester, perceived impacts of tourism to be negative. He was sceptical about the economic contribution of tourism, criticising the crowding, pollution and price inflation impacts brought by the Mainland Chinese tourists to HK. Therefore, no obvious relationship between the interviewees' level of income and their perceived tourism impacts can be drawn. This is inconsistent with the research conducted by Wassler et al. (2018) where higher income groups tend to be more positive towards the IVS in HK because these groups usually own companies that benefited from Mainland Chinese tourism.

As for the 13 student interviewees in the two focus groups, some students worked part-time in the tourism industry. However, their level of income was just around HK\$2,000 to HK\$4,000 per month which was minimal compared with the median individual monthly income of HK\$18,200 in May and June 2019 (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2020b). Moreover, their income may not be important in contributing to the household income. Therefore, their information was not taken into consideration when analysing the influence of income.

Table 4.7 Interviewees' Household Income (HK\$) and Perceived Tourism Impacts

Interviewees' Number	Income	Perceived Tourism Impacts
R1	\$100,000 or above	Positive and Negative
R2	\$40,000–59,999	Positive
R3	\$80,000–\$99,999	Positive and Negative
R4	\$4,000–\$7,999	Positive
R5	\$30,000–39,999	Negative
R6	\$30,000–39,999	Positive and Negative
R7	\$80,000–\$99,999	Positive
R8	\$100,000 or above	Positive
R9	\$40,000–\$59,999	Positive
R10	\$60,000–\$79,999	Positive and Negative

4.5.6 Knowledge of Tourism

Student interviewees from the TFG and Interviewees 2 and 8 had a better understanding about tourism, whereas the majority of interviewees had only a basic understanding or limited understanding about tourism. Knowledgeable interviewees realised the costs and benefits of tourism, and they were more ready to tolerate the costs brought by tourism. Interviewees with basic knowledge thought that tourism should provide benefits rather than costs. They were less willing to tolerate the costs and thus showed a poor hospitality to the tourists in HK. Interviewees with limited knowledge of tourism tended to focus more on the costs brought by the Mainland Chinese tourists such as crowding, pollution and price inflation. The knowledge of tourism seems to have an inverse relationship with the level of support towards tourism. The more knowledge of tourism the interviewees had, the more the interviewees tolerated the negative impacts and perceived them as acceptable. On the contrary, the less knowledge of tourism the interviewees had, the less

likely they tolerated the costs brought by tourism and accepted the Mainland Chinese tourists.

The findings from this study are consistent with the previous literature indicating that knowledge of tourism has significant impact on residents' perceptions. The greater the level of knowledge of tourism and its development, the greater the level of support offered (Davis et al., 1998; Lankford & Howard, 1994).

Moreover, students majoring in tourism-related programmes seemed to be less negative as compared to students who were not studying tourism-related programmes. This finding is also consistent with Brayley et al. (1990) who explained that students studying tourism management have more favourable perceptions on tourism impacts than those studying other majors.

In terms of interviewees' knowledge of tourism, if they had more knowledge of tourism, they recognised 'one coin has two sides', i.e. they perceived the positive and negative impacts brought about by tourism. If they had limited knowledge of tourism, they either perceived tourism positively or negatively, the other extreme. Their scope of knowledge of tourism limited their understanding about the two sides of tourism impacts. Figure 4.12 summarises the relationship among individuals' knowledge of tourism, perceived tourism impacts and the level of support for tourism development.

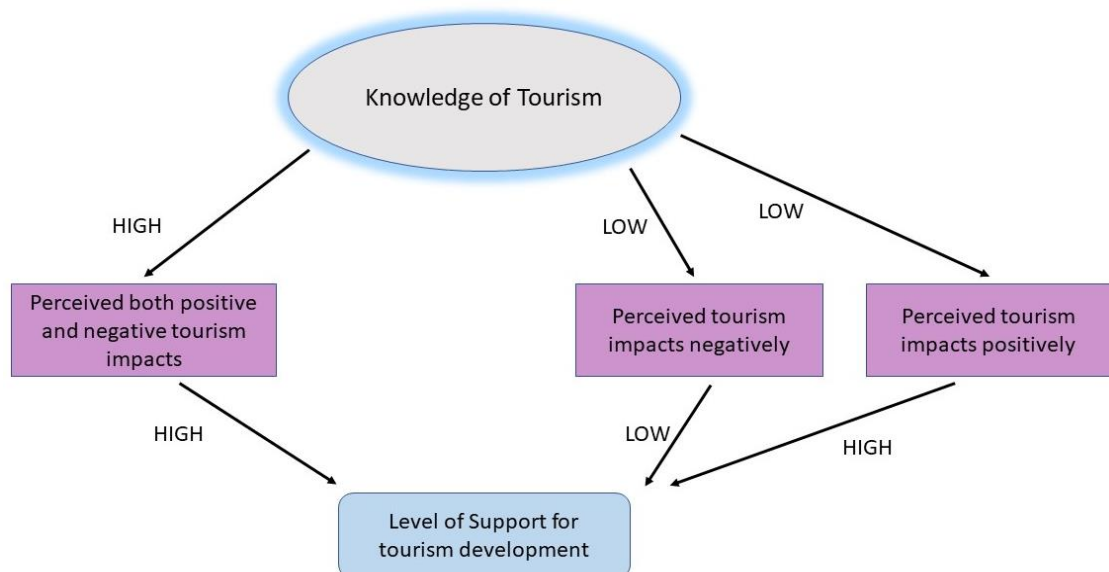


Figure 4.12 Knowledge of Tourism, Perceptions of Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development

Source: Author

4.5.7 Trust in the HKSAR Government

Almost all student interviewees from the two focus groups and some interviewees (e.g. R4 and R5) demonstrated a low level of trust or even zero trust towards the HKSAR Government. They do not believe the government can solve the problems brought about by tourism in HK. Moreover, they also commented that the government focused on tourists' needs without considering the locals' interests.

The senior officers in HK government are not down to the earth. Their views are not realistic and practical. For example, the artificial island proposal in Lantau Island are not practical and feasible. Many people have voiced out their concerns and objections, but it seems they do not understand and neglect people's views. They didn't stand on our shoes when they manage HK.

(Interviewee R, TFG)

'No, I don't trust HKSAR Government. Since HK is governed by Mainland China government, HK government has no rights now'.

(Interviewee 4)

My trust in government is very low. As I mentioned, I lived in Northern district for more than 10 years. Since 6 or 7 years ago, we have voiced out our concerns about the negative impacts brought by FITs to Northern district many times, but the government just ignored our concerns.

(Interviewee 5)

Figure 4.13 illustrates residents' level of trust in the HKSAR Government over the last 30 years. The level of trust in government has dropped tremendously since 2019. The percentage of people trusting the government was less than 25% by the end of 2019, whereas the percentage of people distrusting the government was more than 75%. The level of trust in government is terribly low.

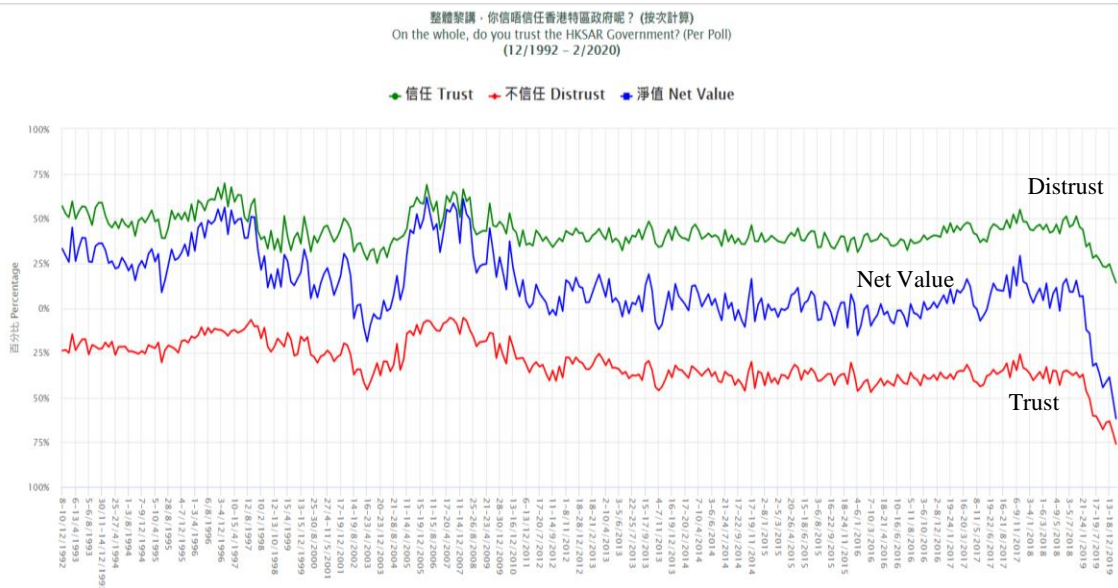


Figure 4.13 Residents' Trust in the HKSAR Government from 1992 to 2019
Source: Public Opinion Programme, University of Hong Kong & Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (PORI) (2020)

Nevertheless, interviewees (e.g. R2, 7, 8 and 9) with a good level of trust in the HKSAR Government tended to favour the Mainland Chinese tourists and tourism development in HK.

I tend to trust. But I think the district councillors are not good. They just like to ruin the management of HK Government on HK. Media is not good too; they have been very critical and kept spreading negative news to affect public opinions to tourism in HK.

(Interviewee 9)

These interviewees were all economically dependent on tourism. Therefore, they were positive about the tourism development, and they portrayed a higher level of trust in the HKSAR Government. Interviewees 2, 7, 8 and 9 were also satisfied with their lives. Figure 4.14 shows a reciprocal relationship between residents' overall life satisfaction and trust in government. It explains why they were satisfied with their life and happy and satisfied with the government. Life satisfaction seems directly related to the trust in the HKSAR Government. Furthermore, Widgery (1982) discovered that residents' satisfaction in the community can be predicted by their trust in government and the political system, i.e. residents with high trust in government have a higher level of satisfaction towards life.

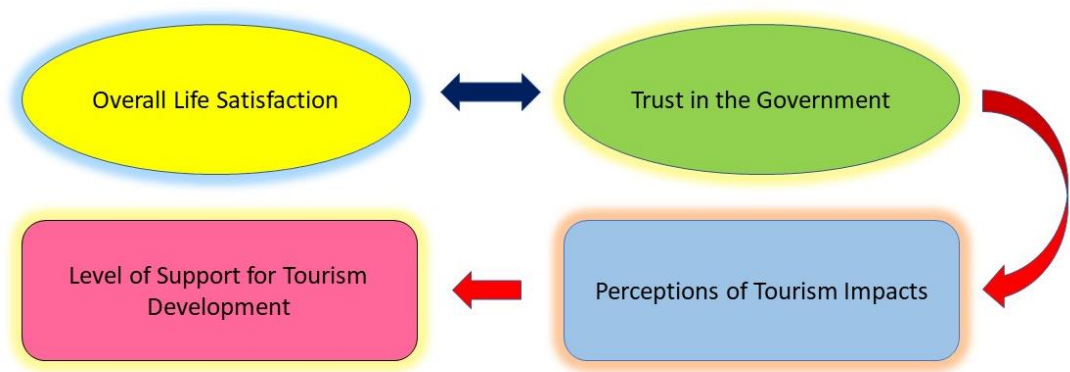


Figure 4.14 Residents' Overall Life Satisfaction and Trust in the HKSAR Government
Source: Author

As shown in Figure 4.15, residents with higher level of trust in government perceived the tourism impacts favourably, displayed more favourable attitude to tourists and demonstrated a high level of support to tourism development in HK. Residents who were sceptical about the government tend to weigh positive and negative impacts of tourism, and they would only support the tourism development with conditions.

Previous studies (e.g. Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012; Nunkoo & Smith, 2013; Nunkoo et al., 2012) confirm that the residents' support for tourism is affected by their level of trust in government actors. Interestingly, Nunkoo and Smith (2013) considered residents' trust in government and the political system as an outcome variable affected by their perceived tourism impacts. The residents tend to trust the government when they receive benefits from tourism industry, either by means of employment or business connection (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2012).

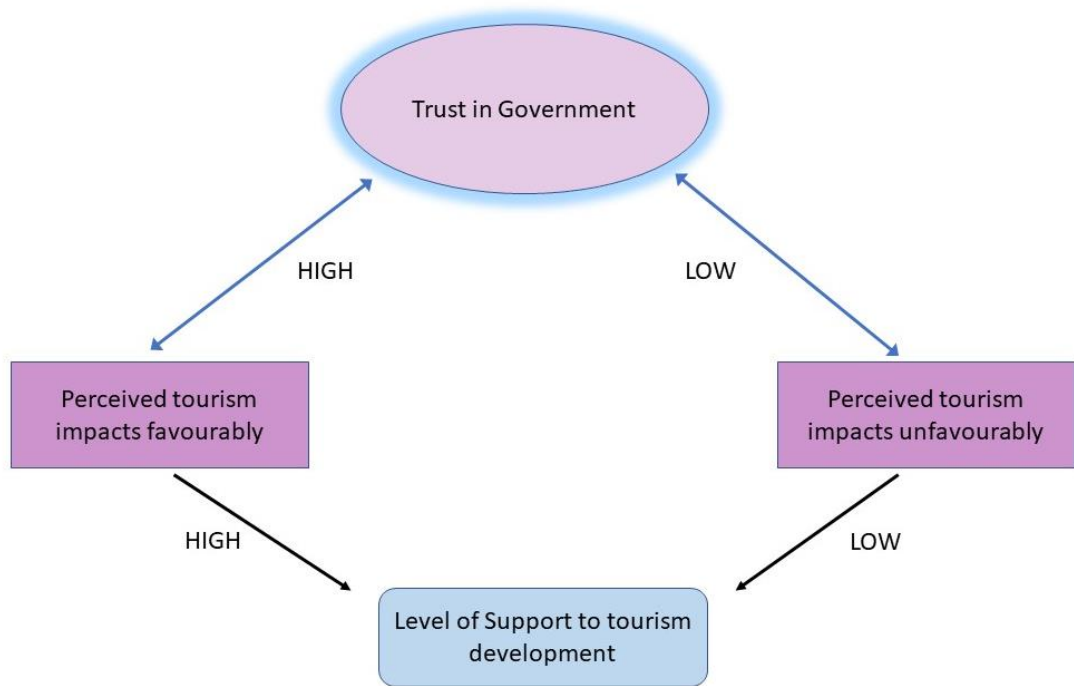


Figure 4.15 Trust in the HKSAR Government, Perceived Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development

Source: Author

4.5.8 Type and Origin of Tourists

Two new factors, namely, (i) type and origin of tourists and (ii) attitude to tourists, were found to significantly affect residents' perceptions of tourism impacts as well as tourism development in HK.

In 2018 and 2019, Mainland Chinese tourists continued to be the largest tourist source market for HK tourism, accounting for 78% of the total arrival, recording a 14.8% increase from that in 2017 (Hong Kong Tourism Board, 2020). The findings suggest that interviewees actually had different attitudes towards tourists from different origins. Therefore, interviewees were also asked if they have any differing perceptions towards the tourists coming from different origins. Numerous student interviewees from the two focus groups frankly admitted that they have bias and/or even discriminated against the Mainland Chinese tourists.

I would stereotype the Mainlanders as being 'bad'. (... ..) On the other hand, I especially like tourists from Taiwan. They are politer and seem to hate the Mainlanders as well. Additionally, Taiwanese people are more

hospitable (.....) so I would prefer to communicate with them rather than Mainlanders.

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

'I especially like tourists from Europe and the United States. (.....) Generally speaking, foreign guests are politer and talkative. (.....) their culture cares about people-to-people communication and has good communication skills. It really delighted our service staff'.

(Interviewee G, NTFG)

Many of these student interviewees mentioned that they have poor perceptions about the Mainland Chinese tourists but better perceptions towards tourists from other regions. For those interviewees who have bad perceptions towards the Mainland Chinese tourists, they perceived tourism impacts negatively and were less supportive to the current tourism development in HK.

Interviewees 1 and 10 have differing perceptions towards the Mainland Chinese tourists and tourists from Japan, Korea or Singapore. They perceived favourably the tourists from these few Asian countries and perceived negatively the tourists from the Mainland China.

I am fine of having tourists in my neighbourhood, but just don't like those from Mainland China, as their culture is different. For me, I like seeing more Japanese or Korean tourists. For Japanese and Korean, they have not much negative impacts on our life. Perhaps it was due to the quality of the tourists. The tourists from Mainland Chinese tourists are lower, which create more negative impacts to the community.

(Interviewee 10)

Some interviewees did not perceive any differences between tourists from different countries. They perceived the tourists based on their actual behaviour rather than their origins. They thought that tourists from overseas can be impolite and rude too.

I think it depends on their attitude. My current job allows me to interact with different guests. I do not discriminate against people because of their language. For example, I have met a Korean who talk to me very vulgar.

But I will not discriminate against all the Korean people, but instead focus on their attitude towards me.

(Interviewee S, TFG)

'Actually, I have no bias towards where they come from. But I concern more about what they say and behave'.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewees 7 and 9 who were working in an airline and tourism-retail shop, they tend to be realistic. They were working in the tourism industry, so they did not have any differing perceptions or feelings towards the tourists from different origins. Interviewee 9 even mentioned that if the tourists spend money, they are the same from her perspective.

I don't have much feeling about Mainland Chinese tourists. (... ..) I do not mind the nationality of the tourists, as long as they spend in HK. (... ..) For me, the most important is to allow more Mainland Chinese tourists visit HK. I love them.

(Interviewee 9)

Unless the interviewees heavily rely tourism, Figure 4.16 indicates the type and origin of tourists influence residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and their support for tourism development to a certain extent. Residents generally perceived tourists from Mainland China as 'poor', so they were more likely to perceive tourism impacts negatively and hence indicated a lower level of support to tourism development in HK. On the contrary, residents generally perceived tourists from other countries as 'good', so they perceived tourism impacts positively. They would be more willing to support tourism development. The type and origin of the tourists shape residents' initial perceptions about the tourists, but the real representation about the tourists still depends on the interactions between the residents and the tourists.

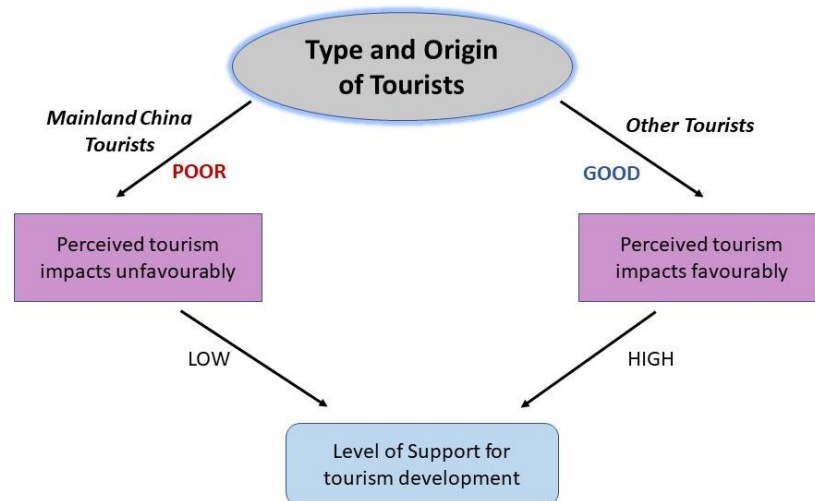


Figure 4.16 Type and Origin of Tourists, Perceived Tourism Impacts, and Support for Tourism Development
Source: Author

4.5.9 Attitude to Tourists

Perception affects attitude. The type and origin of tourists affect residents' perceptions about tourism impacts, as mentioned in Section 4.5.8 (p. 173). Martin, Sanchez and Herrero (2017) found that residents' favourable evaluation of interactions with tourists result in a more positive attitude towards tourists and lead to further positive perceptions of tourism impacts. Woosnam et al. (2009) confirmed that residents experience emotional solidarity with tourists based on interactions and shared beliefs where emotional solidarity is defined as the affective connection that a person has with another individual (Hammarström, 2005). A further empirical study by Woosnam (2012) suggests a positive relationship between emotional solidarity and attitudinal support for tourism. If residents like these tourists, they perceive the impacts brought by these tourists as positive or neutral. On the contrary, if residents do not like those tourists, they perceive the impacts brought by them negatively. That means attitude to tourists affects how residents perceive tourism impacts and tourism development, and vice versa. Interviewees' attitudes towards the Mainland Chinese tourists as well as overseas tourists are analysed in the following subsection.

4.5.9.1 Attitude towards Mainland Chinese Tourists

Residents' attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists are comparatively important than attitude towards other tourists which are critical in influencing the level of support to the tourism development in HK.

(i) Positive Attitude

First of all, some interviewees (Student interviewee F from TFG and Interviewees 1, 3, 5 and 6) mentioned that they liked having tourists in HK and that they realised the importance and benefits of tourism brought to HK. These residents liked tourists by nature.

Having tourists, I would say 'yes' because that would be one thing to develop our HK economy so if we don't have tourists, we don't have a lot of job opportunities. I would say I like having tourists.

(Interviewee 1)

In terms of the perceptions and attitudes towards the Mainland Chinese tourists, two student interviewees from the focus groups mentioned positive views and demonstrated positive attitude towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. They considered being 'rude' and 'loud' are their culture, but it was not malicious.

'I have seen some videos about the behaviour of tourists from different social media platforms. (... ..) In fact, some Mainland Chinese tourists are also very courteous. They are just care-free when travelling'.

(Interviewee C, TFG)

Interviewees 2, 4, 7, 8 and 9 gave positive evaluations towards the tourists from Mainland China which may be due to the importance of tourism to HK economy.

Interviewee 2 liked seeing his compatriots visit HK owing to his Chinese sub-ethnic identity. Even though he has migrated to HK for 10 years, his sub-ethnic identity as a Chinese is still very strong. He also associated China as his homeland. He was definitely in favour of Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewee 4 showed positive attitudes to the Mainland Chinese tourists as he migrated from Mainland China to HK since the 1960s. He travelled to Mainland China most of the time, and those Mainlanders can also travel

to HK. He thought HK and Mainlanders belong to the same nation. He welcomed them to visit his hometown in HK.

They (The Mainland Chinese tourists) bring us money which is good. (... ..) I love having more tourists to visit HK. Even it is too many, I do not mind as it will benefit the business owners. I don't mind being too crowded too.

(Interviewee 4)

Interviewees 7, 8 and 9 frankly admitted these Mainland China tourists represent 'money' for them. This explains why Mainland China tourists were welcomed by some residents. The residents accepted tourism costs because of the benefits. There must be some sacrifices to gain benefits from tourism.

For my job, I really like tourists. If I only rely on HK residents, I will 'die'. We must need 'tourists'. HK has no more manufacturing industry, and mainly rely on 'tourism' from the beginning. If there is no 'tourists', I have no income.

(Interviewee 9)

(ii) Negative Attitude

Many interviewees made negative comments about the Mainland Chinese tourists, and the respective comments and frequency are shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8 Comments about Negative Attitude towards the Mainland Chinese Tourists

Comment about the Mainland Chinese tourists	No. of respondents	Number of text units
Uncivilized or poor behavior	8	18
Impolite or rude	4	12
Noisy	6	9
Prejudice	5	8
Poor quality	4	5
Poor hygiene	3	5
Dislike the Mainland Chinese tourists	2	4
Disrupt residents' lives	3	3
Poor personality	2	2
Low level of education	2	2
Inexperienced travellers	1	2
Disrespectful	1	1

Majority of the negative comments were made by the student interviewees from the focus groups, especially the NTFG.

Some tourists to HK may affect our own quality. For example, I do not usually blame others, but some of the tourists' behaviours make me want to point them out, for example, they jump in the queue, scramble, and fail to obey the rules.

(Interviewee C, NTFG)

These student interviewees from the NTFG did not benefit from the tourism industry but were negatively affected by these tourists in their daily lives. Their negative comments on these Mainland Chinese tourists are understandable.

Mainlanders come to HK might think that they belong to the same country and therefore do not respect us. In certain extent, they are relatively impolite. Moreover, some tourists to HK may affect our own quality. For example, I do not usually blame others, but some of the tourists' behaviour make me want to point them out, for example, they jump in the queue, scramble, and fail to obey the rules.

(Interviewee C, NTFG)

Some student interviewees from the focus groups also admitted that they have bias or prejudice towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. This may be due to their sub-ethnic

identity of being Hongkonger, and they do not want to have any association with the Mainland Chinese tourists.

'Even if there is no problem in the tourists' behaviour, but the jewellery shops were established for them. This led to the decline of HK culture. Therefore, I still have a prejudice against them (The Mainland Chinese tourists).'

(Interviewee F, TFG)

'They (The Mainland Chinese tourists) are 'locusts' (.....) I would stereotype the Mainlanders as being 'bad'.

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

Most of the younger generation stereotyped the Mainland Chinese tourists as 'bad', some even hated them and were disgusted with them. During the interviews, comments like 'they better don't come' and 'they are locusts' were made by the student interviewees. Student interviewees formed negative perceptions towards the Mainland Chinese tourists, and they did not welcome them at all. Moreover, they perceived the impacts brought by these tourists as negative.

Mainlanders have gained a poor 'reputation' all over the world, such as Thailand, Japan and Paris. When people in overseas countries look at HK people, they stereotype HK people being the same as Mainlanders who are pegged as uncivilised and poor. Therefore, Hongkongers like to draw a clear line between Hongkonger and Mainland Chinese.

Some interviewees (R5 and 10) commented about the poor quality of Mainland Chinese tourists compared with other tourists from Japan or Korea. Interviewee 7 made a similar comment about the deteriorating quality of tourists from the Mainland China.

In the recent 5-6 years, the Mainland Chinese tourists are rich, but they are not well educated and lack of patience. (.....) It did impact the service quality of HK, especially for the luxury goods which usually expect the salesman to know the products well. But now, the tourists only knew the brand and the popular models. They do not even care about the design,

material or manufacturing skills of the shoes. The service quality of these salesmen drops because their customers do not expect them to explain.

(Interviewee 5)

Apart from the poor quality of tourists from the Mainland China, student interviewee A from the TFG also commented about the issue of experience of the Mainlanders in travelling. He considered the travel experience of the travellers can enhance the quality of the tourists, i.e. their behaviour can be more appropriate as their travel experience increases.

Student interviewees B and C from the NTFG criticised the uncivilised and unhygienic behaviours of the Mainland Chinese tourists of urinating or defecating everywhere in HK.

Interviewee 9, who worked in a luxury-branded shop for 20 years, also pointed out the same behaviour happened in her shop where a kid intended to urinate inside her shop. This unhygienic problem of the Mainland Chinese tourists was mentioned by Interviewee 1 as well.

When the kid wants to 'pee' (urinate), we will bring them to toilet, but they may just let them 'pee' in the shop. I still remember in the old days, some tourists' kids would even 'poo' in the shop, therefore, you need to tell them it's not appropriate and they will stop.

(Interviewee 9)

Owing to these poor and inappropriate of the Mainland Chinese tourists in HK, some interviewees mentioned their reluctant attitude towards them. 'They better don't come' and 'Please don't disturb us!' were their attitude and thoughts towards those Mainland Chinese tourists.

I used to have little feeling for the Mainlanders, but now the tourism industry is booming, and they come to HK more frequent now. (... ..) when I grew up, I saw that a large number of Mainland Chinese tourists coming to HK, I feel very disgusted with them. Maybe we have different cultures; I think they better don't come.

(Interviewee F, NTFG)

Many other interviewees (Interviewee E and Interviewee 1) shared similar feelings that they ‘dislike the tourists’ as with student interviewees from the NTFG. Interviewee 3 evaluated that residents would dislike the tourists because whole district areas were blocked by them.

In order to boost the tourism industry, the government has built a lot of infrastructure to serve tourists. But it neglects the opinions of our local people. Even when local people's livelihood issues are not well handled, they pay attention to the tourists, therefore it makes me feel dislike about tourists.

(Interviewee E, NTFG)

Interviewee 1 quoted an incident that happened in a popular cosmetic store, Sasa, in HK which serves millions of tourists every year. As local residents’ sales are incomparably less than the Mainland Chinese tourists, some residents felt they were being ‘neglected’ or provided with a poorer quality of service by the salespeople. The same situation of being ‘ignored’ in shops were quoted by Interviewee 10 as well. These shaped their negative attitude towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewee D from the NTFG even pointed out that HK residents were being discriminated by the local salespeople in the branded shops because the Mainlanders have a higher purchasing power than them. Interviewees 6 and 8 attributed the cause for forming these negative attitudes towards the Mainland Chinese tourists to the daily lives of residents badly affected by the tourists. The problem in Sheung Shui District about parallel trading was due to the free individual travellers (FITs) from the IVS, whereas the problems in other districts were caused by the tour groups.

To triangulate these findings, keywords ‘Attitude to Chinese Tourists’ were searched on the YouTube channel, and majority of the videos displayed were portrayed tourists from Mainland China in a negative light. The titles and the number of views are presented in Table 4.9 which indicates the most viewed videos and its number of views about Mainland Chinese Tourists. Almost all videos with good viewed ratings were negative.

Table 4.9 Top Videos Viewed About Mainland Chinese Tourists on YouTube

Title	Uploaded by	Number of Views & Date
'Please just go': Chinese tourists asked to leave Osaka restaurant	South China Morning Post	2,655,996 views •Jun 11, 2018
Bad mannered Chinese Man on Airplane	AV Daniel Violin	2,077,407 views •Jul 18, 2016
Chinese tourist's 'bad behaviour' sparks debate	South China Morning Post	1,801,103 views •Aug 13, 2018
Chinese Tourist Have No Manners! very funny	11vids	1,297,053 views •May 7, 2017
Idiots at airports: Loud Chinese tourist slapped by officer; Woman thinks she's a VIP - Compilation	TomoNews US	1,196,076 views •Feb 20, 2018
Chinese tourists pig out at buffet in Thailand, criticized as wasteful	TomoNews US	1,101,973 views •Mar 22, 2016
Chinese tourist behaving badly: woman's rants at Chinese tourist in Thailand goes viral	TomoNews US	1,042,426 views •Aug 12, 2016
Chinese tourists damage ancient land formation	South China Morning Post	957,984 views •Aug 30, 2018
Seven reasons why Chinese are the most undesirable tourists	TomoNews US	932,282 views •Oct 7, 2013
Chinese Tourists Ruined our Safari	PPPeter	566,289 views •May 3, 2019
Uncivilized Chinese Tourists Provoke Outrage Abroad	ChinaForbiddenNews	563,389 views •Oct 11, 2013
Chinese tourist clearing out BBQ super fast in Vietnam lol!	inoue jerry	532,315 views •Feb 20, 2017

HK residents' prevailing social representations towards Mainland Chinese tourists tend to be negative which leads to their negative attitude towards these tourists. Guan et al. (2011) explained that the incongruent values between these two groups of people cause the negative attitude towards each other. This is consistent with the findings from Gerard et al. (2016) who found that nearly all of the interviewees have a negative attitude towards the Mainland Chinese tourists. Many interviewees used the terms 'crazy', 'difficult to understand', 'getting more serious' and 'locust' to describe the China inbound tourists in HK. Siu et al. (2013) also drew the same conclusion that negative perception of HK residents towards tourists from Mainland China is associated with the negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts caused by these tourists. Negative attitude to tourists can result in increased tension, hostility and suspicion towards visitors which are manifested through formal or informal activities to discourage further visits to a destination (Mirbabayev & Shagzatova, 1999). Local residents' attitude to tourists should be closely monitored so as to ensure tourists' satisfaction and repeat visitation.

4.5.9.2 Attitude towards Tourists from Other Countries

To compare the attitudes towards Mainland Chinese tourists and tourists from other countries, residents' attitudes towards other tourists are presented in this part.

Based on the findings in this study, residents have a relatively better views about the tourists from countries other than Mainland China. Student interviewees generally perceived tourists outside Mainland China, such as Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese, Singaporean and Europeans, were politer, friendly and able to abide the rules and culture in HK, whereas tourists from the Mainland China were generally rude and impolite. Interviewees A and E from the NTFG elaborated that if tourists were willing to abide by the rules, respect the HK culture and less likely to do unsanitary or disgusting behaviours, they would be welcomed by residents in HK, too.

As for the in-depth interviewees, Interviewees 1 and 10 indicated that they welcomed Japanese and Korean tourists, whereas Interviewee 5 found the behaviours of tourists from Europe, the Americas and Southeast Asia were better than those from Mainland China. Interviewee 7 also commented that tourists from Europe, Australia and Canada were more orderly. It can be concluded that residents preferred tourists who obey the rules and respect the host culture as well as display good courtesy and appropriate behaviours during their journey in the host country.

4.5.9.3 Different Attitudes towards Tourists from Different Origins

By contrasting the findings between attitudes towards the Mainland Chinese tourists and attitudes towards tourists from other countries, the behaviour of the former group of tourists were not well accepted and tolerated by HK residents, whereas more favourable perception and attitudes were demonstrated with tourists from other countries.

Residents clearly have different attitudes towards tourists from different origins (Tse & Qiu, 2015). Local residents' views on inbound tourism are positive towards the economic benefits, whereas views regarding Mainland Chinese tourists are more negative compared with other tourists from long haul markets such as Australia, Africa, the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, New Zealand and South Pacific. According to Doxey's Irridex four-stage model on host community's responses to tourism, HK residents' attitude towards tourists in general (i.e. tourists from all over the world) can

be seen as transiting from the first stage of Euphoria to the second stage of Apathy. By contrast, attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists in particular can be seen as transiting from second stage of Apathy to the third stage of Annoyance. The differing attitudes towards tourists from different origins may suggest the possible existence of discrimination between residents' attitudes towards tourists in general and tourists from Mainland China in particular. HK residents felt annoyance towards Mainland Chinese tourists who disrupted their daily lives. In terms of the attitude towards tourists from other countries, they were probably situated in Euphoria.

According to the statistical report published by HK Tourism Board in 2020, except Mainland China, Taiwan, the United States, Japan and South Korea were the top source markets to HK (see Table 4.10), with 2.8%, 2.0%, 1.9% and 1.9% of share of total arrivals, respectively. Residents very seldom meet tourists from other countries in HK. Therefore, the residents' perceptions towards tourists from other countries were mainly based on their experience travelling to that particular country, such as Japan or Taiwan. Many interviewees commented that they liked tourists from Japan, Korea and Taiwan. Japan, Thailand, and Taiwan are the all-time favourites for HK people (Lin, 2017). Korean movies and TV programmes were well liked by HK people as well. Therefore, their perceptions towards tourists from these countries may be formed based on their personal interactions with the Japanese and Taiwanese when they travel to these destinations as well as the influence from the Korean movies and TV programmes.

Table 4.10 Hong Kong's Top Five Source Markets of Tourists Arrivals to Hong Kong in 2019

Ranking	Source Markets	No. of Arrivals	Share of Total (%)
1	Mainland China	43,774,685	78.3%
2	Taiwan	1,538,915	2.8%
3	United States	1,107,165	2.0%
4	Japan	1,078,836	1.9%
5	South Korea	1,042,540	1.9%
	Total	55,912,609	

Source: Hong Kong Tourism Board (2020)

Figure 4.17 illustrates the relationship between attitude to tourists, perceived tourism impacts and level of support for tourism development. Interviewees with positive attitude

(i.e. like) towards tourists (mostly tourists from overseas) tend to have more favourable perceptions about tourism impacts as well as a higher level of support towards tourism development in HK. On the contrary, interviewees who dislike the tourists (mostly tourists from the Mainland China) tend to display hold negative perceptions towards tourism impacts as well as a lower level of support towards the tourism development in HK. Residents' perceptions of tourism impacts also affect the attitude to tourists. The more perceived positive impacts, the more favourable attitude to tourists and the higher level of support for tourism. Martin et al. (2017) found that positive perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of tourism resulted in a more favourable attitude towards tourists in the community. In addition, positive economic impacts and negative environmental impacts influenced the attitude to tourists, but to a lesser extent. This study did not associate the perception of positive socio-cultural impacts and the favourable attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists. Nevertheless, the perception of the positive economic impacts of tourism leads to a more favourable attitude towards tourists, which is consistent with the findings of Martin et al. (2017). Furthermore, perceived negative socio-cultural impacts of tourism are associated with negative attitudes towards tourists from Mainland China.

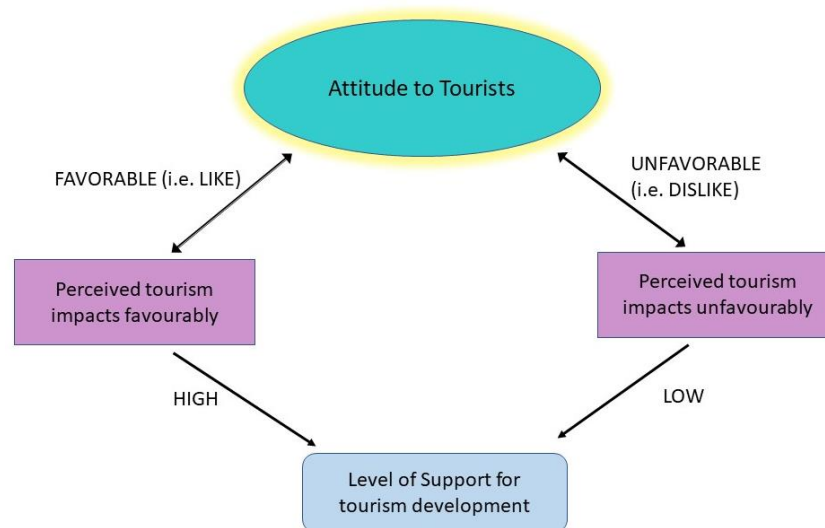


Figure 4.17 Attitude to Tourists, Perceived Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development
Source: Author

4.5.10 Inter-Relationship Among Economic Dependency on Tourism, Overall Life Satisfaction, Trust in Government, Perceived Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development

After analysing the findings, relationships can also be found among different independent variables, as shown in Figure 4.18. The relationships are rooted from economic dependency on tourism of the individual. Economic dependency on tourism positively correlates to overall life satisfaction. According to Figure 4.14 (p. 172), the higher the life satisfaction, the higher trust in the HKSAR Government. Residents' trust in government further links to the perceived tourism impacts as well as the level of support for tourism development (Figure 4.15, p. 173).

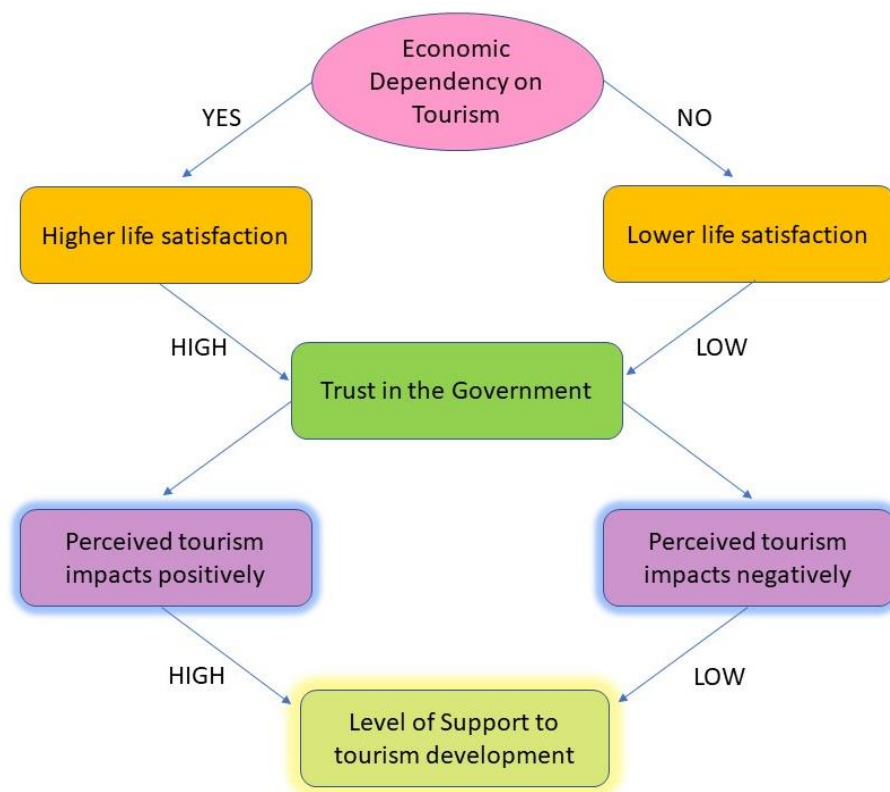


Figure 4.18 Relationship between Economic Dependency on Tourism, Life Satisfaction, Trust in Government, Perceived Tourism Impacts and Support for Tourism Development

Source: Author

4.5.11 Variables affecting Social Representations of Tourism

Figure 4.19 shows the relationships between variables affecting the perceptions about tourism impacts as well as tourism development in HK which lead to their level of support for tourism development. Corresponding residents' response strategies are developed by residents to deal with the impacts from tourism. Different independent variables may have varying magnitudes and directions of influence over residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts as well as their level of support towards tourism development. The variables examined also exert influence on one another. Two newly found variables, namely, (1) type and origin of tourists and (2) attitude to tourists, influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and level of support for tourism development. Further studies on how these variables influence residents' perceptions and attitudes are worth pursuing.

Section 4.5 presents how various factors influence the formation of individual social representations towards tourism in HK. The newly discovered factors of sub-ethnicity, type and origin of tourists and attitude to tourists are discussed. The inter-relationship among the variables and how they affect social representations towards tourism are elaborated. The findings and discussion provide insights in addressing research question 2.

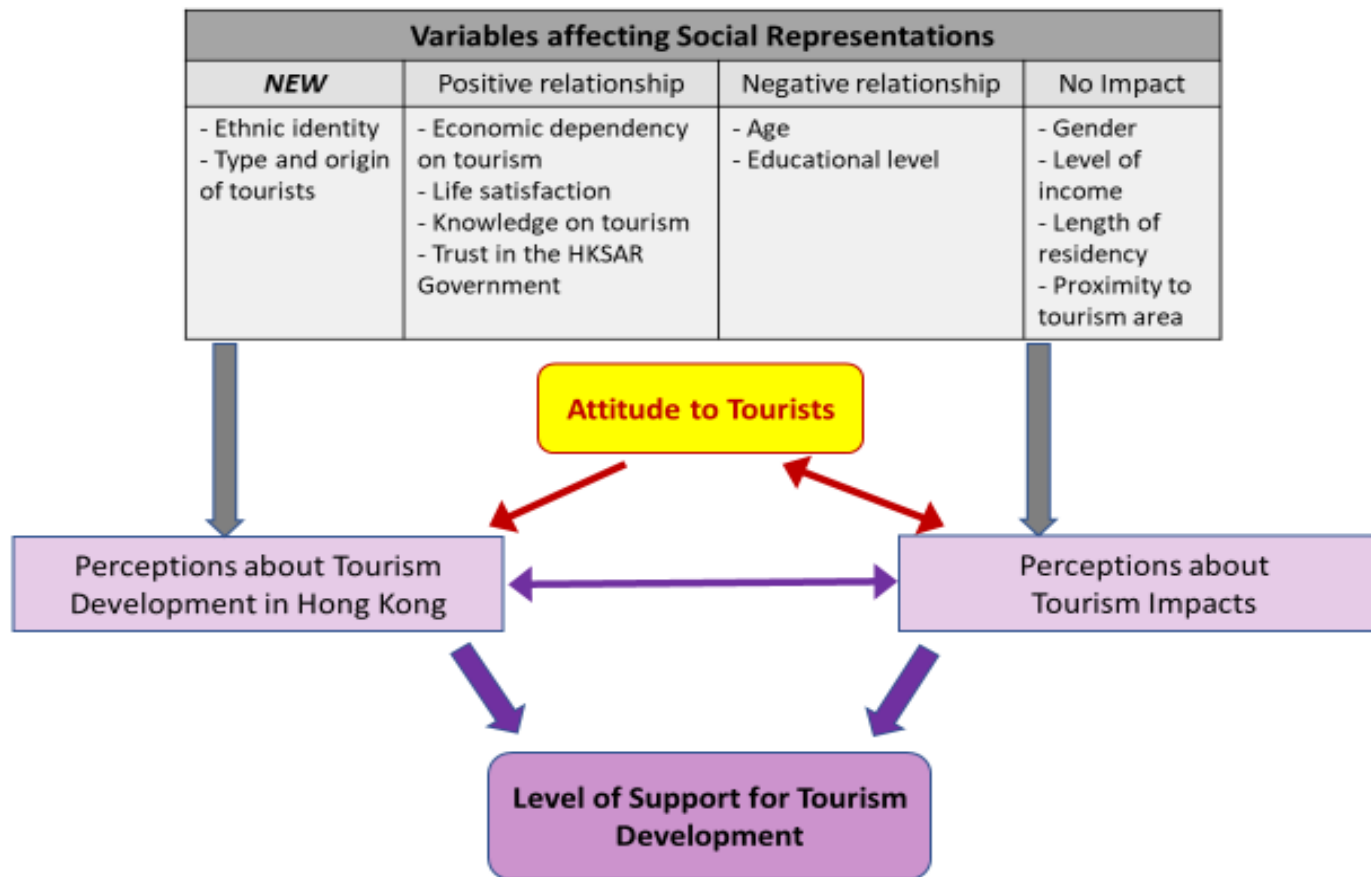


Figure 4.19 Variables affecting Social Representations towards Tourism Impacts and Development

Source: Author

4.6 Interviewees' Clusters and their Characteristics

Research question 3 aims to identify the different community groups and their characteristics based on their perceptions. In this section, four different groups of views are identified based on their level of support for tourism development in HK. Firstly, findings relating to their level of support for tourism are presented, followed by analysing the interviewees' profile and characteristics of each cluster then rationalising their responses with reference to the relevant literature.

4.6.1 Residents' Level of Support for Tourism Development

Residents' level of support for tourism development was used to identify the differing community groups wherein the members in each group may have positive, neutral or negative perceptions about different categories of tourism impacts. Four community groups were identified with slightly different perceptions of tourism impacts.

(i) Unconditional Support – 'Lovers'

Three interviewees demonstrated an unconditional support to tourism even though many negative news about socio-cultural impacts of tourism development were reported in the media. Interviewees 4, 7 and 9 indicated an absolute support for tourism development. Interviewee 4 was a retired ethnic Chinese person. Interviewees 7 and 9 were working in the airline and tourism-retailing shop, respectively, and were highly economically dependent on tourism.

Interviewee 4 was a retired person who migrated from Mainland China in the 1960s. He was currently satisfied with his life and portrayed a good level of trust in the HKSAR Government.

'I think there were no negative impacts from tourism. Just more people go to Chinese restaurants for Yam Cha, I need to queue up. But I do not mind, I accept'.

(Interviewee 4)

He perceived tourism impacts positively because more business revenues, more jobs and more excitements were generated in the community. He commented that the hotel room rates in HK were too high which may create barriers for the travellers. Moreover, he perceived no negative impacts from the tourism. Therefore, he was the most enthusiastic about the tourism. It may be due to his ethnic Chinese background as well as his good life satisfaction leading to a strong support to tourism in HK. Wassler et al. (2018) commented that senior HK citizens usually have stronger ties with Mainland China and tend to be more favourable towards Mainland Chinese tourists.

Interviewee 7 also demonstrated a good level of support to tourism development. He has been working in the airlines for more than 30 years with strong economic dependency on tourism. During the interview, he expressed the significant value of tourism to the local economy and for his family. He mentioned several times that HK people including his two daughters do have bias over the Mainland Chinese tourists, but he does not agree. Some mentioned negative impacts brought by tourism did not bother him at all. Even though he was living close to a tourist area, Mong Kok, he did not feel the disturbances. He portrayed a high level of tolerance over the tourists' inappropriate behaviour. Interviewee 7 had a good satisfaction with life as well as trust in government.

Lastly, Interviewee 9 has worked in brand shops for 20 years. Ninety percent of her shop revenues were from tourists. Therefore, she shared similar thoughts as Interviewee 7. She was willing to accept the uncivilised behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists because of their culture. During the interview, she commented that the tourism industry in HK greatly impacts her income, her job opportunity and prospects. Her biggest concern is '*no tourists come to HK*'. She was willing to accept everything from the Mainland Chinese tourists as they were her 'bread and butter'. The HKSAR Government has devoted so much resources to the tourism industry, so she had a good level of life satisfaction as well as good trust in the Government.

In terms of the profile and characteristics of members in this group, Interviewees 7 and 9 were very dependent on tourism, and Interviewee 4, who originated from Mainland China, had strong kinship ties with Mainland China. All three interviewees indicated a high level of life satisfaction and demonstrated a high level of trust in the HKSAR Government. In addition, economic dependency on tourism definitely plays a significant impact on interviewees' perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development.

Their understanding and knowledge of tourism were rather superficial, their educational level was relatively low, and their identified sub-ethnicity were mainly 'Chinese'. They either benefited from the economic impacts from tourism, such as job opportunities, increased business revenue and income or the socio-cultural impacts in terms of cultural exchange, energising the community and so on. Apart from their enthusiasm over tourism development, they perceived tourism impacts positively, with benefits outweighing the costs. Moreover, they tended to be 'neutral' towards the negative impacts brought by tourism such as crowding, congestion, higher cost of living and cultural conflicts. These interviewees were labelled as 'Lovers' for tourism.

(ii) Conditional Support – 'Cautious Romantics'

A majority of interviewees indicated their level of support to tourism but strongly required the government to limit the tourists' quotas from the Mainland as well as expand the source market to other countries as well.

Most of the student interviewees from the two focus groups belonged to this group as well. All student interviewees from the TFG support tourism in HK as they were studying tourism-related courses, and it is logical for them to support it. For example, Interviewee J highlighted his support to tourism because he was studying a degree related to tourism. Students chose to study in a tourism-related programme because they viewed the prosperity of tourism industry in HK. However, his support to tourism was conditional because he urged the government to consider tourism sustainability in HK as well as widen the source markets for HK. Many interviewees from this focus group shared similar beliefs about tourism impacts as well as perceptions towards tourists and tourism development in HK. They strongly agreed on the economic contribution of tourism for the local economy as well as other cultural benefits associated with tourism. However, they did share some concern about the negative environmental impacts brought by tourism, such as pollution, sharing of resources as well as damage of ecological environment in HK. They also disliked the social and cultural impacts brought by the vast majority of Mainland Chinese tourists about community conflicts, impact on residents' life, effect on physical cityscape, local resentment and inappropriate/uncivilised behaviours. All of them consistently indicated that they did not like seeing tourists in their neighbourhood. Interviewee R from the same focus group also supported tourism, but he had objections towards the source market for HK tourism. He wanted to see a more balanced portfolio of tourists visiting HK.

I don't like the government having emphasis on a certain market. If they focus on the Japanese market, I would dislike it too. Why can't we have a balance of the tourist source market? Why do we need to focus on a certain market? Then we would have bias on this act.

(Interviewee R, TFG)

Most of the student interviewees in the NTFG also recognised the importance of tourism and demonstrated a high level of support for tourism. They all agreed that HK needs 'tourists' to boost the local economy. However, they expressed their concerns about having too many Mainland Chinese tourists in HK leading to the negative destination appeal to other tourist markets. The destination image of HK is negatively perceived to be affected because of too many Mainland tourists in HK. The students support tourism, but they would like to have some policies to limit the number of tourists from Mainland China and grant subsidies to small store developments to retain the local culture. They also wanted to see limitations on the development of tourist-oriented shops everywhere in HK which have worsened the life experience of local residents.

I also think that the current development is too excessive, but I think the tourism industry can promote the economy in essence. That is why it needs to be retained. However, the daily quota of people entering HK needs to be regulated. Don't make the situation even worse and when the citizen no longer hates tourists, I think the situation will be better.

(Interviewee E, NTFG)

As for the in-depth interviewees, other than the 'Lovers' indicated in the above section, the remaining interviewees (R1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, and 10) expressed similar thoughts about tourism, but they shared some concerns or conditions for their support. Interviewee 1 definitely agreed the vital importance of developing tourism in HK and explained the consequences of not having tourists in HK a while ago which led to her support for tourism. Moreover, she mentioned most of the positive socio-cultural impacts of tourism. She also suggested the broadening of the source markets for HK tourism. During the interview, she emphasised the needs to minimise the negative impacts such as crowding, pollution and congestion to the community. Interviewee 2 also indicated a good level of support to tourism as he is a tourism lecturer which has directly economic linkage with

tourism industry. He also urged the government to review the existing IVS policy as well as develop some measures to ensure the sustainability of tourism in HK. He mentioned that the current host–tourist conflict was hurting the tourism development in HK.

I think I would support, but the government policy or strategy should be reviewed on continuous basis to fit the needs, and to fit the sustainable development of the tourism, of the economy, of HK because we are HK residents, we do not like HK to experience something bad.

(Interviewee 2)

Interviewees 5, 6 and 8 showed a great level of support for tourism, but they expressed different concerns. Interviewee 5, even though he was a protester, urged the government to target more different source markets for HK which affect the perceptions of other tourists towards HK's destination image. The poor quality of tourists from the Mainland China created tremendous negative impacts rather than positive benefits to the community. He considered the costs from tourism outweighed the benefits if the HK Government kept its eye on the Mainland China market.

'I do support. All along the way, I don't oppose tourism'.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewee 6, the district councillor from an affected district, represented a collective view of many Sheung Shui residents. He recognised the significant contribution of tourism to HK's economy. However, he showed concern about the benefits not distributing in the Sheung Shui District as only the landlords and few shop owners benefited from tourism in that area. The lives of many local populations in Sheung Shui were badly affected by the tourists. Interviewee 8, the elected representative and tourism executive, viewed the importance of tourism to HK. However, he shared many concerns and views about tourism sustainability and ensuring the competitiveness of HK. Interviewee 10, who is a housewife residing in Tung Chung district, realised the importance of having tourists in HK. However, she would like to meet tourists from other countries rather than Mainland Chinese tourists only.

In terms of the profile and characteristics of members in this group, they share similar level of support for tourism but at the same time, they had some concerns or suggestions

for further developing tourism in HK because they were more educated and more knowledgeable of tourism. They were more rational and realistic in assessing the benefits and costs brought about by tourism to the community. There was no obvious common demographic profile of these interviewees. Some of them even resided in the affected residential districts with life being negatively influenced by tourists. Therefore, this group of interviewees can be regarded as 'Cautious Romantics' who held many of the same feelings as 'Lovers' towards the tourism development in HK, but their feelings are not as strong as those of 'Lovers'. This group also appears to be more cautious about tourism because of their concerns about tourism sustainability and measures of minimising impacts from negative impacts as well as widening the tourists' source markets.

(iii) Neutral – 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents'

Student interviewee A from the NTFG indicated her neutral stance about tourism. She indicated her 5 out of 10 mark for the life satisfaction, leading to her trust in government being 'low'. She considered this life dissatisfaction was not related to tourism. She resided in Sheung Shui a few years ago but moved to another district. She disliked the Mainland Chinese tourists (mostly parallel traders) she met in Sheung Shui, but she also recognised the positive impacts brought by tourism as she shared her concern about the tourism sustainability of HK. She indicated that if the tourists were willing to abide by the rules (such as queuing up) and culture, she can accept the tourists in HK. She was fine with tourism if the tourists can behave and not disrupt her life because tourists brought in revenue to HK and boost the local economy.

Tourism leads to cultural shock. Because when people from other cultures come to HK may create conflicts to HK's culture. (... ..) HK cannot rely solely on branded shops and food, because if these stores are all the same and other chain stores are built in other countries, how can we attract tourists?

(Interviewee A, NTFG)

This interviewee who resided in the affected residential areas of Sheung Shui for a long time perceived many negative environmental impacts, such as pollution, crowding and congestion resulting from tourism development. Her life was badly impacted in terms of daily transportation, livelihood and social and cultural conflicts between hosts and

tourists. She had direct experience and interactions with the tourists during her daily life but did not economically benefit from tourism directly. She was in the younger generation age group and had relatively low life satisfaction and poor trust in government, but she commented that her life satisfaction was not related to tourism. At the same time, she was educated and thus recognised the benefits brought by tourism to the community which was being able to purchase cheaper goods. She can be named as an ‘Environmental and Social Ambivalent’. Her attitude to tourism was ‘neutral’, not ‘eager’ towards tourism but does not ‘hate’ it.

(iv) Do not support – ‘Haters’

Only one student interviewee B from the NTFG mentioned her disagreement on tourism development.

I think it is necessary to develop tourism in a country. However, the HK Government should suspend the tourism development at this stage. Because if it continues to develop, it will reduce the quality of life of HK people’.

(Interviewee B, NTFG)

Interviewee B worked part-time job in a tourism retail shop in Tsim Sha Tsui but considered herself to not economically benefit from tourism. She has daily interactions with tourists from the Mainland China, and she discussed this tourism issue with her friends, which was mostly negative. She also read news from newspaper and social media about the improper behaviour of Mainland Chinese tourists. She mentioned that Mainlanders usually liked to steal things in the shop. She even shared her sentiment about the government who should not build infrastructure that only benefit tourists but not residents. She had a feeling that the government tried to please the tourists from the Mainland but ignored the locals’ needs which she felt unfair. She has low level of life satisfaction and low trust in the HKSAR Government as she commented that, ‘Now we can see a lot of Mainlanders in HK. It seems very imbalanced and the government intends to let them come’. She recognised herself as a ‘Hongkonger’ and insisted a big cultural distance from the Mainland Chinese tourists. She was reluctant to consider Mainlanders as her siblings. Her dislike towards the tourism was rooted from her unfavourable perceptions about the Mainland tourists which were shaped from her daily experience with the tourists at her part-time job as well as her interactions with friends and media

exposure to the negative news about Mainlanders. Her perceptions and attitude towards tourism development tend to be negative, which can be categorised as ‘Haters’.

4.6.2 Interviewees’ Clusters of Social Representations towards Tourism

Based on the above findings, four clusters were formed, namely, ‘Lovers’, ‘Cautious Romantics’, ‘Environmental and Social Ambivalents’ and ‘Haters’. These clusters differ in terms of their level of support as well as perceptions towards the impacts brought by tourism.

‘Lovers’ demonstrated the highest level of support to tourism with no negative impacts being perceived by interviewees. These interviewees were usually economically dependent on tourism where tourism contributes to their quality of life as well as life satisfaction. Being of their good ratings towards life satisfaction, they portrayed good trust in government too. ‘Lovers’ loved seeing the tourists from Mainland China. This group contains interviewees who were economically dependently in tourism but had relatively low educational level. Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) discussed that the most positively motivated cluster usually considers the economic benefits of tourism to be the most important.

‘Cautious Romantics’ demonstrated a good level of support to tourism, but they recognised the negative impacts and indicated various concerns on tourism impacts and tourism development. The majority of interviewees (except Interviewee 8) in this group had no economic dependency on tourism. No particular trends in life satisfaction and trust in government were found in this group. ‘Cautious Romantics’ tended to accept tourists from Mainland China but would like to see more faces from all over the world. In general, they loved having tourism in the city as well. This group contained more mature individuals who were mostly satisfied with their life but more cautious about tourism, meaning they support tourism in general, but suggest that the government broaden the market sources and develop other kinds of tourism other than shopping tourism. Young interviewees who were economically dependent on tourism also belonged to this group.

‘Lovers’ and ‘Cautious Romantics’ fully acknowledged and somewhat received the benefits brought by tourism in economic and socio-cultural aspects, such as improve the

local economy (Latkova & Vogt, 2012), increase employment opportunities (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013), increase opportunities for local businesses (Sharma & Gursoy, 2015), promote intercultural interaction and exchange (Sharma & Gursoy, 2015); increase the variety of entertainment (Woosnam et al., 2009) and preserve and revitalise local culture (Oviedo-Garcia et al., 2008). Nevertheless, 'Cautious Romantics' were more educated and, therefore, were more realistic about the benefits, but more critical about the costs of tourism (Chan, 2004).

'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' demonstrated neutral perceptions towards tourism development and perceived the overall impacts brought by tourism to be negative on the environmental and social aspects. Overall life satisfaction of 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' tended to be low, but they were not related to tourism. 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' felt irritated with tourists from the Mainland China. They supported tourism development, but they disliked the tourists from the Mainland China which resulted in a 'neutral' attitude to tourism. This group consists of interviewees who were educated and young, but not economically dependent on tourism and not eager to support tourism because they did not like seeing Chinese faces. 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' were more concerned about the costs associated with tourism such as price inflation (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013), overcrowding (Loi & Pearce, 2013, 2015; Su et al., 2018), increase litter (Nunkoo & Smith, 2013), imbalance number of residents and tourists (Diedrich & Garcia-Buades, 2009) and poor quality of life (Yu, Cole & Chancellor, 2018). These interviewees further regard the negative impacts of tourism as contributing factors to reduce their quality of life or life satisfaction (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Kim et al., 2013). Su et al. (2018) suggested that the destination social responsibility, i.e. the stakeholders work together with a common goal to act for the benefit of the community, can positively contribute to positive impacts of tourism development perceived by residents and result to a higher level of support for tourism. A similar group of interviewees was also found in other studies such as Jani (2017), Sinclair-Maragh et al. (2015) and Wassler et al. (2018). This is a common group of interviewees when tourism is over-developed in a destination where more concerns are raised by residents towards its tourism development.

'Haters' demonstrated a low level of support to tourism development and perceived negative impacts more than positive impacts resulting from tourism. 'Haters' wanted the government to suspend tourism development and did not want to see tourists from

Mainland China anymore. Same as the 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents', they perceived their deterioration of quality of life and poor life satisfaction to be rooted from the negative consequences of tourism development. Perceptions of positive impacts can improve residents' quality of life, but negative impacts can decrease it (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Su et al., 2018). 'Haters' considered tourism worsened their quality of life and overall life satisfaction due to the price inflation, overcrowding, lack of shopping and dining choices and community conflicts. 'Haters' were the younger and more educated interviewees who also identified themselves as 'Hongkongers'. They hated the Mainlanders and wanted to differentiate from them. By having no economic benefits from tourism and their sub-ethnicity identity as 'Hongkongers', their perceptions towards tourism impacts have become more negative which has led to a lower level of support for tourism.

In addition, younger generations with no economic dependency on tourism were more likely to be a member in 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters' groups, whereas the older mature generations tended to be a member in 'Lovers' or 'Cautious Romantics' groups. Educational level also differed from different clusters where interviewees with low educational level and limited understanding about tourism were more likely the members of 'Lovers' who realised the benefits brought by tourism. By contrast, interviewees with high educational level were more realistic, cautious and sceptical when assessing tourism and tourism development. 'Lovers' and 'Cautious Romantics' generally had a higher life satisfaction than 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters'. This finding is somewhat consistent with the results from Wassler et al. (2018) where lower-income group and young generations tend to be negative and oppose tourism in HK. Moreover, overall life satisfaction is a significant factor to determine their level of support for tourism in HK.

This classification of clusters is similar to a number of community clusters found by Chan (2004) with 910 interviewees classified to four groups based on their perceptions towards tourism impacts brought by HK Disneyland. These were (i) 'lovers' (11%), (ii) 'cautious romantics' (22%), (iii) 'supporters' (41%) and (iv) 'environmental ambivalents' (16%) with decreasing positive perceptions on tourism impacts brought by HK Disneyland to HK community. These four clusters are more sophisticated than the community clusters found by Wassler et al. (2019) who classified the Vietnamese residents into three groups based on their attitude towards Chinese inbound tourism in

Vietnam. During their study, only three clusters were found, which are (i) 'high support', (ii) 'low-support' and (iii) 'neutral'. They found that younger, less educated and lower income interviewees have a more positive attitude towards tourism, whereas older, more educated and higher income interviewees tend to be less supportive to tourism in Vietnam. In another similar study conducted by Wassler et al. (2018), 850 HK residents were clustered into three groups, namely, 'middle-of-the roaders' (43%), 'enthusiasts' (30%) and 'somewhat irritated' (27%). Majority of the interviewees fell into the 'middle-of-the roaders' which indicated that many of the local residents were neutral towards tourism. The 'enthusiasts' has the highest level of income, followed by the 'middle-of-the roaders', with the lowest group being the 'somewhat irritated' segment. This result is consistent with the findings from this study. Lower income group tends to belong to a more negative group of 'Haters' or 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents'. To conclude, studies classifying community clusters on residents' attitude to tourism usually identify two to four cluster groups with different social representations.

By knowing how interviewees perceived the tourism impacts and their level of support for tourism, four clusters were identified with different profiles and characteristics. Doing so provided rich information to address research question 3.

4.7 Applying Social Representations Theory (SRT) to explain the Formation of Residents' Perceptions

In this section, SRT was used to explain why and how residents develop such perceptions presented in the findings. The findings suggested a complex relationship among social representations (perceptions), attitude to tourists and various intrinsic and extrinsic variables in influencing residents' level of support and response strategies to tourism.

4.7.1 Conceptual Framework

Based on the findings from research questions 1 to 3, the conceptual framework is proposed and presented in Figure 4.20. This model reflects the linkage between perceptions (i.e. social representations) and level of support for tourism. Based on the findings for research question 3, a wide range of intrinsic variables found to affect the residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and tourism development (i.e. sub-ethnic identity, economic dependency on tourism, life satisfaction, demographics such as age and educational level, knowledge of tourism and trust in government) are embedded in the sources to shape individual's social representations (i.e. perceptions). The extrinsic factors (i.e. degree or stage of the host destination's development, state of local economy, type and origin of tourists, seasonality and imperialism) are included in the social and economic environment of the community where type and origin of tourists affect residents' social representations of tourism. The intrinsic variable of 'Attitude to tourists' affects residents' perceptions to tourism impacts and, at the same time, residents' attitude to tourists. Direct experience, social interaction and mass media influence also forms residents' representations about tourism. Furthermore, individual social representations can influence collective social representations (i.e. culture or group) via personal influence, and the group may exert influence on individual social representations via socialisation or social interaction as well. After this social representation is formed, it affects individuals' support for tourism (i.e. the behaviour and outcomes resulting from social representations).

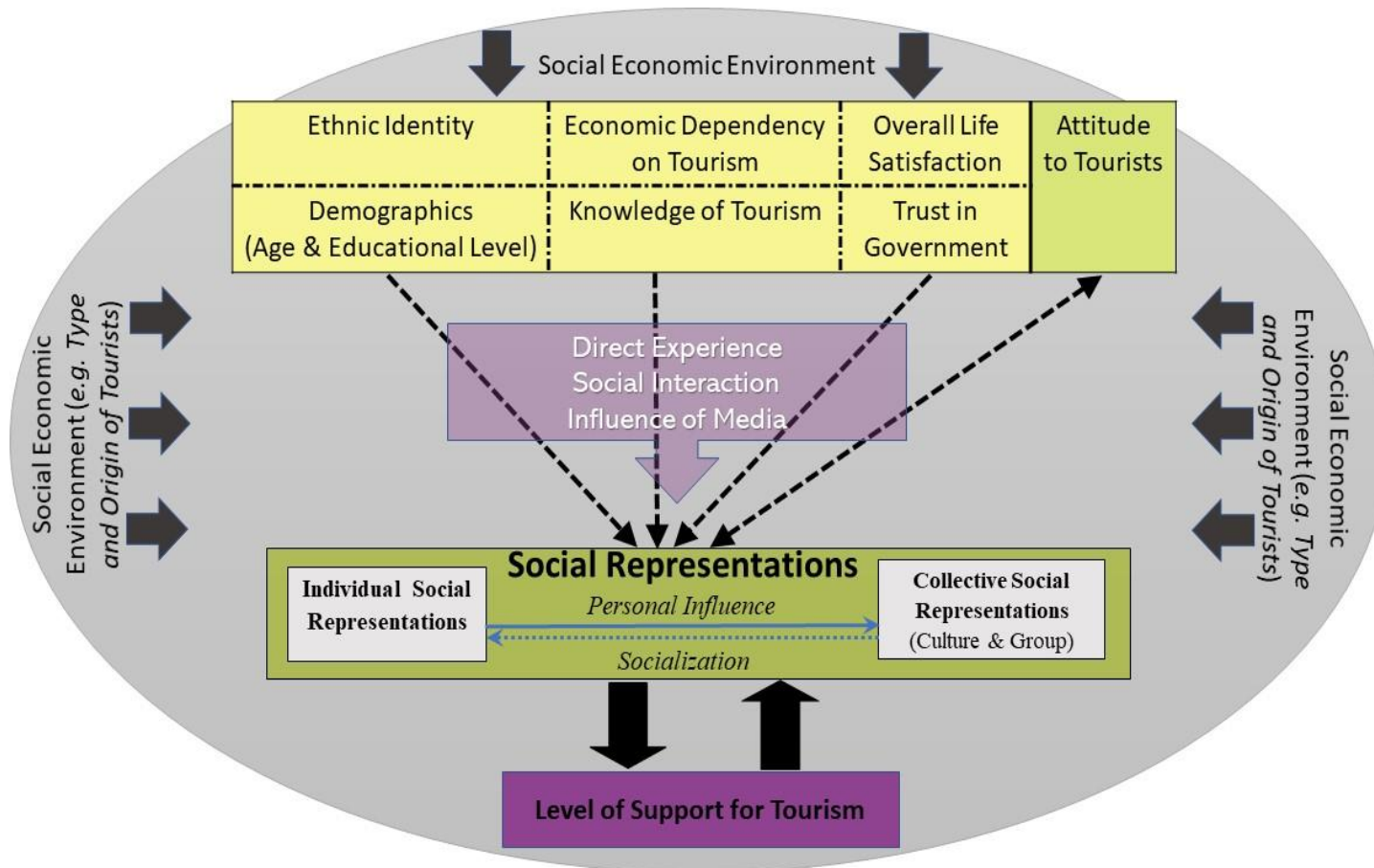


Figure 4.20 Proposed Conceptual Framework

Modified from Dann (1992), Pearce et al. (1996) and Zhou (2006)

4.7.2 Heterogeneous Community

Social representations advocate the community as heterogeneous rather than homogenous. The social representations approach is to define the commonality of opinions first and then explore the psycho-demographics of the groups holding these representations (Pearce et al, 1996). Identifying differing social representations (i.e. values and beliefs system of an individual) that different groups possess can enable a better understanding of residents' perceptions and their responses to tourism industry. In this study, four cluster groups, namely, 'Lovers', 'Cautious Romantics', 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters' were identified. These clusters were identified based on their differing social representations about tourism impacts and tourism development with slightly different psycho-demographics.

'Lovers' economically benefited directly from tourism. Therefore, they had the most favourable attitude to tourism and perceived most positive impacts associated from tourism. 'Cautious Romantics' comprising a different mix of interviewees with no economic dependency on tourism indicated a positive attitude to tourism and perceived tourism impacts positively. They also recognised the negative impacts and support tourism if some conditions are met. Interviewees who were economically dependent on tourism showed a high level of support to tourism but urged the government to limit the quota of incoming Mainlanders. 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' exhibited a neutral attitude to tourism and perceived the socio-cultural and environmental impacts negatively. They were mostly interviewees who considered themselves as 'Hongkonger' and relatively 'young' with no economic dependency on tourism. 'Haters' consisted of interviewees who were young with no economic dependency on tourism and low overall life satisfaction. They disliked meeting Mainland Chinese tourists, displayed a negative attitude towards tourism and low level of support for tourism and perceived tourism impacts negatively. Wassler et al. (2018) also found similar findings that younger and lower income HK people tend to rely largely on social representations on tourism, such as values and preconceptions presented by the mass media, whereas older and higher income local residents developed social representations towards tourism based on more rational social exchange principles, i.e. personal benefits from tourism.

4.7.3 Social Representations (SR) to Tourism in Hong Kong

Based on the findings presented in Section 4.4.5 (p. 135), five social representations (SRs) relating to residents' perceptions towards tourism in HK were identified. Anchoring and

objectification of these representations are elaborated next. The idea of representations is to familiarise the unfamiliar by anchoring new ideas into a pre-existing system (naming and classification) and objectifying something abstract into something almost concrete (personification and figuration). Anchoring of representations can be done by classifying and naming. Classifications can be generated by associating individuals to a prototype usually adopted by a specific group (Moscovici, 1984, 1988).

The first SR, shared by interviewees from three clusters except 'Lovers', was that 'HK is too reliant on the Mainland China market'. The monopolistic nature of the tourist source market was a major concern for the interviewees as it de-motivates tourists from other markets to visit HK. This belief was anchored mainly through the culture concept and was further objectified by one interviewee complaining that 'the tourists lower down the service quality in HK'. Gerard et al. (2016) also found that HK residents perceived the declining service quality and the poor attitude of salespersons towards local consumers. Another interviewee commented that 'they are 'locusts', they better do not come' and 'they don't abide by our culture'. This social representation was mainly created through many negative news about the inappropriate, uncivilised and impolite behaviours of the Mainland Chinese tourists which made HK residents feel irritated and disgusted with them. This SR is widely shared among many residents in HK.

The second SR 'numerous negative impacts were brought by parallel-traders' was mainly confined to the 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters'. Anchored in perceptions of impacts on the community, this SR was further objectified by commenting the parallel traders were not 'real tourists' and just visited HK for making profits, but not contributing to the tourism industry and the local community. In terms of impacts, interviewees said that 'the whole district was ruined by them (tourists)' and they argued with, even hit the residents and did not obey the rules in HK. Another interviewee complained that 'my home is completely taken over by milk powder stores and pharmacy shops'.

The third SR 'over-abundance of tourists' was mostly expressed among the 'Cautious Romantics' and 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents'. It criticised 'the influx of tourist arrivals from Mainland China to HK' which anchored in its impacts on the community. Interviewees objectified this SR through the large number of tourists in HK which has been few times over the population of HK. The 'rapid change, too fast, will

cause social conflicts' in the community and the 'huge increase in tourists in such a short time' inevitably have caused social conflicts. The number of Mainlanders suddenly increased dramatically without sufficient support facilities which caused tremendous negative impacts in various HK neighbourhoods.

The fourth SR was confined to most of the interviewees except 'Lovers'. They argued that HK has 'antiquated direction for tourism development'. Anchored in sustainability, interviewees claimed that HK should consider how it can achieve 'sustainable tourism development' and not rely solely on 'shopping tourism'. This SR was further objectified through the suggestion to promote HK in the areas of eco-tourism, MICE and cruise tourism because HK is not competitive anymore for shopping tourism.

The last SR considered 'HK tourism is a political phenomenon' was rooted from an inherent problem between Mainland China and HK. Many interviewees identified themselves sub-ethnically as 'Hongkongers'. The 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters' shared this SR. Anchored in identity, interviewees from these cluster groups disliked Mainlanders visiting HK and perceived tourism impacts negatively. This SR can be further objectified by having numerous young interviewees reiterating that they were not 'Chinese' and 'we are not the same', emphasising the differentiation between Mainlanders and Hongkongers. They also shared their bias and prejudice towards Mainland Chinese tourists. Interviewees expressed that 'some people who think they are Chinese believe that we should welcome Mainland compatriots. But I will not, because I am not their compatriot (同胞). But I won't admit I am part of them'. Hongkongers do not want to admit themselves being part of a nation which has a poor reputation in the world. This was due to the negative attitude of many Hongkongers towards the Chinese Central Government. Hence, they displayed an unwelcome attitude to Mainland Chinese tourists.

Figure 4.21 indicates the SRs forming HK residents' perceptions towards tourism in HK. The type and origin of tourists was the extrinsic variable, whereas sub-ethnic identity, age, educational level, economic dependency on tourism, overall life satisfaction, knowledge on tourism, trust in government, attitude to tourists were the intrinsic variables influencing the formation and membership of the four identified interviewees' clusters and the formation of the five SRs towards tourism in HK.

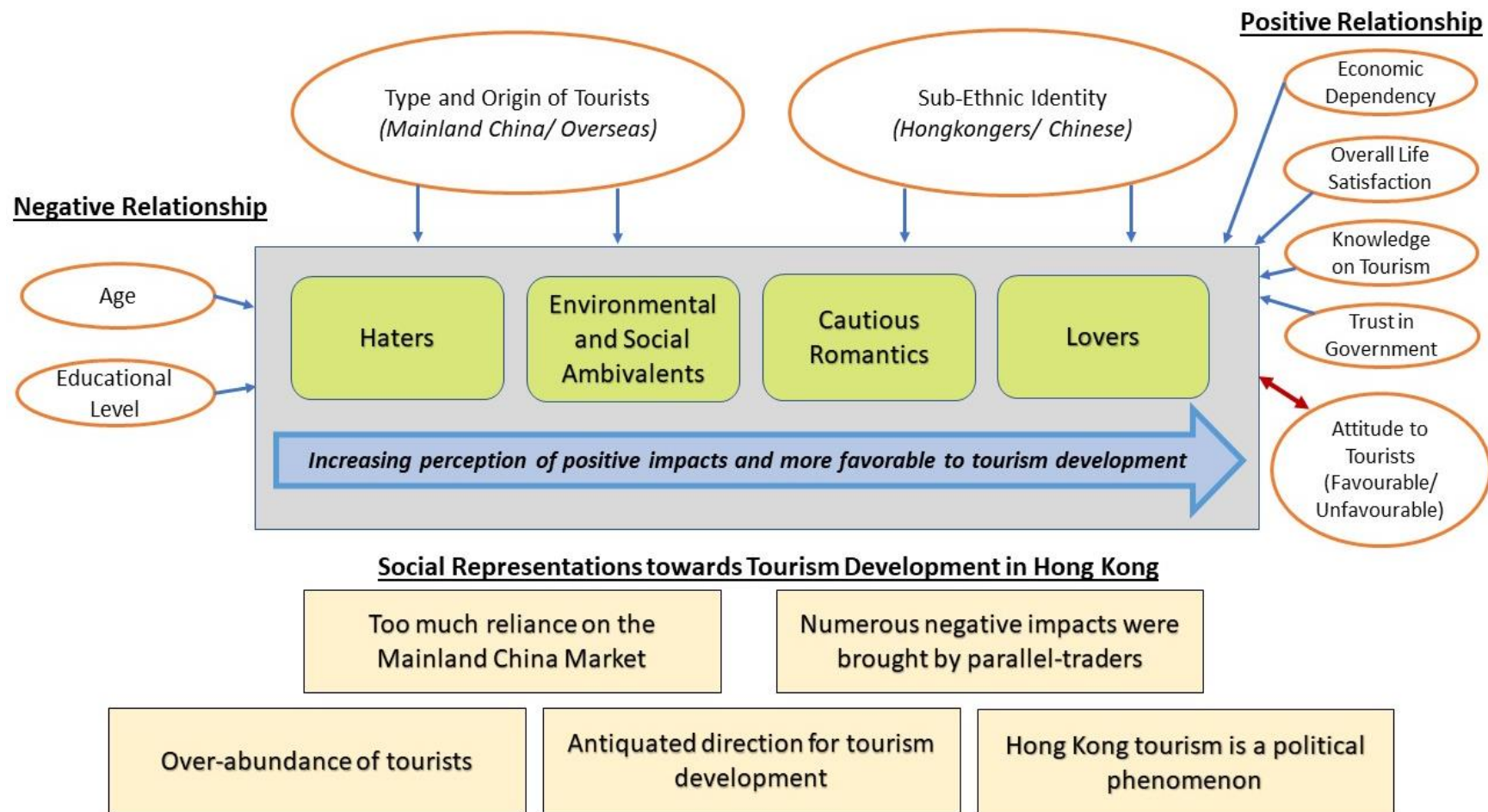


Figure 4.21 Social Representations (SR) forming Hong Kong Residents' Perceptions towards Tourism in Hong Kong

Source: Author

4.8 The Influence of Three Sources of Information on the Formation of Residents' Perceptions Towards Hong Kong Tourism Development and its Impacts

Humans are not isolated and will be affected by other information sources, such as their membership groups, media channels and the direct experience with that object or events. Research question 4b intends to examine how the three sources of information affect the formation of residents' 'representations' (i.e. perceptions) towards HK tourism development and its impacts.

4.8.1 Direct Experience

Direct experience with a phenomenon provides subjects with personal information upon which perceptions are formed. For the student interviewees in the two focus groups, almost all of them mentioned that they have many opportunities having direct interactions with tourists in HK. Since the researchers' institution is just next to a busy tourist district (Mong Kok), students almost pop by Mong Kok every day. They had direct interactions with the tourists easily. Moreover, student interviewees from the TFG did have a graduation requirement of completing their practicum in the hotel and tourism industry. They must deal with tourists during practicum experience. Owing to the booming tourism industry from 2003 to 2019, many tourism-retail shops recruited many tertiary educated students as salespersons. As for the other NTFG, half of the interviewees worked in the tourism-retail shops for their part-time jobs. Most of the student interviewees in this study had direct experience dealing with tourists from the Mainland China.

Interviewees 5, 7 and 9 also met tourists in their daily lives or their work context. Interviewee 5 interacted with tourists every day when he resided in the Sheung Shui district five years ago. His perceptions towards tourism and tourists were mainly based on his negative interactions with the tourists at that time. He had arguments with the tourists and, therefore, formed negative perceptions about them. He formed negative perceptions about the tourists from the Mainland, so he perceived many negative impacts brought about by tourism to the community.

When I still lived in Northern district 5 years ago, my views were based on my interactions with the tourists at that moment. 95% of the tourists in

Northern district were not 'Real' tourists, they are just 'day-trippers' for parallel shopping. I saw the terrible phenomenon there and felt that the whole district was totally ruined by them. My interactions with them are negative. We argued as they did not obey our rules. They hit us too.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewees 7 and 9 met tourists at their workplace as they were working in a local airline and a branded tourism-retail shop, respectively. They also mentioned that their perceptions about the Mainland Chinese tourists were based on the interactions with them during their work. They realised that the Mainland Chinese speak louder and were impolite which were considered as part of Mainland Chinese culture. Nevertheless, they accepted it as they have expected it and it is their job to serve the tourists.

The remaining interviewees (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 10) expressed that they did not meet tourists so often. When they met, the interactions between the interviewees and tourists were short and brief. Their direct experience with tourists was very superficial. Few student interviewees clearly indicated that their perceptions about tourists were based on their interactions with the tourists during their daily life. The moment of truth with the tourists provided the first-hand information about the tourists which then formed the perceptions towards them. 'Seeing is better than hearing' describes how they formed the perceptions about the tourists.

In terms of the influence from direct experience in shaping residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts, many interviewees experienced some negative impacts of tourism development, such as being hit by tourists' luggage, crowding and congestion causing inconveniences in public transportation or daily lives, quarrels with tourists and so on.

Interviewee 5 mentioned that while he was residing in Sheung Shui, he had several quarrels with the tourists. Therefore, he disliked Mainland Chinese tourists because of their uncivilised behaviour and rude, noisy and impolite personality. They showed no respect to local residents and felt that they came to HK to spend money. From his point of view, Mainland Chinese tourists were harmful to the local community despite their shopping and tourism expenditures in HK. Ryall (2017) reported that many Japanese residents felt that the Mainland Chinese tourists did not respect the local rules and customs.

In terms of cultural aspect, they rampage, squat on the road, pack their stuff everywhere, language miscommunications (Cantonese and Putonghua) etc. I can also see some warnings posted in the Northern district to educate them not to do this, not to do that etc. Moreover, the residents in Sheung Shui are more violent than before. I also try avoiding going to 'busy' districts now. I rather prefer to go some places quiet. My quality of living slightly decreases as I need to spend more time to search for cheap goods now. More crime – parallel trading, more inappropriate behaviour such as throwing the cigarettes and spitting everywhere are found now.

(Interviewee 5)

Interviewee 5 has extremely bad perceptions about the tourists from the Mainland China as well as their negative impacts. He initialised several protests in Sheung Shui and Tsim Shui Tsui from 2014 until now to urge the Mainland Chinese tourists not to shop in HK and return to China. He got the first-hand experience to the negative impacts brought by tourism. His views were mainly based on these real-life direct experiences and exposure.

The student interviewees and Interviewee 5 had negative encounters with the Mainland Chinese tourists, so they formed relatively negative perceptions towards the tourism impacts as well as the tourists from Mainland China. Only Interviewee 9 had a pleasant encounter with the Mainland Chinese tourists who were the big spenders in her tourism-retail shop. As her experience with these tourists were delightful, she formed relatively positive perceptions about tourism impacts and tourists from Mainland China as well as demonstrated a higher level of support to tourism development. Therefore, residents who have direct interaction with Mainland Chinese tourists and have a good experience develop more positive perceptions to the impacts of HK tourism development and be more supportive of tourism development. On the contrary, residents such as the student interviewees and interviewee 5 who had unpleasant interactions with Mainland Chinese tourists formed negative perceptions to the impacts brought by tourism and the tourists from Mainland China as well as demonstrated a lower level of support to tourism. Once the residents had direct experience with the tourism impacts or tourists, they were substantially more confident in their beliefs about tourism and tourists. Delaney (2017, p. 150) confirmed that 'I'll believe it when I see it'. People tend to believe what they see.

Without seeing, there may be disbelief or lack of faith. Interviewees form their representations about tourism impacts by seeing with their own eyes. They were the ones to see and experience it through which their beliefs and opinions were formed. Once their beliefs were formed, it is hard for them to change or amend.

Fredline and Faulkner (2000) found that representations are developed among residents based on the direct experiences with tourists. This notion was further confirmed by Martin et al. (2017). They found that residents' positive perception of tourism impacts was based, to a certain extent, on a favourable evaluation of their interactions with tourists. If the host–tourist interaction is pleasant, the host will perceive tourism favourably and form a positive attitude towards tourism. On the contrary, host–tourist conflict may further contribute to negative perceptions and attitudes towards tourism. Conflict and negative emotions arise among both local residents and tourists when the host–tourist interactions are unpleasant (Chien & Ritchie, 2018; Shen et al., 2017). Teng (2019) asserted that tourism conflict leads to higher perceived costs from tourism and results in a lower level of support for tourism development in Thailand and Taiwan. For a small region like Hong Kong, residents have frequent contacts with the tourists and are easily aroused to form negative emotions or conflict with tourists, which induces the formation of negative social representations towards tourism. Therefore, direct experience is a strong determinant in forming representations of individuals about the tourism phenomenon in HK.

Although representations are suggested to have prescriptive power, direct experience with a phenomenon provides subjects with personal information upon which perceptions are formed. HK residents can base on their first-hand experience to gain information about tourism impacts, tourism development in HK and tourists so that relevant representations are formed. Pearce et al. (1996) suggests that people always enquire the differences between dominant social representations and actual phenomenon, so it is a catalyst for change. In the case of Interviewee 9, she believed what she saw, so her direct experiences changed the prevailing social representations about tourism impacts and tourists from being negative to positive. She considered the negative impacts were somehow over-exaggerated and that the tourists were not as bad as everybody said. From the findings, interviewees held a strong belief in 'seeing is believing' which highlighted the importance of direct experience serving as a major information source of social representation even though the prevailing social representation is or may be contradictory.

4.8.2 *Social Interaction*

Conversation and social interaction with others, such as workmates, family, friends or even strangers can be an important means of transmitting social representations. Based on the findings, nine interviewees had conversations or discussions with friends about tourism-related issues, such as Mainland Chinese tourists' misbehaviour and current tourism development. Some interviewees discussed where to travel. Four interviewees never talked with anyone about tourism-related issues.

Few interviewees discussed about the Mainland Chinese tourists' misbehaviour in HK with their friends and relatives. Student interviewee C from the TFG expressed that she discussed with her colleagues about the tourists from Mainland China during her internship. Student interviewee F from the same group mentioned that he disliked the Mainland students while he was studying in the United States a year ago. He set up a school society about HK, and they did have arguments with the Mainland students. Therefore, he shared his point of views about the members in that student society.

Almost all interviewees in the NTFG had discussions with friends or relatives about the bad behaviour of the Mainland Chinese tourists. Many interviewees also had discussion or conversations with their friends and relatives about the current tourism development in HK in a casual talk. Some interviewees chatted about the negative tourism impacts brought about by the tourists. For example, Interviewee 1 chatted about 'locusts', and Interviewee 5 chatted about the 'parallel shoppers' in Sheung Shui. Interviewee 10 shared her views about the tourism impacts brought by the new establishment of HZM bridge with her internet friends from a Facebook online group about Tung Chung District, which initially experienced an influx of illegally organised tour groups following the opening of the HZM bridge.

'When they (my friends) discuss about tourism, they must talk about Mainland Chinese, they used some bad keywords to describe them like 'locusts', I forgot, but those terms are very negative, and make them feel very uncomfortable'.

(Interviewee 1)

Almost all interviewees chatted about the negative impacts brought by tourism, if they have any. None of the interviewees ever chatted about any positive things about the tourists from Mainland China.

Out of the three interviewees (R4, R7 and R9) who were very supportive of tourism development, Interviewees 4 and 7 did not have any discussions with friends and relatives about tourism issues. Interviewee 9 indicated that she had discussion with her husband on tourism issues, but they held similar opinions.

I talk to my husband. We have the same opinions. When tourists come to Sheung Shui for shopping, HK residents complained. When HK people travel to Japan or Thailand, they also shop all their products in the pharmacy shops and supermarket. Why isn't a problem? It's a bias.

(Interviewee 9)

In terms of the influence of social interactions in shaping interviewees' perceptions about tourism impacts, tourism development and tourists in HK, interviewees indicated that there were influences on their perceptions.

'Yes, there will be an impact on my perception because when they talked about the decline of tourists' quality in HK which would associate my thinking about the current development of HK tourism industry'.

(Interviewee J, TFG)

Only Interviewees 9 and 10 answered no influence as they and their friends held the same beliefs and share the same feelings and opinions about tourism issues in HK.

The majority of media publicity about the tourism industry or tourism impacts were negative, such as disruption to locals' life (Xinqi & Tsang, 2019), crowding in the city (Xinqi et al., 2018), uncivilised behaviour of Mainland Chinese tourists (Chen, 2014), poor reputation of Mainland Chinese tourists (Zuo, 2013), protest against Mainland Chinese tourists (Su, 2019) and many more. Such news would easily trigger residents to discuss the relevant tourism topics with their friends, relatives and colleagues. If one holds a differing stance with the major views of the tourism news, he/she may not discuss brazenly with others.

People tend not to share conflicting views because it may create arguments to destroy the harmony or take extra efforts to convince others to hold the same beliefs. In Chinese culture, preserving order is important. This can be achieved through harmony and conformity to society's ways (including rituals and face-saving). Based on the strong belief of Chinese people towards the Confucian system of hierarchy, harmony is more important than pointing out mistakes (Hinsbergh, 2019). Therefore, the mainstream of the discussions was related to negative aspect of tourism, tourism development in HK as well as the Mainland Chinese tourists.

Interviewee 2 also indicated that he was an insider in the HK community, so his views may not be partial. He was influenced by his father who was a frequent traveller.

I think would be yes. I think that is a kind of 'big yes'. (... ..) for example, my daddy travels a lot, he travels to different other countries, different destinations. So, unconsciously he would compare different destinations in terms of history, in terms of accommodation, in terms of climate or weather, or the services, or in terms of the local people. So, of course, after this kind of comparison, his views possibly influence me.

(Interviewee 2)

This influence of social interactions on shaping his perceptions about tourism and tourism impacts can be explained by opinion leadership. His father was more experienced and knowledgeable than him, and that is why he formed his social representations about tourism issues based on his father.

To conclude, if the values, beliefs or viewpoints are the same among the discussants during the social interactions, this often further consolidates one's initial representations about the tourism topic. When residents hold negative views about the tourism, their views will be further convinced and confirmed after their discussions which support their views. If the values, beliefs and viewpoints are different during the discussions, individuals may digest the contradictory beliefs and analyse again which views should be kept in mind. Their initial views will then be modified after the analysis between their initial views and the new input from others who have opposing views. In case residents are members of a few reference groups, i.e. they have discussions on tourism topic with

different groups such as family, friends and relatives, they will be obliged to resolve opposing and inconsistent representations if differing representations exist in those groups (Dougherty et al., 1992).

This help explains the influence of social interactions in the formation of social representations towards tourism issues in HK. Another influencing factor of social interaction on the representation is the opinion leadership which usually poses a higher level of credibility or knowledgeable about a certain topic, in this case, should be tourism, the influence from an opinion leader is higher. If the discussant has a lower credibility or poorer knowledge than the individual, this discussant may have weaker influence of the individual's initial representation about tourism issues. Two factors affect the extent of influence from the discussions, which are (1) the nature of discussion whether it is conforming to individual belief or contradictory and (2) the credibility or knowledge of the influencer(s). If residents do not have direct interactions with tourists or any tourism impacts, their attitudes to tourism tend to be shaped by factors other than direct experience (Sharpley, 2014). Then social interactions and the media may provide information for individuals to form social representations where social interactions provide commentary opinions and media offer factual information and commentary opinions for reference.

4.8.3 *Media*

Based on dictionary.com, media is described as 'the means of communication, as radio and television, newspapers, magazines, and the Internet, that reach or influence people widely'. Social media such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter and Instagram have gained popularity these days. According to a survey by market research firm Statista, 78% of HK's population were active social media users in the third quarter of 2017 (Davis, 2018). Younger people in HK have been using them actively and heavily rely on them to obtain first-hand information about a wide range of knowledge. Social media has become one of the most important time-killing activities for young people nowadays. Many cannot separate from their mobile phone for even a second, and they search for new information on these platforms compulsively (Hui, 2018). In a survey carried out by *Apple Daily* newspaper, 32% of students out of 2,045 said they used social media for more than 9 hours a day, meaning they spend 38% of the day visiting social media websites such as Facebook, Instagram and Snapchat. Moreover, 68% of young people think that they have

a habit of going online to use social media apps. This means they are already addicted to social media platforms (Hui, 2018).

Student interviewee J from the TFG commented that he formed his perceptions and opinions about tourism issues in HK based on the facts provided by the news.

Yes, it (the news) does have an impact. The news provided me the facts – negative impacts on HK residents' life when developing tourism in HK. Therefore, I would also develop my stance based on the news to have a negative view on the development of HK's tourism industry.

(Interviewee J, TFG)

Interviewee 2 also indicated that the social media provided him with first-hand information from the real tourists' sharing which influence his perceptions about tourism. Interviewee 3 also responded that he obtained most of his information about tourism from reading the news and commentary on which his opinions were built upon. He did not have daily interactions with tourists, so his perceptions about tourism were mainly based on social media and traditional media. Student interviewee J, Interviewees 2 and 3 agreed that they formed their social representations about tourism based on the social media. They also commented the high level of trustworthiness of the news messages from media can influence their perceptions about tourism issues. The lower the level of trustworthiness of the media, the lower influence on their formation of social representations.

On the contrary, Interviewees 5 and 9 explained that the media has no influence on shaping their views about tourism due to different reasons. Interviewee 5 pointed out that there was no influence from the media on shaping his perceptions about tourism and tourists as the news were consistent with his views.

I have read many news about tourism from the social media. They further support my views. My views have been bad; it would not get even worst as that information were consistent with my views. Perhaps they wouldn't share contradictory views with me.

(Interviewee 5)

People tend to screen out the information which is contradictory or threatening to their thoughts. According to Schiffman and Wisenblit (2015), people actively seek out messages they find pleasant or with which they are sympathetic and actively avoid painful or threatening messages. This perceptual exposure of pleasant messages, i.e. consistent with one's thoughts, is likely to happen. Interviewee 5 tended to read some news which shared consistent views with him and tried to avoid reading contradictory or conflicting news with his stance.

Interviewee 9 also pointed out that there was no influence from the media in shaping her perceptions about tourism and tourists as she had direct experience to tourists every day during her work. Therefore, the daily experience overrode what she read from the news. The news just provides a reference for her to shape her perceptions which were primarily formed by her actual interactions with tourists.

'I read some tourism news from the newspaper. There was no influence on my opinions because my opinions about tourism are based on my daily experience and interaction with tourists'.

(Interviewee 9)

There have been some biases over the credibility of the media in HK. For example, student Interviewee A from the TFG identified the media may have differing stances on reporting the news about Mainland China. One of the mostly read Chinese-language newspaper media, *Apple Daily*, were regarded as 'anti-China' newspaper because they often criticised the Chinese Central Government and were pro-China government in HK. It tends to report negative news or report the negative prospect of the stories if related to Mainland China. There were still 'pro-China' media such as the *Tao Kung Pao* or *Ming Pao* newspapers (Yu, 2014). However, these two newspapers are not popular among local residents, especially the youngsters. Interviewee 9 formed her perceptions about tourism and tourists based on her daily experience more than from the media as she was the first person to interact with the tourists. This can shape a more reliable and credible representation about a phenomenon, and the media only serve as a reference during her formation or modification of social representations.

Schweinsberg, Darcy and Cheng (2017) also confirmed the role of the media as facilitators of consensus building in tourism planning and with management issues. Lu,

Mihalik, Heere, Meng and Fairchild (2019) acknowledged the importance of news media as the antecedent of public support for hosting the Olympic Games. The extent of the media effect also varies between positive and negative news. Negative news of the Olympic Games is more influential than positive news in shaping residents' support for Olympic Games. As the research interviewees in this study are Mainland Chinese, their reliance on media as well as its trustworthiness may be different than in HK. HK residents tend to be critical and sceptical about the local media's trustworthiness and credibility. Therefore, the extent of media influencing their formation of social representations is rather limited.

Direct experience serves as a primary point for interviewees to form their social representations. Social interactions and media serve as the secondary influencers. If individuals do not have direct experience with a phenomenon or object to form their representations, they will then be based on the social interactions with friends and relatives or media.

4.8.4 Magnitude of Influence from The Three Information Sources

Direct experience serves as a primary port of information for forming individuals' social representations about tourism. Its magnitude of influence is larger than other two sources between of the real exposure of people on the phenomenon. 'Seeing is believing'—direct experience is the most trustworthy source of information compared with social interactions and media. Media seems to be the last port of information for forming or modifying individuals' social representations about tourism because of its questionable trustworthiness. According to a poll by the University of HK in October 2016, the overall credibility rating for local news media was 5.7 out of 10 (Ng, 2016).

Nevertheless, many people obtain information about a phenomenon (such as some facts or incidents about tourism impacts or tourists in HK) from the media because of its high ease of accessibility. The media is available 24 hours a day and 7 days a week. Residents can easily obtain information about tourism issues from both traditional and social media. Moreover, the traditional media can be easily accessed on a website or mobile apps nowadays. Therefore, both traditional media and social media impact the formation or modification of individuals' social representations. Media can be regarded as an important source for collecting factual information about a phenomenon where social

interactions mainly provide comments or opinions for individuals' reference and discussions.

In terms of the social interactions, their influence depends on the experience and power of the discussants. If one holds the same opinions as the discussants, this discussion will further consolidate the views of the individual. On the contrary, if one holds contradictory opinions with the discussants, one will probably digest the messages and perhaps modify their views. The power of the discussant(s) would be one major factor affecting information exchange. If the discussant is an opinion leader who has strong and convincing views or knowledgeable about the topic, one's views will probably be influenced by the opinion leader. Whether the views are consistent or contradictory as well as opinion leadership are critical in influencing the formation of social representations.

To conclude, the influence of three sources is significant in this study where direct experience, if any, forms primary representation about tourism which can then be modified by social interactions with members in the same group setting and further fine-tuned by media. For example, Casper had an unfavourable encounter with tourists in a shop and then formed negative attitude to tourists and disliked the impacts brought by them and formed negative representations about tourism. After that, Casper realised some children benefited from chatting to tourists in Mandarin in a theme park via his communication with colleagues in a work context. Then, his representation about tourism was modified to be more positive. Later, he read the news from social media that tourists urinated on the train and even argued with the passengers. His social representation about tourism keeps modifying every time when a new stimulus is input to his mind about a tourism phenomenon. That is, the influence of the direct experience with tourists whether it is positive, or negative affects the formation of social representations about tourism and tourism impacts. The findings are consistent with those of Fredline and Faulkner (2000) who discovered that social representations are developed among residents based on the information published in the media and other external sources but also on their direct experiences with tourists. In HK, many residents are affected by tourism, meaning the majority of residents have direct experience with the tourism impacts. Direct experience, in this study context, exerts influence in forming residents' social representations. Whilst individuals have interactions with others during their daily conversation, if the discussion is consistent with individual original representation, then

it will be strengthened. Controversial discussions may also modify individual original social representation. However, SRT assumes that people prefer to communicate with others who have similar thoughts, expose to media sources which confirm and support their beliefs. Moreover, individuals even consider facts which do not fit their representation as less 'real' (Moscovici & Hewstone, 1983; Schliephack & Dickinson, 2017). Based on this, further modification of individual social representations is unlikely. The influence of media in the HK context is uncertain as some people only obtain factual information about an issue from media due to the debatable credibility of media, but some people may form their social representations mainly from media commentaries.

Section 4.7 examines and applies SRT in this study with a proposed conceptual framework. The heterogeneous clusters in HK community are elaborated. The five prevailing social representations of tourism in HK are further anchored and objectified. In Section 4.8, the influence of the three sources of information on the formation of social representations towards tourism is discussed. The findings and discussions drawn address research question 4.

4.9 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the qualitative findings relating to the research questions were grouped under different themes and categories using NVivo 12.0. The data collected from a total of 23 interviewees and documents were used to identify residents' perceptions towards tourism development in HK as well as the factors influencing social representations of HK residents towards tourism. Lastly, five social representations towards HK tourism development obtained from the interviewees were identified and discussed. Chapter 5 presents the conclusion, addresses the theoretical and practical implications of the study and provides suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This last chapter concludes the research by providing an overview and presenting the academic contributions, practical implications, study limitations as well as suggestions for future research.

5.2 Overview

SRT was used as a framework to examine residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development in Hong Kong. All four research questions were addressed in a comprehensive manner and examined in separate sections. The answers to the research questions provide a great deal of information and insights into how and why HK residents perceive the tourism impacts and tourism development in HK. Three sources of information and various factors influence the formation of social representations on tourism and four community clusters were identified with differing social representations on tourism.

To answer research question 1, residents perceived the economic impacts positively, whereas the socio-cultural impacts, environmental as well as crowding and congestion impacts were negatively perceived. The majority of interviewees negatively perceived the current tourism development in HK because of its over reliance on the Mainland China market, too many negative impacts resulting from the parallel traders, over-abundance of tourists and disruption to locals' lives. HK tourism is also regarded as a political phenomenon with the inherent problem between HK and China. Nevertheless, the vast majority of interviewees indicated a high level of support towards tourism development in HK.

To answer research question 2, several factors such as economic dependency on tourism, overall life satisfaction, knowledge on tourism as well as trust in government pose positive effects on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development. Age and educational level of the individual pose a negative relationship in shaping social representations on tourism including perceptions towards tourism impacts and level of support for tourism. Gender, level of income, length of residency and

proximity to tourism area do not shape individual social representations on tourism in this research. Furthermore, two newly found variables, namely, (1) sub-ethnic identity and (2) type and origin of tourists, influence residents' perceptions of tourism impacts and level of support for tourism development. Lastly, attitude to tourists affect the formation of residents' social representations about tourism and vice versa.

To answer research question 3, four cluster groups, namely, 'Lovers', 'Cautious Romantics', 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters' were identified with differing social representations about tourism impacts and tourism development. 'Lovers' were enthusiastic about tourism development and perceived tourism impacts positively with the benefits outweighing the costs. 'Cautious Romantics' also indicated a good level of support for tourism but were more cautious about tourism because of their concerns about tourism sustainability and measures in minimising negative impacts. They also advocated the need to widen the tourists' source markets. 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' indicated a neutral stance towards tourism development as they perceived the economic impacts positively but perceived the other three categories of impacts negatively resulting in a neutral attitude to tourism. 'Haters' reflected a negative and irritating feeling towards tourism who perceived that the negative impacts brought by tourism outweigh the benefits and hence indicated a low level of support for tourism.

Research question 4 is an overall objective which seeks to integrate how SRT was used and adopted to explain how and why residents' perceptions were formed in that way. The three sources of information are influential factors in the formation of individual social representations. If individuals have exposure to all these three sources of information, direct experience builds the foundation of individuals' representations, followed by social interaction and lastly the media. If individuals have little or no direct experience with a phenomenon or an object, then social interactions and media may provide information for forming social representations where social interactions offer complementary opinions for reference and media provide both factual information and commentaries on the phenomenon. Moreover, five social representations relating to HK tourism were identified, anchored and objectified in this study.

5.3 Contribution to Knowledge

The research contributes to existing works on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development and social representations in three ways. Firstly, SRT was used to identify the influence of the three sources of information and the community clusters in HK as well as to explain how and why such representations towards tourism were formed. Secondly, this research contributes to existing literature in the area of residents' perceptions of tourism by investigating the influences of intrinsic and extrinsic variables. Thirdly, this research provides significant insights for various tourism bodies and stakeholders in HK.

5.3.1 Theoretical Implications

Theoretically, this study achieved the aim of adopting SRT, one of the less commonly used frameworks, to better understand how and why HK residents develop such social representations about tourism impacts and tourism development in HK.

The findings of this study support most of the existing literature on residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts in HK. The influence of the three information sources on residents' perceptions towards tourism development and its impacts have seldom been investigated or reported in the previous literature. These three source factors work together in shaping people's social representations. The particular influence of each of the information sources was further diagnosed in the HK context where proliferation of media and direct experience with tourists commonly exists in this community. Those who identified their sub-ethnic identity as Hongkongers perceived that the negative impacts outweigh positive impacts brought by tourism, whereas those who identified themselves as Chinese in HK considered tourism impacts more positively. Individual economic dependency on tourism also contributed to positive perceptions of tourism impacts as the benefits of tourism were considered to outweigh the costs. Economic dependency on tourism resulted in higher overall life satisfaction which was associated with a higher degree of trust in government and further lead to more positive perceptions of tourism impacts and support for tourism. Age and educational level were negatively associated with positive perceptions of tourism impacts. That is, younger interviewees tended to perceive tourism impacts negatively as well as those with higher levels of education tended to perceive tourism impacts more negatively and had unfavourable perceptions towards tourism development. Interestingly, interviewees with more

knowledge of tourism were more rationale and realistic in recognising both the costs and benefits of tourism development, whereas those with less knowledge of tourism tended to focus on superficial negative costs. All in all, perceptions of tourism impacts lead to their level of support.

Furthermore, attitudes to tourists had mutual influence on the formation of residents' social representations about tourism. By knowing this, the HKSAR Government can better understand how the social representations on tourism are formed and circulated within the community so that appropriate actions and strategies can be taken.

Four community groups labelled 'Lovers', 'Cautious Romantics', 'Environmental and Social Ambivalents' and 'Haters' were identified in this qualitative study. 'Lovers' were economically dependent on tourism with good life satisfaction and trust in government. 'Haters' were relatively younger with poor life satisfaction and low trust in government. Finally, a modified conceptual framework is proposed in Figure 4.19, indicating the nature of the relationship between the three sources of information and variables involved in the formation of individuals' social representations on tourism. The social representations of tourism further influence their level of support to tourism as well as their attitude towards tourists. Last but not least, five social representations of tourism in HK were identified and elaborated with anchoring and objectifications. They are: (i) HK is too reliant on the Mainland China market, (ii) many negative impacts were brought by parallel traders on the local community, (iii) over-abundance of tourists (iv) antiquated direction for tourism development and (v) tourism is a political phenomenon. These social representations shaped the residents' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism.

5.3.2 Practical Implications

Other than Hong Kong, many Asian countries experience an influx of Mainland tourists, such as Macau, Thailand, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan and Vietnam (China National Tourism Administration, 2016). These destinations may learn and gain insights from HK's experience. This research thus provides useful implications for the governments of other countries to better understand the behaviour of Mainland Chinese tourists and how to manage conflicts between hosts and tourists.

Although HK is situated in the mature stage of Butler's TALC, significant conflicts between tourists and locals as well as negative impacts have become obvious and

unacceptable. Residents indicated an imbalance of tourist source markets which is a critical issue leading to their perceived negative impacts of tourism. Other than Mainland China, the government should broaden the source of tourist markets such as the Indian, Thai and Taiwanese markets. The government should also model the Japanese Government in educating tourists to respect the host culture by publishing a handbook for tourists in HK. Professor Wang Wanfei, a tourism professor at Zhejiang University, highlighted the need to educate Mainland Chinese tourists to behave when travelling overseas. She also believed that education about how to behave in public places should actually begin in childhood. Civic mindedness should be cultivated in textbooks, and more stories on such issues should be posted in the media to enlighten the public (Zuo, 2013).

The Hong Kong Tourism Commission and Hong Kong Tourism Board should not over rely on the shopping appeal of HK tourism. They should develop appropriate destination marketing campaigns to promote eco-tourism, cultural tourism, cruise tourism or MICE (meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions). Cross-border partnerships with the Pearl River Delta (PRD) Region or Greater Bay Area (GBA) can be considered to enhance the destination appeal of HK to other overseas market. In addition, the government can utilise existing natural resources in HK to attract tourists and develop more support facilities such as parking facilities for tour coaches, rest areas for tourists and shopping complexes dedicated for tourists so as to minimise the negative impacts brought about by tourism to the community. In the meantime, the government should determine the carrying capacity for HK and set the maximum quota of arriving tourists from Mainland China every day to lessen the crowding and congestion impacts imposed on the local community. Community training campaigns should be launched to educate the industry and residents about the importance of showing hospitality to tourists, enhancing service quality delivered to tourists and rationalising the necessary costs for developing tourism to increase tourist satisfaction and enhance experience in HK.

Residents, indeed, demonstrated a good level of support for tourism, but they had concerns about the 'tourist mix' in HK, poor destination image and the deteriorating service quality in HK. All these concerns imply that the destination marketing strategy of HK tourism should divert its focus from the Mainland Chinese market to other developing and potential markets.

The focal point of the study lies on the relationship between sub-ethnic identity and residents' perceptions towards tourism. Hongkongers, in comparison to those who self-identified themselves as Chinese, tended to dislike Mainland Chinese tourists and perceived the tourism impacts negatively. Knowing that residents' perceptions towards tourism in HK are rooted in one's sub-ethnic identity, the government should carefully monitor the opinions and perceptions of sub-ethnicity of Hong Kong residents. HK is not alone in facing this issue. Macau and Taiwan also face a similar situation. All these insights are useful for other countries that receive large numbers of Mainland Chinese tourists and acknowledges that the Chinese market is heterogeneous.

Last but not least, SRT recognises that the community is heterogeneous with different co-existing views. The younger generation and low-income interviewees had strong and negative views towards tourism impacts and development in HK, whereas the older generation and high-income interviewees had a more positive evaluation towards tourism impacts and more favourable attitude to tourism. As the younger generation is the future of HK, their concerns cannot be neglected. The government has to seriously consider and address their concerns to ensure the tourism sustainability of HK.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

Mainland Chinese tourists contribute nearly 80% of the tourist arrivals to HK. The major impacts are mainly caused by the large influx of Mainland Chinese tourists can be assumed. However, the issue of cultural and national identity among HK residents may result in bias towards Mainland Chinese tourists. As discussed by Ye et al. (2014), residents who identify themselves as weak in Chinese citizenry typically demonstrate a negative attitude towards Mainland Chinese tourists and tourism development in HK. Tse and Qiu (2015) confirmed that discrimination among residents towards tourists coming from Mainland China exist and that the former treat tourists coming from other countries differently and with less discrimination. Therefore, the perceptions of local communities towards tourism development in HK since the 1997 handover have been greatly affected and shaped by perceptions towards Mainland Chinese tourists. If the major source market changes, residents' perceptions may be more neutral and reflect more balanced attitudes towards tourism development in HK.

As community sentiments towards Mainland tourists are currently very intense where tensions between HK residents and Mainland tourists have reached a high level, the HKSAR Government should actively plan remedial actions to address the issue. By the time data were collected for this research, community sentiments might have changed. Recognising that this research can only investigate residents' perceptions towards tourism at a cross-sectional basis is important. A longitudinal study of monitoring how residents' perceptions towards tourism development change over time is worth pursuing.

The qualitative nature of tools used in this research means individuals have to brainstorm the answers by themselves without being given hints. If interviewees have limited knowledge and opinions about tourism issues, the information and comments they shared may have weak contribution to the research topic.

According to the Public Opinion Programme, University of Hong Kong and Hong Kong PORI in 2020, residents' distrust in the HKSAR Government was higher than 75%. Residents were very upset about the performance of the HKSAR Government which emphasised and relied heavily on the Mainland China tourist market. The locals' sentiments towards the government has reached to a high level which may influence their perceptions towards tourism. The possibility that their perceptions towards tourism as well as support for tourism in HK may be heavily affected by their distrust and dissatisfaction in the HKSAR Government is strong. As the fifth social representation proposes that 'tourism is a political phenomenon', residents' perceptions towards tourism may be influenced by their political stance. That is, whether they agree with the HKSAR Government and the Chinese Central Government or not influences their perceptions and support for tourism. If they dislike the governments, then they may feel reluctant to 'like' their ideas.

Finally, the transcripts were translated from Cantonese to English and back translated from English to Cantonese to identify any major discrepancies or differences between the original transcript and back-translated transcript. Nonetheless, there may be potential loss of meaning during the translation of Cantonese to English as always providing an exact word-to-word match is difficult. Temple and Edwards (2002) stressed that it is rather difficult to have a literal movement of meaning from one language to another language when translating the literature. Therefore, the translator must get involved in the interviews to understand the research context so as to translate the meaning of the

words instead of just words. Understanding the ‘cultural meaning’ of the words is critical in the translation process. The researcher in this study translated the transcripts to understand the experiences and perceptions of the interviewees. Moreover, the researcher has the same cultural background as the interviewees, so the cultural meaning of the Cantonese was translated to English with the best use of language. Hence, the potential loss of meaning during the translation process was reduced.

5.5 Suggestions for Future Research

The findings from this research provide a solid foundation for future research in the area of residents’ perceptions towards tourism impacts using SRT. Given the limitations mentioned above, future research directions are proposed.

Social representations are unstable, contradictory and constantly changing. Most research on residents’ perceptions of tourism examines residents’ perceptions at a particular point in time (Sharpley, 2014). This research can only be considered as a providing a temporary ‘snapshot’ of the current residents’ perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development. Further research is required to monitor any changes of the residents’ social representations on tourism. Longitudinal research which measures and monitors residents’ perceptions and their social representations towards tourism will provide important information for the ongoing planning and management of tourism in HK, and it is encouraged. Ongoing measurement of the residents’ perceptions towards tourism impacts and development in HK must be taken to monitor their changing perceptions to ensure the sustainability of HK tourism.

This research focuses on individual residents’ perceptions of the Mainland Chinese tourists. Other stakeholders’ views such as those of tourists, industry practitioners, policy makers, governments and educators may be further explored so as to provide a more holistic and comprehensive view about residents’ perceptions towards tourism. Their views are likely to be different, but studying them can provide valuable insights to identify and address the implications for future tourism policy formulation and implementation in HK.

The findings also suggest a complex relationship between social representations (perceptions), attitude to tourists and intrinsic and extrinsic variables in forming residents' level of support. Further quantitative study to validate the magnitude and sequence of influence of the addressed variables in shaping residents' social representations on tourism is valuable.

Lastly, the background, circumstances and context of the HK situation has created a dilemma regarding the local residents' perceived sub-ethnic identity which was found to affect the interviewees' perceptions towards tourism. In-depth study about the impact of residents' sub-ethnic identity on perceptions and attitude towards tourism and tourism impacts is worth pursuing.

5.6 Concluding Remarks

This qualitative research that examines residents' perceptions towards tourism impacts and tourism development in HK provides theoretical and practical implications for academia and the hospitality and travel industry as well as the government to formulate appropriate destination marketing strategies, develop a tourism master plan and implement measures to address and mitigate the negative impacts associated with tourism development so as to achieve a mutually beneficial situation for host residents and tourists. This work is pivotal to the success and sustainable development of tourism in HK.

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Appendix I: Interview Guide

Part I - Perceptions towards Tourism and its Impacts in Hong Kong

1. What does the term ‘**TOURISM**’ mean to you?

Remarks: In case interviewee asks for clarification, the following explanation of the term ‘TOURISM’ will be given. Tourism is travel for pleasure or business, which. may be international or within the country.

2. What does the term ‘**TOURISM DEVELOPMENT**’ mean to you?

Remarks: ‘TOURISM DEVELOPMENT’ could have two meanings. One, it associates with the meaning of some tourism projects, such as, theme park, hotel or attraction. Second, it could associate to the policies or strategies of developing tourism in a destination. Researcher has to ensure all interviewees refer ‘TOURISM DEVELOPMENT’ to the latter meaning as this is the intent of the question.

3. What do you think about the **development of tourism** in Hong Kong?

4. What do you think about **tourists** in Hong Kong? (Positive/Negative)?

Probing questions:

*a) Do you **like** or **dislike** having tourists in a) Hong Kong; & or b) your neighbourhood (if applicable)”? If yes, why? If no, why not?*

*b) Have you **changed** your views about tourist in the recent 10 years?*

*c) Do you have **differing views toward tourists coming from different countries/cities**? If yes, why? If no, why not?*

5. What do you think have been the **effects of tourism** on the Hong Kong community? (Positive/negative)?

6. When we look at the **impacts of tourism** on the Hong Kong community in several aspects. How do you feel about the effect of tourism upon this area?

Probing questions:

(a) Economic impacts (Employment, income, price of living, revenue generated, number of tourists etc.)

(b) Socio-cultural impacts (Lifestyle of yourself, quality of life, community, poverty, family relationship, crime, inappropriate action etc.)

- (c) *Environment impacts (natural environment, wildlife, urbanization, pollution etc.)*
- (d) *Crowding & Congestion Impacts (i.e. physical & socio-psychological, such as, traffic congestion, crowds, noise, driving hazards etc.)*
- (e) *Other impacts (please specify _____)*
- (f) *Your level of support or non-support for tourism*

Part II - Factors Influencing Perceptions to Tourism

7. When thinking about a) tourism, b) effects of tourism or c) developing tourism in HK, are there any factors which you think influence(s) how you view tourism in HK? If Yes, what would those factors be? If No, what are possible factors which could influence your views toward tourism in HK?

Probing questions:

- (a) *How would you describe your 'ethnic' identity? (Hongkonger/ Chinese/ Chinese in HK/ Others)*
- (b) *Do you think your 'ethnic' identity shapes your opinions/ perceptions towards tourism and its impacts in HK? If yes – how? If no, why not?*
- (c) *How 'close' are you with the tourism areas in terms of: a) work location; and b: home location?*
- (d) *How would you comment on your overall life satisfaction? Is your life satisfaction affected by tourism? If yes, how? If no, why not?*

Part III - Influence of Three Sources of Information (Direct experience, Social interaction and Media)

8. In your daily life, do you have any encounter(s) or interaction with tourists? If yes, elaborate.
9. Have you ever talked about tourism or tourist-related topics with anyone? If yes, what do you usually talk about? If no, why not?
10. What do you think would be the influence of these discussions (if any) in shaping your opinions about tourism in HK?

11. Have you ever read any news, social media posts, or blogs about tourism in HK? If yes, please elaborate.
12. What do you think would be the influence of such information mentioned in Q11 (if any) in shaping your opinions about tourism in HK?
13. What do you think about the ‘trustworthiness’ (i.e. validity, accuracy, & integrity) of this information?

Part IV - Overall Comments to Development of Tourism in Hong Kong

14. What opinions do you have about developing tourism in Hong Kong? (For residents)
What opinions do you have about tourism planning and development in Hong Kong? (For industry practitioners)
15. Do you think development of tourism has worked out well or not well in Hong Kong? Why? or Why not? Please give examples.

Probing questions:

- (a) *Do you have any suggestion to address the above problem? If yes, what is it?*
- (b) *In your opinion, who or what organizations (if any) have influenced the development of tourism in Hong Kong?*
- (c) *Who, in your opinion, should be involved in making decisions about developing tourism for Hong Kong? Why?*
- (d) *What comments do you have (if any) about your level of trust or non-trust with the HKSAR government? Why?*
- (e) *What recommendations (if any) would you suggest to the HKSAR Government regarding i) its policies for tourism, and ii) planning or strategies for tourism?*
- (f) *What are your concerns (if any) about: i) the impacts of tourism; and ii) development of tourism in Hong Kong?*

Part V - Demographic Information

16. Age (group) 20–24 25–29 30–34 35–39 40–44
 45–49 50–54 55–59 60 or above
17. Gender Female Male

18. Education level
- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Primary and below | <input type="checkbox"/> Lower Secondary |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Upper Secondary | <input type="checkbox"/> Diploma/Certificate |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sub-degree course | <input type="checkbox"/> Degree course |

19. Monthly domestic Household income
- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <\$2,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$2,000–3,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$4,000–\$7,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$6,000–7,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$8,000–9,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$10,000–14,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$15,000–\$19,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$20,000–\$24,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$25,000–29,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$30,000–39,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$40,000–59,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$60,000–79,999 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> \$80,000–99,999 | <input type="checkbox"/> \$100,000 or above | |

20. What is your nationality?

21. Are you or any MEMBER OF YOUR HOUSEHOLD employed in a TOURISM OR TOURISM-RELATED job? If yes, what is the job and job title?

22. How long have you lived in HK?

23. Which district do you live in?

24. Which district do you work in?

That is all for the interview. Thank you for your help!

Appendix II: Discussion Guide for Focus Group

During our discussion please let everyone share their views, but only one person should speak at a time so that the recording will be clear. Just join in when you have something to say, we will not be going around the group for every question. Remember I want to hear all your views. It is OK to disagree with others if you have a different opinion but please also respect other people's views. Also, everything that you hear today should be confidential and not shared with people who are outside the group. The discussion will last about 60 to 75 minutes, please help yourself to the drinks. Are there any questions before we start?

Let us start by introducing ourselves...

1. Let us each share our first names and where you are from and the programme you are studying.

Part I - Perceptions towards Tourism and its Impacts in Hong Kong

2. What does the term 'TOURISM' mean to you?
3. What does the term 'TOURISM DEVELOPMENT' mean to you?
4. What do you think about the development of tourism in Hong Kong?
5. What do you think about tourists in Hong Kong?

Probing questions:

- a. Do you **like** or **dislike** having tourists in a) HK; & or b) your neighbourhood (if applicable)? If yes, why? If no, why not?
- b. i) Have your views about tourists changed? ii) Have your views about tourists changed in the past 10 years?
- c. Do you have differing views toward tourists coming from different countries/cities? If yes, why? If no, why not?
- d. Does the type or origin of the tourists affect your perceptions about

tourism in HK? If yes, why? If no, why not?

6. What do you think have been the effects of tourism on Hong Kong residents? (Positive/Negative)?

7. What do you think have been the effects of tourism on the Hong Kong community? (Positive/negative)?

Probing questions: How would you describe the effect(s) of tourism on the community in terms of its –

(a) Economic impacts (Employment, income, price of living, revenue generated, number of tourists etc.)

(b) Socio-cultural impacts (Lifestyle of yourself, quality of life, community, poverty, family relationship, crime, inappropriate action etc.)

(c) Environment impacts (natural environment, wildlife, urbanization, pollution etc.)

(d) Crowding & Congestion Impacts (i.e. physical & socio-psychological, such as, traffic congestion, crowds, noise, driving hazards etc.)

(e) Other impacts (please specify _____)

(f) Your level of support or non-support for tourism

Part II - Factors Influencing Perceptions to Tourism

Now let us focus on discussing what factors would influence your perceptions to tourism.

8. When thinking about a) tourism, b) effects of tourism or c) developing tourism in Hong Kong, are there any factors which you think influence(s) how you view tourism in Hong Kong? If Yes, what would those factors be? If No, what are possible factors which could influence your views toward tourism in Hong Kong?

Probing questions:

(e) How would you describe your 'ethnic' identity? (Hongkonger/ Chinese/ /Chinese in Hong Kong/ Others)

(f) Do you think your 'ethnic' identity shapes your opinions/ perceptions towards tourism and its impacts in HK? If yes – how? If no, why not?

(g) How 'close' are you with the tourism areas in terms of: a) work location; and b: home location?

(d) How would you comment on your overall life satisfaction? Is your life satisfaction affected by tourism? If yes, how? If no, why not?

Part III - Influence of Three Sources of Information (Direct experience, Social interaction and Media)

Now let us talk about the influence of 'Direct Experience', 'Social Interaction' and 'Media' in influencing your perceptions about tourism.

9. In your daily life, do you have any encounter(s) or interaction with tourists? If yes, elaborate.
10. Have you ever talked about tourism or tourist-related topics with anyone? If yes, what do you usually talk about? If no, why not?
11. What do you think would be the influence of these discussions (if any) in shaping your opinions about tourism in Hong Kong?
12. Have you ever read any news, social media posts, or blogs about tourism in Hong Kong? If yes, please elaborate.
13. What do you think would be the influence of such information mentioned in Q11 (if any) in shaping your opinions about tourism in Hong Kong?
14. What do you think about the "trustworthiness" (i.e. validity, accuracy, & integrity) of this information?

Part IV - Overall Comments to Development of Tourism in Hong Kong

15. What opinions do you have about developing tourism in Hong Kong? (For residents)
16. Do you think development of tourism has worked out well or not well in Hong Kong? Why? or Why not? Please give examples.

Probing questions:

- (g) Do you have any suggestion to address the above problem? If yes, what is it?*
- (h) In your opinion, who or what organizations (if any) have influenced the development of tourism in Hong Kong?*
- (i) Who, in your opinion, should be involved in making decisions about developing tourism for Hong Kong? Why?*
- (j) What comments do you have (if any) about your level of trust or non-trust with the HKSAR government? Why?*
- (k) What recommendations (if any) would you suggest to the HKSAR Government regarding i) its policies for tourism, and ii) planning or strategies for tourism?*
- (l) What are your concerns (if any) about: i) the impacts of tourism; and ii) development of tourism in Hong Kong?*

Are there any other things about HK tourism development or tourists that you would like to share before we finish?

Thank you for sharing your thoughts with us today.

Appendix III: Informed Consent

Informed Consent Form for Interview

Residents' Perceptions of the Impacts of Tourism Development in Hong Kong

Introduction to the Interviewees

The objective of this study is to examine the perceptions of residents toward the impacts of the tourism development in Hong Kong so as to determine how the various HKSAR government divisions could respond to the situations as well as to provide important insights for tourism stake-holders to formulate appropriate strategies for better operation and management.

Consent on Voice Recording

The consent on voice recording is sought before starting the interview.

- The interviewees will have the right to terminate the voice recording at any time of the interview process.
- The interviewees will also have the right to get a copy of their individual voice records. But they will need to express such a request immediately after the interview, as the voice records will be destroyed after transcription.
- The transcribed records will be kept anonymous with assigned codes.
- The code sheet will be encrypted with a password in a computer and will also be destroyed one year after the completion of study.

Confidentiality Concerns

- Confidentiality of the subject will be protected throughout the whole process of study.
- Anonymous quotations will be used in publications or presentations.
- Any quotation that will reflect the identity of an interviewee will be avoided.

I have read the above and consent to participate in today's interview.

I have been offered a copy of this consent form that I may keep for my own reference.

Signed by Interviewee: _____ Name: _____

Signed by Interviewer: _____ Name: _____

Date: _____