Natives and Non-Natives: Do They Care about the Same Thing in Tourism Development?

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ABSTRACT

Using Multiple Group Analysis, the authors examined whether native and non-native residents in Huangshan, China attach different levels of importance to four tourism impacts (i.e., environmental degradation, loss of tradition and norms, sociocultural expansion, and economic development) when evaluating tourism development. The results revealed significant differences between natives and non-natives in terms of how environmental degradation and loss of tradition and norms affect their satisfaction with tourism development, suggesting that future studies need to assess the potential heterogeneity of residents when interpreting the effects of tourism impacts.

INTRODUCTION

Tourism has brought immigrants in many communities. These non-native born residents (from here on referred to as "non-native") usually have a different background and mindset from native born residents (from here on referred to as "native") (Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009; Sheldon and Var 1984). As a result, natives and non-natives may refer to different tourism impacts when evaluating tourism development. Without knowing such differences between natives and non-natives, tourism development may benefit one group at the cost of the other, and escalate the conflicts between the two groups. For researchers, on the other hand, ignoring potential differences between natives and non-natives may lead to erroneous conclusion about the effects of tourism impacts (Shrout and Bolger 2002). Therefore, the objective of this study is to examine whether the effects of perceived tourism impacts on overall satisfaction with tourism development differs between natives and non-natives in Huangshan, China. For the purpose of comparison, the impact–satisfaction relationship was also examined with the entire sample.

LITERATURE

Perceived tourism impacts and its effects on residents' satisfaction with tourism

Residents perceive that tourism has economic, sociocultural, and environmental impacts on their community (Ap and Crompton 1998, Andereck, Valentine, Knopf, and Vogt 2005). Positive economic impacts can include increased employment opportunities and personal income

(Johnson, Snepenger, and Akis 1994; Purdue, Long, and Allen 1990), while negative economic impacts are often related to increased living costs (Haralambopoulos and Pizam 1996). Sociocultural impacts, on the other hand, can include challenges to traditional values and degradation of morality (Doğan 1989; Dyer, Aberdeen, and Schuler 2003; Kousis 1989) as well as positive impacts such as cultural exchange with the outside world (Dyer et al. 2003). Similarly, tourism's effects on the local environment can also be perceived as positive and negative. Without proper management, tourism development can cause undesirable impacts such as environmental pollution and destruction of ecological habitat (Andereck 1995). It can also result in a more positive impact such as an improved aesthetic (Perdue et al. 1990).

Tourism researchers have examined the relationship between residents' perceptions of various tourism impacts and their overall satisfaction with tourism development. For example, Shen and Cottrell (2008) found that residents' satisfaction with tourism in a Chinese community was affected by their perception of economic, social, and ecological impacts. However, a study of European communities revealed that residents' satisfaction was not related to perceived economic and ecological impacts (Cottrell et al. 2006). Because the above studies were conducted in different communities, the mixed findings may suggest that the effects of perceived tourism impacts on overall satisfaction vary between residents with different characteristics.

Native born residents vs. non-native born residents

One of the most important differences between natives and non-natives is their attachment to the local culture. Several studies have found that natives are often deeply attached to the local culture (e.g., Sheldon and Var 1984; Um and Crompton 1987). As a result, the loss of local culture should have a negative effect on natives' satisfaction with tourism development. Non-natives, on the other hand, may react to the loss of local culture differently depending on their acculturation process. Acculturation, defined as "*the changes in the immigrants' cultural beliefs and values toward those of the host society*" (Rogler, 1994), is a long and dynamic process (Berry 1997). Individuals with unsuccessful acculturation may hold a negative attitude toward local culture (e.g., moral standard, tradition, customs, and interpersonal rules) and experience psychological stress (Berry 1997; Thomas 1995). Therefore, the loss of local culture may have less of a negative impact, and may result in more satisfaction with tourism development among non-natives because tourism eliminates the culture they consider to be negative. In addition, natives' and non-natives' views and values may differ because they were raised in places with different social, cultural and economic backgrounds. The learning and values non-natives acquired in their original place may continue to deeply impact them after immigration. As a result, their thinking and behavior may differ from native residents (Mannheim 1952). This is particularly true when immigration occurs after young adulthood (Myers, Gao, and Emeka 2009). In summary, there are potential differences between native and non-native residents in terms of thoughts and behavior. As a result, these two groups may attach different importance to perceived tourism impacts when evaluating tourism development.

METHODOLOGY

Study site and data collection

Data were collected over three days in Huangshan during April 2004. Huangshan is a famous tourist destination in Anhui Province, China. Mount Huangshan, the most famous attraction in the destination, is known as the "loveliest mountain in China." Huangshan also offers a variety of cultural attractions such as ancient villages. Tourism development in

Huangshan dates back to 1979. By the mid-90s it experienced rapid growth, and by 2002 total tourist arrivals had reached 7 million (China Tourism Administration 2003).

Residents were recruited in two ways based on the needs of the sponsoring agency and available resources. First, members of the survey team approached residents on eight major streets in Huangshan and asked them if they would be willing to participate in the study. Residents who agreed to participate completed the questionnaire by themselves. Assistance from the survey staff was available, if needed. A total of 71 valid questionnaires were collected in this way. The refusal rate among the residents was not recorded during the survey, but informal verbal reports from the survey team suggested it was relatively small. Second, adopting Lu's (1996) approach, 250 questionnaires were distributed to parents/relatives/guardians of students enrolled in three local schools (one primary school and two high schools). A total of 239 valid questionnaires were returned. In summary, a total of 310 individuals responded to the questionnaire, with approximately 75% of the response coming through the local schools. While we recognize that the sample may not be representative of the local population, this is a minor issue because the purpose of this study is to examine potential group differences, not to test the differences between representative groups or whether the differences are similar across subgroups in a population (Kruglanski, 1975; Lynch 1999).

Measurement

We investigated four types of perceived tourism impacts identified by previous researchers (Dyer et al. 2003; Liu and Var 1986; Lu 1996): Environmental degradation (ENV), loss of tradition and norms (LOS), sociocultural expansion (EXP), and economic development (ECN). Thirteen statements that theoretically represent the four perceived tourism impact dimensions were adapted from Lu's (1996) instrument, which was used in a study of residents in Anhui, where Huangshan is located (Table 3). In addition, residents' overall satisfaction with tourism was measured with a single item: *I am satisfied with the current tourism development*. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with all the statements using a 5-point Likert scale (1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=don't know, 4=disagree, 5=strongly disagree).

Data analysis

Twenty-six (8.4%) respondents returned incomplete questionnaires, contributing to a total of 0.84% missing values. According to Shafer and Graham (2002), removing their responses may bias the model estimation and substantially reduce the power of analyses. Therefore, Multiple Imputation was used to process the missing values (Hair, Black, Babin, Anderson, and Tatham 2006).

A two-step procedure proposed by Anderson and Gerbing (1988)—confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) followed by structural equation modeling (SEM)—was used to test the effects of perceived tourism impacts on residents' overall satisfaction with tourism development for the entire sample. Model fit, convergent validity, construct reliability, and discriminant validity were examined prior to interpreting the path coefficients (i.e., the effect of perceived impacts).

Multiple group analysis was used to compare the effects of perceived impacts across groups. Prior to testing the path coefficients invariance between natives and non-natives, we ensured measurement (i.e., CFA model) invariance across the two groups in terms of factor loading invariance (Byrne 2001) in two steps (Byrne, Shavelson, and Muthèn 1989). First, the measurement model was simultaneously estimated for the two groups based on the same factor structure (i.e., configural invariance model). Second, the factor loadings were constrained to be

equal across the two groups (i.e., factor loading invariance model). The Chi-square difference between the two models was then used to assess factor loading invariance, with a non-significant Chi-square difference indicating measurement invariance between the two groups.

After ensuring the measurement invariance, the path coefficients invariance was examined between natives and non-natives. An overall invariance test was performed in two steps to control for Type I error (Bollen 1989). First, a baseline model was estimated in which all the path coefficients are freely estimated for the two groups. Second, the model was re-estimated with all the path coefficients constrained to be equal across the two groups. The Chi-square difference between the two models was then referenced to assess the overall path coefficients invariance. If the Chi-square difference for the overall test is significant, the equality constraint is put on each individual path coefficient to find out the one(s) that vary across groups. All the analyses in this study were performed using LISREL 8.70.

RESULTS

Sample characteristics, potential confounds, and levels of perceived impacts

The majority of respondents was native-born, between 19 and 50 years old, and had high school or lower education. Only a small number of respondents had a monthly income higher than 2000RMB (Table 1). The associations between birthplace and the other five socio-demographic variables were assessed to rule out potential confounding effects. Results of Chi-square analysis and independent nonparametric tests indicated that birthplace was not significantly associated with gender, age, employment in tourism industry, level of income, and level of education ($p > .10$). In addition, levels of perceived tourism impacts were compared between natives and non-natives to offer potential assistance in the interpretation of the findings. Results of the independent sample T-tests indicated that natives and non-natives did not significantly differ from each other in terms of their perception of tourism impacts and overall satisfaction with tourism ($p > .10$).

Table 1: Respondents' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Gender (N = 293)	n	%	**Monthly income** (N = 295)	n	%
Female	136	46.4	Below 300RMB*	31	10.5
Male	157	53.6	301RMB to 600RMB	76	25.8
			601RMB to 800RMB	40	13.6
Age (N = 300)	n	%	801RMB to 1000RMB	53	18.0
Below 18	6	2.0	1001RMB to 1500RMB	67	22.7
19-30	50	16.7	1501RMB to 2000RMB	18	6.1
31-40	176	58.7	Above 2000RMB	10	3.4
41-50	61	20.3			
51-60	4	1.3	**Birthplace** (N = 307)		
Above 60	3	1.0	Native	216	70.4
			Non-native	91	29.6
Employed in tourism industry (N = 306)	n	%	**Education** (N = 306)	n	%
Yes	135	44.1	Junior school or below	110	35.9
No	171	55.9	High School	123	40.2
			3-year college degree	50	16.3
			4-year college degree or higher	23	7.5

Note: * 100RMB = 14.65 USD on 05/27/2009

Effects of perceived impacts on overall satisfaction: entire sample

The CFA model achieved a good model fit (χ^2 (68) = 115.918 ($p < .01$), RMSEA = .048, CFI = .965, RHO = .953) (Browne and Cudeck 1993; Kaplan 2000). All the factor loadings were significant at the .001 level. All the factor loadings exceeded .50 and one-half exceeded .70 (Table 2). Therefore, the convergent validity of the measurement model was secure (Hair et al. 2006). Construct reliability for the four latent constructs was .867, .752, .699, and .672 respectively, which indicated a good or acceptable level of construct reliability (Hair et al. 2006). The variance-extracted percentages for the four latent constructs (i.e., types of perceived impacts), on the other hand, were .689, .509, .371, and .411, which exceeded their corresponding squared between-factor correlations (Table 3) and indicated that the discriminant validity of the model was well established (Fornell and Larcker 1981). In the second step of analysis the structural model was interpreted. Environmental degradation (ENV) had a negative significant effect on satisfaction (SAT) (b = -.164, $p < .05$), and economic development (ECN) had a positive significant effect on satisfaction (SAT) (b = .184, $p < .05$). However, neither loss of tradition and norms (LOS) (b = -.056, $p > .10$) nor sociocultural expansion (EXP) (b = -.003, $p > .10$) had a significant effect on satisfaction (SAT) (Table 6). The total variance explained for satisfaction (i.e., SMC) was 7.7% (Table 6).

Table 2. Factor Loadings in CFA (Entire Sample; Standardized Solution)

Item (Tourism development …)	ENV	LOS	EXP	ECN
causes severe soil and water pollution	.896			
degrades the quality of the local eco-environment	.862			
generates a large amount of garbage	.719			
reduces the trust between people		.615		
undermines local good traditions		.786		
lowers moral standards in society		.716		
accelerates town construction			.501	
benefits the development of local traditional culture			.709	
raises the fame of the town			.625	
broadens the vision of and improves the thoughts of residents			.585	
increases employment opportunities				.774
increases my income				.587
stimulates local economic development				.542

Note: ENV = Environmental degradation, LOS = loss of tradition and norms, EXP = sociocultural expansion, and ECN = economic development

Table 3. Matrix of Squared Correlations Between Factors

	ENV	LOS	EXP	ECN	SAT
ENV	1.000				
LOS	0.203	1.000			
EXP	0.015	0.061	1.000		
ECN	0.002	0.029	0.277	1.000	
SAT	0.039	0.026	0.016	0.039	1.000

Note: ENV = Environmental degradation, LOS = Loss of tradition and norms, EXP = Sociocultural expansion, ECN = Economic development, and SAT = Satisfaction

Effects of perceived impacts on overall satisfaction: group comparison

Table 4 reported the results of testing the measurement invariance between natives and non-natives. The configural invariance model achieved a good or reasonable fit for each individual group, indicating that natives and non-natives shared the same factor structure. After all the factor loadings were constrained to be equal between the two groups, the model fit remained similar with a highly non-significant Chi-square change ($p > .50$). This suggests that the factor loadings are invariant between natives and non-natives. Therefore the measurement invariance is tenable and the test of path coefficients invariance between the two groups is appropriate.

When all the path coefficients were constrained to be equal between natives and non-natives, a significant Chi-square change was observed ($p < .05$) (Table 5). Specifically, the effects of environmental degradation and loss of tradition and norms on satisfaction were different between natives and non-natives. For the non-natives, environmental degradation had a significant negative effect on satisfaction (b = -.339, $p < .01$), which was contrasted with a non-significant negative effect among natives (b = -.070, $p > .10$). Loss of tradition and norms had a significant negative effect on satisfaction among natives (b = -.201, $p < .05$), but a significant positive effect on satisfaction among non-natives (b =.266, $p < .05$) (Table 6 and Figure 1). The total variance explained for satisfaction (i.e., SMC) for non-natives and natives was 15.4% and 10.8%, respectively (Table 6)

Table 4: Test of Measurement Invariance Between Natives and Non-Natives

	Configural Invariance Model	Factor Loading Invariance Model
χ^2 (*df*)	212.694 (136)	216.865 (145)
CFI/RHO/RMSEA	.953/.937/.058	.956/.945/.053
$\Delta\chi^2$ (Δdf)	4.171(9)	
p-value of $\Delta\chi^2$ (Δdf)	$p = .900$	

Table 5: Test of Path Coefficients Invariance Between Natives and Non-Natives

Constrained Path(s)	χ^2	*df*	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	*p*-value
None (i.e., Baseline)	216.865	145	--	--	--
All	226.802	149	9.937	4	.042**
ENV – SAT	219.720	146	2.855	1	.091*
LOS – SAT	225.369	146	8.504	1	.001***
EXP – SAT	217.232	146	.367	1	.545
ECN – SAT	217.240	146	.375	1	.540

Note: * $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$

Table 6: Path Coefficients for Natives, Non-Natives, and the Entire Sample†

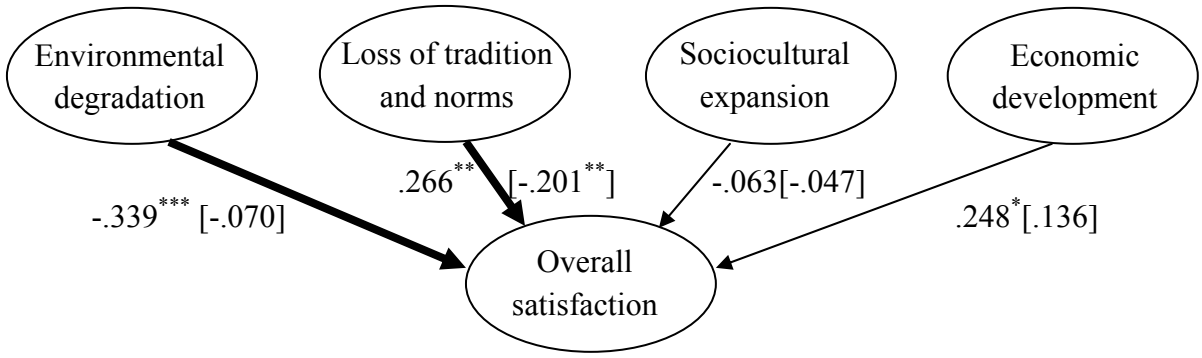
Group	*n*	ENV – SAT	LOS – SAT	EXP – SAT	ECN – SAT	SMC
Entire sample	310	-.164**	-.056	-.003	.184**	7.7%
Non-native	91	-.339***	266**	-.063	.248*	15.4%
Native	216	-.070	-.201**	.047	.136	10.8%

Note: The coefficients in the shaded area were significantly different in multiple group analysis
ENV = Environmental degradation, LOS = Loss of tradition and norms,

EXP = Sociocultural expansion, ECN = Economic development, and SAT = Satisfaction
SMC = Squared multiple correlation
* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$; † Standardized coefficients are reported

DISCUSSION

We examined the effects of four perceived tourism impacts (i.e., environmental degradation, loss of tradition and norms, sociocultural expansion, and economic development) on residents' overall satisfaction with tourism development. The results for the entire sample suggested that residents' overall satisfaction with tourism development was affected by environmental degradation and economic development, but not loss of tradition and norms or sociocultural expansion. However, because birthplace significantly moderated the effects of environmental degradation and loss of tradition and norms on satisfaction with tourism development, the effects of these two perceived impacts for the entire sample are not interpretable (Cohen et al. 2003). Environmental degradation's effect on satisfaction with tourism development was significantly negative among non-natives but not significant among natives. The effect of loss of tradition and norms on satisfaction with tourism development was significant among both groups, but in opposite directions. Because the effects of environmental degradation and loss of tradition and norms were different between natives and non-natives, combining natives and non-natives in the analysis actually reduced the predictive power of these two impacts. As shown in Table 6, the total variance explained for satisfaction (i.e., MSC) for was 7.7% for the entire sample, but was 15.4% and 10.8% for non-natives and natives individually (Table 6).



Note: Results for the natives in the parentheses; Standardized coefficients are reported;
Bolded paths differ significantly between natives and non-natives
* $p < .10$; ** $p < .05$; *** $p < .01$

Figure 1 Effect of Tourism Impacts on Overall Satisfaction (Natives vs. Non-natives)

Consistent with the place attachment literature, the loss of tradition and norms had a significant negative effect on natives' satisfaction with tourism development, which may be because natives tend to be deeply attached to their own culture (Sheldon and Var 1984). For non-natives, however, the loss of tradition and norms had a significant positive effect on satisfaction with tourism development. This may be explained by the unsuccessful acculturation of non-natives (Betty 1997). China is a big country with diverse cultures. There are substantive cultural differences between and within regions in terms of food, customs, moral standards, interpersonal rules, and more. Therefore, people in one area may find it difficult to fully adapt to the culture of

another area. In this study, non-natives may not be well acculturated into the local society and therefore still hold a somewhat negative perception of local traditions and norms. As a result, the loss of those traditions and norms may increase their satisfaction with tourism development.

The group difference in terms of the effect of environmental degradation may be explained by Mannheim's (1952) theory of generations. Huangshan is a tourist destination with an amiable natural environment. Many non-natives may have originally resided in areas with worse ecological conditions. As a result, non-natives may have a stronger environmental protection mindset than natives. Further, natives may not be aware of the importance of environment, especially because environmental degradation has not been a problem (Tremblay and Dunlap 1978). Another possibility is that natives became less sensitive to the environment because they perceived more economic benefits from tourism development non-natives. However, this explanation does not seem plausible as natives and non-natives did not significantly differ from each other in terms of the perceived economic benefits from tourism development (Table 2).

CONCLUSION

We found that natives and non-natives attach different importance to environmental degradation and loss of tradition and norms when evaluating local tourism development. Therefore, tourism planners and policy makers should consider and address the potential differences between natives and non-natives to ensure their satisfaction. For example, when initiating a development that might potentially lead to some loss of local culture (e.g., the promotion of mandarin instead of local language), tourism planners should communicate with natives about the positive benefits brought by tourism development and consider programs that compensate the loss of local culture in other ways (e.g., build a museum of local culture). When promoting local culture, on the other hand, tourism planners should at the same time consider launching some education programs to improve non-natives' appreciation of local culture. Further, tourism planners should pay attention to the potentially different environmental mindsets of natives and non-natives. Since natives often account for a large proportion of the local population, their neglect of environmental impacts and environmentally unfriendly practices will not only result in unhappy non-natives, but also undermine the sustainability of local tourism development. Therefore, tourism planners should consider introducing environmental education for the natives, when necessary.

In terms of future studies, researchers should assess the potential heterogeneity between native and non-native residents within a community when interpreting the effects of tourism impact on satisfaction with or support for tourism development. As noted in this study, an observed non-significant effect of tourism impact among the entire sample does not necessarily indicate that the impact does not influence residents' satisfaction with or support for tourism development. In fact, an observed non-significant effect may suggest that different groups of residents react to the impact in different ways. According to Cohen et al. (2003) and Shrout and Bolger (2002), this may be observed in two situations. First, the effect of an impact is significant for one group but not significant for the other group. When combining the two heterogeneous groups, the significant effect may be muffled due to the relatively large sample size of the non-significant group. The other situation is reflected in our study: the effect of an impact is significant among two groups, but in opposite directions. Combining two groups in the model estimation therefore "neutralizes" the effect.

Further, future research could examine the relationship between perceived tourism impacts and satisfaction with tourism development using more representative samples, or samples with different demographic characteristics to improve the generalizability of our findings. In addition, future research should explore other group differences based on, for example, gender or generation, and incorporate them into tourism impact models.

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