



RESIDENT PERCEPTIONS OF EXPO HOST CITIES - THE CASE OF THE WORLD LEISURE EXPO, HANG ZHOU, 2006.

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports results from a qualitative research study based on interviews with 40 residents of Hang Zhou, China. Using the 2006 World Leisure Expo as a case study it asked residents to assess the impacts of tourism on their city and daily lives. The results indicate a series of unrelated dimensions in attitudes, but an emergent pattern of 'trade offs' can be discerned whereby residents are aware of the negative impact of tourism but perceive that general economic advantages outweigh environmental degradation. While this is akin to results reported in the English speaking world, another gain that has importance is the pride gained from seeing their city having an active role on a world stage - a view that may be due to the opening up of Chinese society to the wider world under policies commenced 20 years ago. The paper also discusses briefly the advantages and disadvantages of this form of research methodology.

Key words : Resident perceptions, event tourism, qualitative research, Hanz Zhou, China

Introduction

It has become a cliché that tourism is a means by which economic regeneration or advantage can be obtained by countries, regions and cities, and as a mature phenomenon tourism is displaying an increased range of product based on various specialisations located within the specificities of a destination's assets. Among the relatively new forms of tourism is that of meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions (MICE), and in the last few decades competing cities and regions have developed new conference centres and exhibition halls. Having built such assets, two subsequent developments occur. First, city and regional tourism authorities seek to attract business to fill those centres to the point that the International Congress & Convention Association (ICCA) was able to claim in its 2004

report ‘that each year the ICCA figures are anxiously awaited by destinations around the world, all of which compete fiercely for a larger share of this lucrative market’ (ICCA, 2004). Second, tourism destination marketing organisations become proficient at creating new product that can be sold to domestic, out of region and international visitors - whether such events be business or recreation based.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the responses of residents in Hang Zhou to the development of a World Leisure Expo in that city as part of its tourism promotions. The paper will first briefly review the literature. Second it will briefly describe Hang Zhou as a tourism destination and the nature of the Expo and its role within the tourism assets of that city. Third it will suggest a concept pertaining to attitudinal development toward such events and it will then describe the method used in data collection and the mode of analysis used. The method used was one of qualitative research based on premises of social construction in a post-positivist paradigm - that is, it is possible to identify attitudes that exist independent of the researcher, and thus these can be ‘discovered’ even while the researcher interprets the comments made by respondents (Guba, 2000, Fontana and Frey, 2000)

Literature review

There exists an extensive literature relating to the impacts that tourism has on local communities, their economies, culture, society and built and natural environments. Among the earliest conceptualisations was that of Doxey (1975) and the Irritation Index (Irridex). This argued that residents passed through varying stages of welcome, indifference, annoyance and hostility in their attitudes toward tourism as it developed over time. Possibly implicit in this model, as in the Destination Life Cycle envisaged by Butler (1980) was the view that tourism commenced in marginalised areas with comparatively little other economic activity, and thus the impacts of tourism were both obvious and significant. The same assumptions were implicit in spatial models of land use as illustrated by Young’s (1983) model of a Maltese fishing-village which developed from being a small village comprising the cottages of local farmers and fishermen to finally a modern resort complex complete with marina, hotels, apartments and retail malls subject to extensive planning legislation to control further development. Such models were largely based on observation of the impacts of growing mass tourism and the inclusive

package holiday industry on the Mediterranean coastline, and those observations still reverberate today in both new locations and the academic literature. A second stage in the literature then followed whereby the impacts began to be better described and measured, especially in the 1980s with the evolution of community and environment oriented planning mechanisms, and the use of social impact and environment impact assessments as a necessary part of regional planning and development as demonstrated by legislation in many countries that require consultative processes in obtaining planning consents. Within the tourism literature such early studies included those of Belisle and Hoy, 1980, Liu, Sheldon and Var (1987), Davis, Allen and Cosenza (1988) and Long, Perdue, and Allen (1990) and from this it was but a short stage to better delineate the determinants of resident perceptions of tourism impacts, which began to include those of psychographics, duration of residency, nature of employment, age and nature and frequency of contact with tourists (e.g. see Fredline and Faulkner, 2000). Separate from the tourism literature a broadening range of measures were being identified and adopted within the parameters of town and country planning, and social assessment measures that included traffic counts and congestion, litter collection, crime statistics, retail patterns, patterns of land usage, air and water quality and house prices and building starts were being collected and analysed - all of which were applicable to the impacts caused by tourism (e.g. see Gunn, 1988, Smith, 1992). These in turn impacted upon our understandings of the nature of the destination life cycle as evidenced by Prideaux's (2000) analysis of the family-oriented as against the hedonistic resort that depended, in part, on crime figures, the collected editions of Butler (2006a, 2006b) and the further amended conceptualisation offered by Ryan and Gu (2007) that related to a Chinese location which argued that destinations have a life cycle of localisation, globalisation and glocalisation.

Associated with these changing understandings was an attempt to better conceptualise the patterns of resident attitude toward tourism. Ap (1995) proposed the use of social-exchange theory whereby attitudes could be explained on the premise of mutual advantage. Lindberg, Dellaert, and Rassing (1999) argued that residents engage in a series of trade-offs in which they require the positive impacts of tourism to be greater than the negative. For their part Ryan, Scotland and Montgomery (1998) argued that changes were based upon value systems that increasingly tested altruistic

motives as tourism developed and increasingly impinged upon daily life patterns. Consequently altruism (e.g. tourism creates jobs for others) might be overwhelmed by the personal (e.g. tourists get in my way).

Inherent in these changing perspectives was an appreciation that tourism might be simply just one economic activity among many, and in a post-modern world increasingly dependent upon economic activities based upon image and experience (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Thus the tourism industries (Leiper, 2008) would often be ensconced in a place of multi-layered economic activities with a strong recreational, heritage and cultural ambience independent of tourism, even as tourism utilised and complemented those facilities. In short, tourism's developments and impacts could occur within the small, newly discovered location envisaged by Young (1983), the totally new and previously non-existent such as Cancun (Haywood, 1986) or the well established commercial and post-industrial centre such as Birmingham (Lutz and Ryan, 1997).

This last cited paper has specific reference to the subject matter of this paper. As previously noted, MICE tourism has emerged as an inherent part of urban planning, restoration and renovation. It has thus become a commonplace that events are important success factors for the marketing of tourism and its development (Getz, 1997; Peters & Weiermair, 2000). It is therefore not uncommon for the public sector to be responsible for a large proportion of the special events provided for the community, and the majority of local governments now have a substantial and varied events program (Thomas & Wodd, 2004). Indeed, in many countries local authorities have some one within their organization that has the specific role of devising a portfolio of events and conferences and the encouragement of the private sector to initiate conferences, conventions and meetings. Yet despite the growth in the importance of events and the increasing public sector role in providing special events the public service provision for entertainment, culture, and arts remains a non-mandatory requirement (Borrent, 1991, Shone & Parry, 2001). Furthermore, because of the interest in economic regeneration, research has been dominated by economic impact assessments and resident reactions have been much less studied. Consequently this study can be justified on the grounds that it extends the research on resident perceptions of tourism impacts to the specifics of event tourism, while secondly it is looking at a country where tourism is both relatively new in itself and new as a subject of research.

The context of the research

This study related to the 2006 Hang Zhou World Leisure Expo. Hang Zhou is the capital city of Zhejiang Province, which lies fourth in Chinese provincial GDP ranking. Hang Zhou City has long been regarded as a desirable travel and tourism destination in China as it possesses notable historical and cultural features. A traditional saying is “In the sky there is heaven ... on earth there is Hang Zhou.” One of its main features is West Lake, which is largely artificial, and is surrounded by mountains. The city’s history is a long one, and dates back to the Neolithic Hemudu culture of 7,000 years ago. The West Lake itself still possesses as a feature a dyke built in 1089 by Su Shi, and when Marco Polo visited it he hailed as one of the finest cities in the world (e.g. see Zhejiang.com, accessed July 28 2006). It thus has marketed itself for both domestic and international tourism as a city of leisure based on cultural and heritage assets (Zheng Shenghua and Liu Jialong, 2005). It has a population of 6 million people and attracts 20 million visitors a year (CNTA, 2006).

Based on the city’s leisure facilities, the first world leisure exposition was held in Hang Zhou from April 22 to October 22 2006, and lasted six months. This exposition was mainly organized by the World Leisure Organization based on the theme “Leisure — Changing human life” with the purpose of building an “oriental leisure charm”. This world exposition was not a single themed event as it also included the annual Hang Zhou West Lake exhibition and thus became a multiple event that focussed on various themes that included culture, heritage, and tourism and incorporated the Zhejiang Provincial Museum of Cultural Relics and Fine Art Special Exhibition Series and The Third Hang Zhou West Lake Chorus Festival. Other themed events were also linked with the Exposition and were drawn from sport, business, and social activities. Examples included the Miss International Tourism Finals and the 2006 Hang Zhou International City “Business Cup” Go Competition.

Some of these subsidiary and complementary events had a long history in their own right. For example the West Lake World Exposition has been held since 1929, when it was the fourth international exposition after the 1893 Chicago Exposition, the 1900 Paris Exposition, and the 1927 Philadelphia Exposition. The West Lake Exposition has been re-held annually since 2000. For the 2006 Expo a “a three Lake Park” was also built - which proved controversial due to perceived negative impacts on the environment.

Taking into account the location of the research, and the above cited literature it was expected that residents would be supportive of the events on general grounds that economic improvements would result for the city. However, a reconsideration on further probing could occur, and the past evidence suggests that residents are more cautious about claiming social and environmental benefits, and can reconsider economic gains on the grounds as to whether the costs, both financial and other, are too high. Additionally, respondents can be prompted to assess to what degree they gain from the impacts created by MICE tourism, and eventually an overall assessment is gained based upon an evaluation of these factors filtered through personal value systems. Figure One indicates these anticipated response sets.

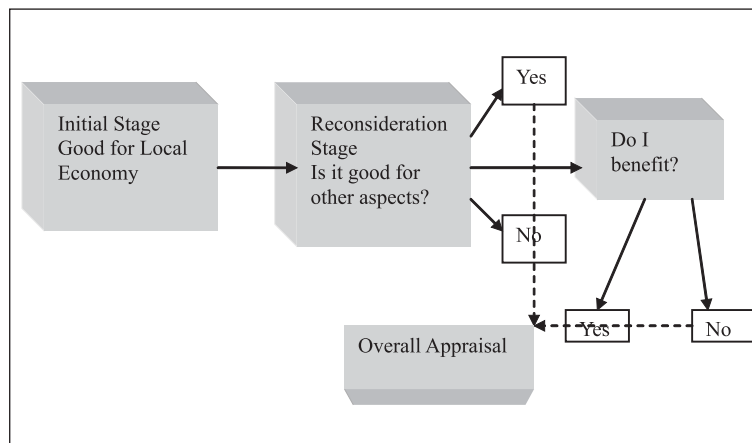


Figure 1 Anticipated sets of response

Research methodology

Given that much of the literature on the impacts of tourism as cited above is derived from the English speaking world, a qualitative study was adopted in order to elicit responses from residents while using a semi-structured questionnaire to prompt conversational data, whereby the questionnaire provided a framework to ensure some commonality of subject matter across the various respondents. The questions are indicated in more detail below, but related to residents' perceptions of Hang Zhou, the benefits it derived generally from tourism and then more specifically as to reactions to the Hang Zhou World Leisure Exposition. The research methodology is premised on social constructionism, that is the researcher constructs perceptions from answers by an immersion in the text of the conversation.

Conversation as a research tool implies many nuances. The researcher and respondent are potential equals in the research process; the respondent can control the research agenda as much as the researcher, yet it is the researcher who will offer the interpretive act. Feminist writers have redefined interviews as a dialogue that engages in openness and the sharing of emotion, and as a narrative that can challenge the concepts of scientific positivism (e.g. see Fontana and Frey, 2000). However, in this instance the research methodology sought an 'unbalanced conversation' in the sense that the researcher sought responses and adopted a phenomenographic perspective whereby the role was to prompt increasing details of response and recall from the respondents (Dall'Alba, 1994, Bowden, 1994). However conversational structures were adhered to, that is the data were sequentially organised, contextually oriented and interactive (Gubrium and Holstein, 2000). Interviews were recorded and additionally, after each interview, the first author immediately took notes on a lap top of key impressions, phraseology and other notes as part of the dataset. The author is a native of Hang Zhou and thus conversant with the local dialect.

Respondents were selected through a filter question that asked whether they had attended any of the events associated with the 2006 Expo, and second, were they residents of Hang Zhou so as to ensure they familiarity with the events. The sample was divided almost evenly between local residents who had and had not attended an event associated with the World Leisure Expo. Interviews took places in cafes where people were resting and expected to spend some time so that they could engage in conversations that could be quite long (up to an hour). A cross section of the general public was selected and the total of 40 respondents represented an equitable mix of gender and age above those aged 18 years. Data were analysed in two ways. The first author immersed herself in the text identifying themes, and also creating a translation into English for the second author. He then independently analysed the text using a software programme, and subsequently the two authors compared notes and understandings of the text to arrive at a consensual interpretation. This discourse is complex, and the process implies a post-positivistic perspective of a 'truth' independent of the research. It becomes, however, a decontextualised 'truth' for it has been separated from the initial series of conversational interplays, but the credibility of the interpretation becomes understood within another context, that of the wider tourism literature, and of shared recognitions of the categories that are formulated and discussed below.

Data analysis

Question one asked respondents if they had attended shows, and if so, what type of shows? Just over half of the sample (56 percent) indicated that they had, while the most common reason for not going was not a lack of interest by a lack of time, or a perceived lack of an interesting event to attend. Thus two respondents replied simply, 'No, no time' while another stated 'No, no time and no interesting shows'. Of those that had gone to an event or show three categories emerged from the text, these being (a) a high attendee of shows, perhaps because of occupation or business, (b) a more selective attendee who went to shows solely because they possessed a specific interest, but who nonetheless had seemingly been to a number of events, conferences or shows, and (c) the occasional attendee. The range of shows and events mentioned ranged in subject area, from academic conferences, to car shows, agricultural shows, home and housing shows, beauty and exhibitions of museums and arts and crafts. Car shows were the most commonly mentioned as were trade related shows.

Within the academic literature there exists at least one conundrum. On the one hand a common motivation for the development of an events portfolio is the further development of tourism whereby delegates attracted to a conference, festival trade show or similar event not only engage in expenditure associated with that event, but also may prolong stays in order to visit other attractions and so swell the numbers of tourists visiting attractions otherwise not related to the trade show, conference etc. However, some research into festivals and sporting events (e.g. Ryan and Saleh, 1993, Ryan and Lockyer, 2001) has indicated that in the majority of cases those going to an event are primarily motivated by a wish to attend that specific event, and there is little visitation to other attractions. Consequently one might expect to find that the present sample would exhibit the same intended behaviours. Generally, this was found not to be the case. Of the 40 respondents only five said that they would not find time to travel to other attractions in the region of the event. Of the remaining 35 the majority indicated that they would definitely make such visits, or normally did so, while just five indicated that they would usually do so dependent upon available time and money. Thus one respondent stated:

- Yes, I will spend a little time on it, but it depends on the schedule, if the event in the city where I live I will not to spend time to make such visits. If the event is in other cities, I will travel around because I have already paid the transportation fees.

Indicative of the majority opinion were the two respondents who stated:

- Definitely I will do that because otherwise the opportunity (to travel) is hard to come by.
- Yes, I will also take some travel because I do not always have time to go travelling. During the event time one can both do the work and travel, which is good.

That this is the case is commonly noted within the Chinese situation. Thus Wang (2007) noted that a significant proportion of both internal and domestic travel was related to official business travel, and that it was common for people within such trips to have organised visits for a recreational purpose.

The third question specifically sought to know whether respondents were aware of the Hang Zhou World Leisure Exposition, and if so, what was the source of their information? All respondents knew of the Expo, and nearly all stated that they received their information through TV and newspapers.

The questioning then turned toward residents' perceptions of Hang Zhou as a destination in itself, its capabilities of hosting such major Expos and its competitive positioning. First, all the respondents agreed that Hang Zhou had the capacity to host such an event given its rate of economic development, infrastructure and convention buildings. Thus one respondent noted:

- Hang Zhou definitely has the capability? In the last ten years Hang Zhou's economy has dramatically developed, so the economy is one of the strong foundations. Secondly, Hang Zhou city government has the daring and resolution (to do this); finally the leisure and tourism environment is good.

In terms of competitive positioning, almost all of the respondents commented that the competition was very strong, but that Hang Zhou possessed significant advantages that permitted it to compete. One of the most important of these were the natural features of Hang Zhou and its reputation, at least within China, for being a beautiful city with lakes and gardens. Other advantages lay in the city possessing an appropriate infrastructure, experience in hosting such events and access to substantial population - including that of Shanghai.

Respondents were then asked to consider potential visitors to MICE type events and to assess what would attract them to Hang Zhou. The answers fell into two main categories, and Figure Two represents a simplified perceptual diagram derived from the software. The two classifications were (a) content and interest of the event itself to a potential visitor and (b) the nature of Hang Zhou as a host city. Figure Two indicates that the two main dimensions had little direct interaction - they stood as two separate perceptual dimensions with little interaction between them. However, the second dimension - the beauty of Hang Zhou had two sub-themes - the number of tourism attractions that were often based on natural features, and the fame and culture, the last drawing in part on events like the Hang Zhou Silk Cultural and the Festival Ghost Festival (Zhongyuan) which is specifically a feature of local life even though celebrated in many parts of China.

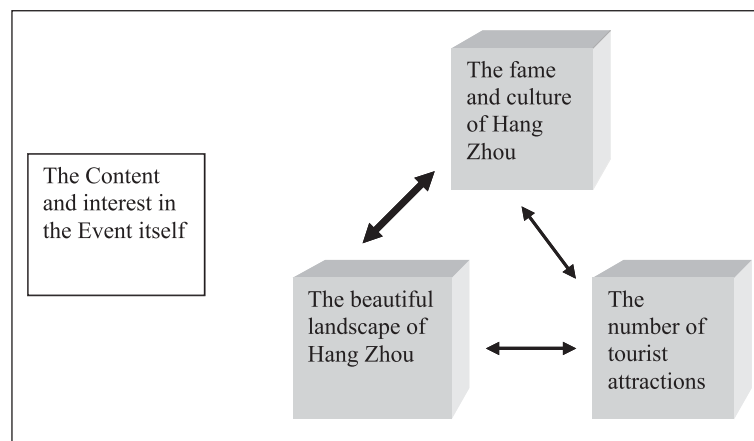


Figure 2 *Perceptual of Hang Zhou as a hos city*

The questioning then began to assess how events can impact upon people, and at first the questioning was at a general rather than personal level. Thus people were asked how hosting an event like the Leisure Expo impacted on Hang Zhou. Nearly all respondents recognised economic benefits that could accrue to the city, and the dimensions of these responses were threefold and interlinking. The classifications were as follows, and indicative quotes are provided as being illustrative of the content of the dimensions:

- a) of general economic benefit to the city

The event is good for city's tourism development and it also can bring many economic opportunities.

- b) of benefit to the tourism industry, which in turn benefits the city
The main purpose of holding the event is to attract more tourists, so this benefit should be completed. The event is not single event; it includes many different kinds of small shows; many of them relate to business. Many foreign companies were attracted to attend this event so the economic opportunities are obvious.
- c) of benefit to specific attributes of the city.
The major benefit from the event is attract more tourists to view the new garden that was built for the 2006 Leisure Expo. The event can attract many foreign businesses, so it is good for city's economy and its development.

When asked what were the actual benefits to the City a relatively long list of advantages was produced including not only economic benefits, but infrastructure development, better branding and knowledge of the city, including knowledge by foreigners, development of overseas links, both business and personal, environmental improvement through tree and flower planting and garden enhancement, cultural development through care of heritage buildings and the development of recreational facilities. Additionally half of the sample felt able to point to specific examples of such improvements, while some referred to the more fashionable appearance of the city and its inhabitants and a feeling that the city was more lively as evidenced by the growth of neon lights and signs. However, 5 of the 40 respondents were unsure in terms of either not being able to identify specific improvements, or being unsure of how much of the improvement could be attributed to tourism and the MICE industry.

Respondents were then asked to what extent they had been influenced directly by these changes. Of the forty respondents, 26 answered that there had been impact. Of the remaining 14 the changes noted tended to be psychological rather than physical, being in terms of feeling pride in the city and its achievements, having some enhancement in their leisure lifestyles through use of some of the facilities that had been developed for various events such as new gardens, or through being introduced to new foods. None of the respondents had been involved in any direct way through community action with these events, and indeed there was some doubt expressed as to what degree these events had involved local communities. Events like the Leisure Expo were seen as being organised by 'government' and a professional cadre of event organisers that had little

impact or involvement with the grassroots of local citizenry. This was not to argue that there were no benefits, and as already noted respondents were able to point to economic and other benefits at a city level; but little direct involvement or impact on personal lives seem to have been perceived as resulting from the Expo or similar events.

The final questions then were related to cost and to whether the expenditures involved in such Expos were indeed worth it. Indeed, might not the same results for the city in terms of infrastructure development have occurred in any case at possibly a lower cost if there had been no Expo? How can one really allocate or estimate returns from such events when, as noted, some of the returns are psychological rather than material? In terms of negative impacts half of the respondents immediately made mention of the growth in traffic. Second, almost as many mentioned a gradual degradation in the environment, and most of these who also identified worsening traffic were at pains to mention this additional degradation was an additional and not solely traffic related observation. A fifth of the respondents made reference to rising costs of living, of which property was the most immediately identified. A related issue was that local residents were bearing the cost of the event in many ways - one of which was that ticket prices to the events themselves were often too high. For example one resident said:

- The total service is not good enough and some prices like the Leisure Expo garden ticket price is really high, which cannot be accepted by local normal residents. The Leisure Expo cannot be compared with the Olympics and World Expo (in attractiveness).

There was some mention of the events like the Olympics - a small number felt that Hang Zhou had been used as a trial with the Leisure Expo to learn lessons for the Olympics, while a few others felt Hang Zhou should learn lessons from other event cities as to how to handle the negative impacts that occur from such events.

Figure Three attempts to summarise the perceptual map. The size of the boxes illustrate the frequency of response while the arrows indicate linkages between the dimensions that comprise attitude toward perceived negative impacts of this form of tourism. The first observation is the degree of disconnectedness that exists - the components lie united in that they create a negative impact on Hang Zhou - but the articulation of their inter-relatedness is not well formed in the responses given. Traffic congestion adds to environmental degradation, but there are other issues of

environmental degradation linked to crowding, the presence of non-citizens, over-use of leisure and recreational facilities that are perceived separate from simple road traffic congestion. The perception that Hang Zhou is an experiment for other larger events to be hosted by China is only thinly linked to the other aspects (as shown by thin dotted lines), while increasing prices both generally and specifically related to housing stands separate from the other concerns.

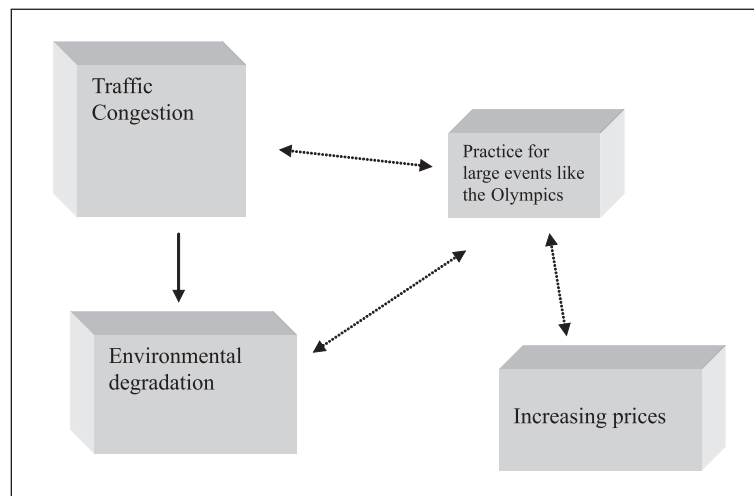


Figure 3 *Dimensions of Perceived Negative Impacts*

Given that respondents could identify negative impacts, the responses to the question, “Is it worth the government spending money on these events?” overwhelmingly produced a positive response where just under two-thirds of the respondents stated that it was worth while, with two specifically using the phrase ‘Of course it is worth while’. The reasons given for this positive response were the economic benefits, the development of future tourism development and the strengthening of the city brand. Of the remaining one-third of the respondents, thirds approved of the expenditure, but with varying caveats, while only about one-sixth of the respondents expressed criticism of such expenditure arguing that the costs involved exceeded the benefits gained. Typical of these last classifications of comments were:

- I heard that the expenditure was too much and caused an imbalance between the input and return. Currently, the situation is in deficit. The problem is that the government should learn from this

experience. (It should) try to attract more social communities to be involved in this and use more smaller investors, which can bring the most economic benefits.

- It is not worth (the expenditure), the government has put lots of money into promotion and marketing but it did not attract enough foreign tourists and attendees.

On the other hand, there was a wide recognition that Hang Zhou is a ‘tourism city’ and thus needs to develop its tourism further to sustain its image and advantages.

Discussion

The results indicated that residents tend to response sets whereupon economic benefits are immediately identified as being associated with an event like the World Leisure Expo. The data also indicates, at least in part, the basis of these perceptions. First, there is a very high awareness based upon media usage, and media reports that not only referred to content of the Expo, but also to estimates of anticipated economic gain based on estimates of the 2000 West Lake Exposition generating 16 billion yuan of foreign investment (West Lake Exposition Hang Zhou, 2006). Second, evidence of economic benefits are observed and included the development of the lakes, improvements in roading and the development of Mei Jia Wu village on the fringe of Hang Zhou. Separate from, but related to tourism, is the fact that the City is due to increase its population with a new urban district, Hang Zhou Gulf Town, being built that will house 800,000 people. Thus the signs of economic development are obvious. As was predicted though, while economic growth occupies a salient awareness, one can question the degree to which it becomes a determinant of attitudes when the nature of the questioning changes. Degradation of the environment is equally obvious in many parts of Zhejiang Province, and air and water quality has been negatively impacted by industrialisation (Swanson, Kuhn and Xu, 2004). A significant reason for this has been the failure to implement legislative safeguards and the under-resourcing of environmental agencies (Swanson, Kuhn and Xu, 2004). A tension thus arises in answers between perceived economic growth that can, at least in part, be attributable to developing tourism and specifically to events like the World Expo on the one hand, and a perception that these impacts bring about congestion, environmental degradation, and little immediate direct benefit. For the moment though, the evaluations are being filtered through perceptions of

pride in the development of the City and the increased international attention that such Expos bring. Much of this can be explained by reference to the policies enacted prior to the opening of the Chinese economy to the outside world, policies that meant a city of the size of Hang Zhou would have been generally unrecognised in the wider world. Thus to some extent attitude are explicable by reference to an evolutionary process of establishing a self belief and city identity for Hang Zhou as not only a major Chinese city, but also as a major international city capable of managing, establishing and exploiting events like the World Leisure Expo.

Such conclusions need, however, to be assessed within the framework of the study. It is a qualitative study, and thus has the advantages and disadvantages of such methodologies. It is well known that it is difficult to generalise from such studies, but equally such studies provide rich descriptions of processes as perceived by the actors in the study, and can be an excellent means of establishing attitudinal dimensions that can be subsequently assessed by quantitative means. In the discussions with respondents, informants tended to give willingly of their time and were articulate over their concerns, and that too is both a strength and a weakness. It is a strength in the collection of data, it is a weakness in that it provides a voice to the articulate and perhaps silences the less articulate, the more reluctant or the less able to voice a view. In short, this study needs to be contextualised with many dimensions - that of the tourism research on MICE and residents' attitudes, and that of the continuing understandings of qualitative research. One conclusion however, is that the nature of the debate initiated within a western context is also applicable to contemporary Chinese society, and thus one finding is that lessons from western experiences are applicable also to the new China that is now emerging.

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